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AKBAR AND TWO MANSABDARS

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A systematic study including source material

BY

S. R. SHARMA, M.A.

Revised Edition

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راستی موجب رضائی خداست
کس ندیدم که گم شد از ره راست

'Truth is the means of pleasing God;
I never saw any one lost on the right road.'
—INSCRIPTION ON AKBAR'S SEAL

To know anything thoroughly
nothing accessible must be excluded.
—SIR OLIVER LODGE

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PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Mughal history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method". Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "the principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the Historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to

represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto " to know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded ;" with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the footnotes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Willingdon College,
January 1940.

S. R. SHARMA

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INTRODUCTION

"No study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration."—R. C. DUTT.

The period of nearly two and half centuries that forms the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahīru-d dīn Muhammad Bābur, by his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī in the first battle of Pānīpat, ushered in a new era in India and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Mughals in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two adventurers, Henry in England and Bābur in India, was not dissimilar : both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones ; both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretentious, of the disestablished powers ; both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, likewise did a monarch of the Mughal dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rājput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was felt necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed.

Akbar aimed at the same objective, but did not seek to impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' he thought, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all*, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.'[1]

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Secondly, the comparison or contrast is not always between two individual and exactly contemporaneous monarchs, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two dynasties and countries. Yet few can read of Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahāngīr and James I, without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England, and of Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition; both James and Jahāngīr were notorious for the mixture of opposite elements in their character. The contemporary of 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' who was 'laborious over trifles and a trifler where serious labour was required,' is thus described by V. A. Smith : Jahāngīr "was a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness."[2] The generation after the death of each of these witnessed a civil war in both countries; though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the

1. Bartoli, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 211-12.

2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 387.

crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The puritanical Aurangazīb and the puritanical Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a stern trait in common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Stuarts, like the later Mughals, were but inglorious representatives of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the sure road to complete political emancipation, Aurangazīb was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan ; and from the death of Aurangazīb (1707) to the extinction of his Empire was not a far cry. "As some imperial corpse," writes Lane-Poole, "preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the Empire of the Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more."[1] In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's Imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrews and the red cross of St. George. But when England was thus integrating, the Mughal Empire was fast distintegrating. When in 1739 Nādir Shāh took away the Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān from Delhi, he despoiled, not merely the imperial capital of its wealth but also the imperial crown of its prestige In 1761, after the third battle of Pānīpat, as Elphinstone observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself : Its territory is broken into separate states ; the capital is deserted ; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependant ; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."[2]

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 411.
2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 753.

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction, their phantom figures were only the lingering shadows of a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Pānīpat, the last of the house of Bābur and Akbar died in exile in Rangoon, in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1857 by Lieutenant Hodson of the Intelligence Department, tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1858, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahādur Shāh "the *great* emperor." Only 250 years earlier, in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Grand Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success; in 1685, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious, (and) aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'.....persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[1] But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Pānīpat also saw the final discomfiture of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 449.

will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."[1]

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the body of this work. Here it may be only pointed out that, since the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the deterioration of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when the personality at its centre possessed strength and genius; it became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must therefore find an important place in the scheme of our work; their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age, and as R. C. Dutt says, "We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administrators were arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the olden days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reasons for gratification."

Nevertheless, writers are not rare who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to view things in their proper historical perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue,

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 449.

the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts, if not of the facts themselves. It will not do to judge the builders of the Tāj and Fathpūr-Sīkrī by modern standards and declare them hideous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploitation of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Badāūnī or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealise him on the sole authority of Abu-l Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and where they seem to speak with a dubious voice, reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Grand Mughals from such a stand-point, one can easily agree with S. M. Edwardes, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fathpūr-Sīkrī, the supreme beauty of the Tāj Mahāl and the Motī Masjid, the magnificence of the Āgrā and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Maréchale of France concerning a peccant member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century : 'Depend upon it, Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality!' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."[1]

The virtues as well as the vices of the Grand Mughals in India were not a peculiar product of the tropics ; their spiritual doubles were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643-1715 ; Frederick William I from 1713-40 ; Frederick the Great, 1740-86 ; and Peter the Great from 1682-1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

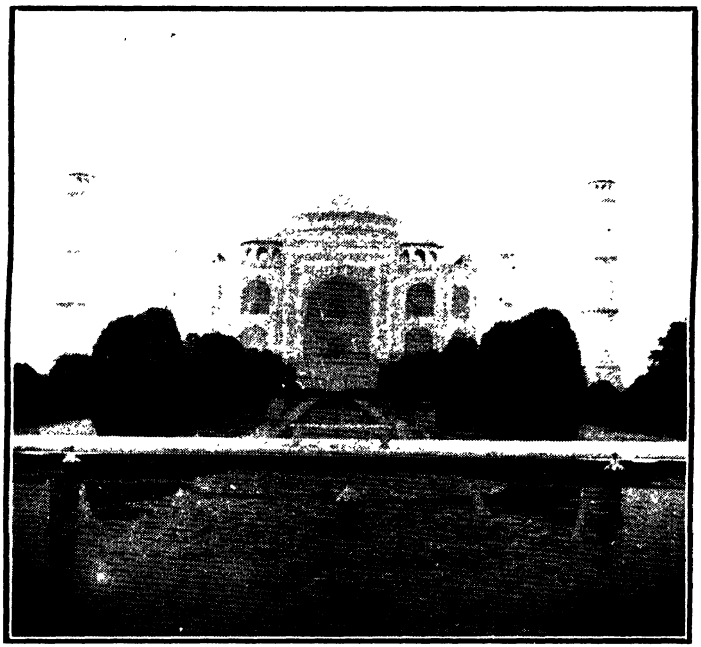


Photo by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

"THE DREAM IN MARBLE"

be individually studied. "Louis XIV," writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles... was the envy and admiration of the world. He provoked a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and credits would permit. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or extended their chateaux to the new pattern. A great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The luxurious arts flourished everywhere; sculpture in alabaster, faience, gilt wood-work, metal work, stamped leather, much music, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and buildings, fine cookery, fine vintages.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes; and still more wonderful 'ladies,' under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

"It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronise literature and the sciences.... Louis XIV decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men."

There was another side to the picture. "Great numbers of his most sober and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them.... Under his rule were carried out the 'dragonnades,' a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their woman-kind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded specimens of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzīb, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, "an incompetent imitator of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that common obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. How such women as the Duchess of Chateauraux, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the pleasures of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the vanities and spites of these creatures, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with intrigue and prostitution and imposture because of them, the reader must learn from the memoirs of the time."[1]

Students of Mughal history would do well to con over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the magnificence, the autocracy, and the corruption of the Grand Monarchy in India. Then they will read 'not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (Bacon).

1. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 816-21, (Cassell, Popular Ed. 1930.)

CHAPTER I

INDIA AS BĀBUR FOUND HER

'It is a remarkably fine country; it is quite a different world compared with our countries.'

So wrote Bābur in his *Tuzak* or *Wākiāt*, a work which Elphinstone characterises as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia."[1] It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror..... In Bābur the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."[1]

Such as it is, it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the live pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Memoirs*.

Natural conditions.

'Hindūstān,' writes Bābur, 'is situated in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its ani-

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 438.

mals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. You have no sooner passed the river Sindh than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindūstān.'

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindūstān are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look : its gardens have no walls ; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

'In Hindūstān, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay, of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population.

'The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

'Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless ; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

'There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an *āndhi*.

'It grows warm during *Taurus* and *Gemini*, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahār. It is not above half so warm as in these places.'

Economic conditions.

Nevertheless, 'The chief excellence of Hindūstān is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver.....Another convenience of Hindūstān is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work of any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.'[1]

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Bābur. The *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī*, a work of the reign of Jahāngīr, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Bābur's invasion. 'One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultān Ibrhāhīm's time,' it says, 'was that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultān Alāu-d dīn Khiljī ; but even that is doubtful.....Ten *maṇs* of corn could be purchased for one *bahloli* ; five *sīrs* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance ; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion.....A respectable man with a family de-

1. E. & D., *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, IV ; pp. 221-23.

pendent on him might obtain wages at the rate of five *tankas* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty (*tankas*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Āgrā, one *bahloli* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.'[1]

Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualise the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Bābur found her in 1526 A.D.

Political condition.

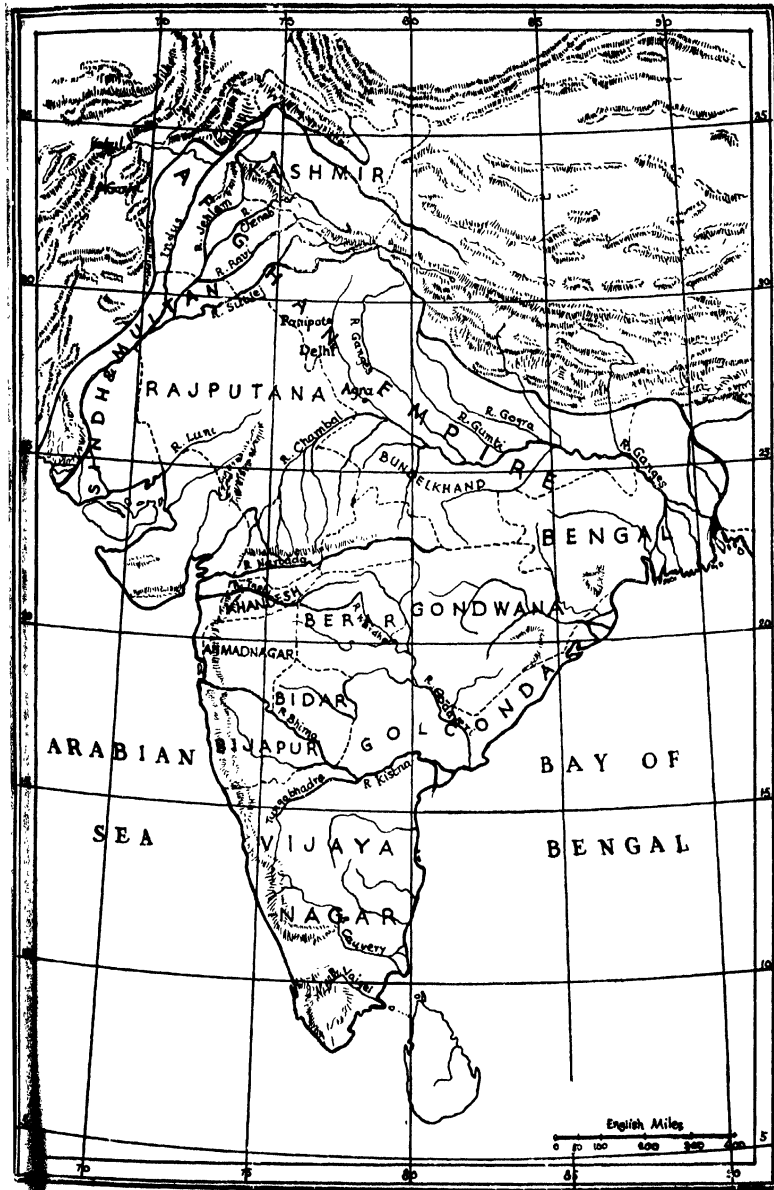
'The capital of Hindūstān,' writes Bābur, 'is Delhi. From the time of Sultān Shihabu-d dīn Ghorī to the end of Sultān Fīroz Shāh's time, the greater part of Hindūstān was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Musalman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Rāis* and *Rājās* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance.'[2]

A.—MUSALMAN KINGS

1. *Delhi.*—'One of these powers was the Afghāns, whose government included the capital, and extended from Bahrāh to Bihār....Sultān Bahlol Lodī Afghān, and his son Sultān Sikandar,....seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpūr, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.'

2. *Gujarāt.*—'The second prince was Sultān Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarāt. He had departed this life a few days before Sultān Ibrāhīm's defeat (at Pānīpat, 1526). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Kurān. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cup-bearers to the Sultān Fīroz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Fīroz they took possession of the throne of Gujarāt.'

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 47-65.
2. Ibid., p. 259.



Sketch by Mr. V. N Ambdekar

INDIA AS BABUR FOUND HER [1526 A. D.]

3. *Bahmanīs.*—'The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanīs in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Sultāns of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amīrs*.'

4. *Mālwā.*—'The fourth king was Sultān Mahmūd, who reigned in the country of Mālwā, which they likewise call Māndū. This dynasty was the Khiljī. Rāṇā Sankā, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak.'

5. *Bengal.*—'The fifth prince was Nusrat Shāh, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a *saiyid* of the name of Sultān Alāu-d dīn. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that *there is a little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty....whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king*;.....the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne: whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shāh's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar Shāh Habshī), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultān Alāu-d dīn killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. After Sultān Alāu-d dīn's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.[1]

1. Nasiru-d dīn Nusrat Shāh was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affections, for he not only refrained from slaying, mutilating, or imprisoning his brother, but doubled the provision which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Ibrāhīm Lodī, and sheltered many an Afghān chief who fled from Delhi, after the battle of Pānīpat, and bestowed fiefs upon them. He sent Quṭb Shāh one of his nobles, in 1529, to make a demonstration against Bābur, further details of which will be found in Ch. II, below—p. 50.

'The five kings who have been mentioned,' says Bābur, 'are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies.'

B.—HINDU KINGS

1. *Vijayanagar.*—'The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Rājā of Bijanagar.'

2. *Mewār.*—'Another is Rāṇā Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Māndū, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Māndū, such as Rantpūr (Rantambhor), Sārangpūr, Bhīlsān, and Chānderī.

'There were a number of other *Rāis* and *Rājās* on the borders and within the territory of Hindūstān; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country have never submitted to the Musalman Kings.'[1]

Bābur's omissions.

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Bābur himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the omission by Bābur of the kingdoms of Khāndesh, Orissa, Sindh, and Kāshmīr. With the former two Bābur had nothing to do: Khāndesh enjoyed a quiet prosperity under its Fārūkhī (Musalman) ruler; and Orissa (Hindu) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Sindh was ruled by the Sumana Jāms until 1520. Then Shāh Bég Arghūn, being driven away by Bābur from Kandahār, took possession of it. His son Shāh Hussein was defeated by Bābur in 1527. Kāshmīr was a prey to internal factions; its nobles set up and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad

1. E. & D. op. cit., pp. 259-62.

Shāh ruled Kāshmīr, from 1499 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Kāji Chakk. In the latter year the minister overthrew master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within the nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Bābur's officers. Later, however, the factious nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Mughals to retire into the Punjab.

Secondly, even of the rulers and kingdoms mentioned by Bābur it is worth while to add a little more information. Among the comtemporary rulers of India Bābur has chosen to make special mention of the Rājā of 'Bijanagar' and 'Rāṇā Sanka.' He characterises the former as 'the most powerful of the Pagan princes in point of territory and army'[1] but nevertheless, he was too distant from Bābur for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence,.....by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Bābur himself and found wanting. Besides defeating the Rāṇā at Khānua (March, 1527), 'In the year 934 (A.H.), by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chānderī, which was commanded by Maidāni Rāo(Medini Rāi), one of the highest and most distinguished of Rāṇā Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long

1. The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras Presidency with Mysore and all other States in the peninsula. When Krishna Deva Rāya fought against Ismāil Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, for the possession of the Rāichūr Doāb, on 19th May 1520, his army consisted of 703,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry, and 551 war-elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Pæs, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Rāya's capital, considered Vijayanagar 'the best provided city in the world ; and the King himself 'by rank a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in armies, and territories : He is the most feared and perfect King, that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry ; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a greater ruler and a man of much justice ; gallant and perfect in all things, but subject to sudden fits of rage.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 304-11.)

been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed.'[1]

Condition of South India.

Bābur's unconscious tribute to Krishna Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though this great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Mughal invader, he is worthy of remembrance because of his relation with the Bahmanīs who are mentioned by Bābur.

'But at the present time the Sultāns of the Dekhin,' he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amīrs*.' The disruption of the Bahmanīs was among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Musalman hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmanī as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanīs was Mahmūd Shāh (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up : Bijāpūr was the first to set up the Ādil Shāhī (1489) ; next came the Imād Shāhī of Berār (1490). After the death of Mahmūd Shāh (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kulburga, the Bahmanī capital, by Amīr Barīd the minister. Not content with this, Barīd finally established the independent Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar in 1526, the year of Bābur's victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī.

Ferishta describes the situation well : 'In the year 933 H. (1526 A.D.) the Emperor Bābur conquered Delhi, upon which Ismāil Ādil Shāh, Burhān Nizām Shāh, and Kutb Shāh (who was to found the Kutb Shāhī of Golkonda in 1528) sent ambassadors to his court. Kaleem-ullah (last of the Bahmanīs) also sent one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 261.

Emperor ; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants ; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him, Daulatābād and the province of Berār. Bābur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Mālwa and Gujarāt being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request ; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amīr Barīd, he treated the king with greater rigour, who, making his escape to his uncle Ismāil Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage, but the King, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Kaleemullah resided at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmanī.'[1]

The Deccan was thus pre-occupied at the time of Bābur's invasion ; being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted duel between Vijayanagar and Bahmanī, and on the other by the internecine struggles between the various Musalman princes and factions (Sunnī vs. Shia ; Deccanī vs. Foreigners—Arab, Turk, Persian, Mughal, and Abyssinian),—all contributing their share to weaken and paralyse the country by intrigue, fight, and assassination.[2]

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics. Vasco de Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India, by reaching Calicut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jedda ; they also became a menace to the Musalman kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1510, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal port in the Bijāpūr territory. In 1530, the year in which Bābur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Damān and captured it. "The entry of this European nautical

1. Briggs, II, pp. 558-9.

2. Bijāpūr alone lost 16,000 killed in the battle of Rāichūr, 19th May, 1520.

power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.[1]

Condition of North India.

North India was in no better position to offer effective resistance to the invader. Both Mālwā and Gujarāt were constantly at war with the Rājputs under Rāṇā Sangā and Medini Rāi. In northern Mālwā, particularly, the Rājputs had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahmūd II, the reigning prince at the time of Bābur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Medini Rāi. Subsequently, jealous of the Rājputs, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Muzaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt. Medini Rāi secured the aid of Rāṇā Sanga and inflicted a defeat upon the Musalmans. Mahmūd was wounded and captured, but chivalrously restored to his throne. Yet, when Muzaffar of Gujarāt died, in 1526, Mahmūd unwisely supported Chānd Khān (younger son of Muzaffar) against his abler elder brother Bahādur Shāh. As a penalty for his backing the wrong horse, Bahādur Shāh annexed Mālwā to his own kingdom in 1531.

Bahādur Shāh, who was to try conclusions with Bābur's son, was growing formidable, unnoticed by the Mughal invader. In 1524, his father Muzaffar Shāh had supplied Ālam Khān, an uncle of Ibrāhīm Lodī, with a small force and a sum of money to contend for the throne of Delhi. But Bahādur Shāh himself, being dissatisfied with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrāhīm Lodī, in 1526, when the latter was preparing for his fatal struggle. While the Gujarātī adventurer distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Mughals, he did not persist for long; evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpūr, where he heard of his father's death, and hastened home. There he busied himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriages and political alliances with rival princes

1. *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 495. For details of Portuguese policy in India, see Smith, op. cit., pp. 332-4.

of Berār and Khāndesh against Bīdar and Ahmadnagar. In 1529, he also sheltered Jām Fīrūz of Sindh who had been driven away by Shāh Beg Arghūn, the fugitive from Bābur already mentioned (p. 14 above). In 1530, he received under his protection Afghān refugees from Delhi ; and fortified Diu against the Portuguese who had just taken Damān.

In Rājputāna, Rāṇā Sanga (or Sangrāma Singh), who ascended the throne of Mewār (Chitor) in 1509, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Rājasthān. 'Eighty thousand horse, seven *Rājās* of the highest rank, 104 chieftains with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mewār reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Mālwā ; no force could face him in Hindūstān. According to Sheikh Zain, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarāt, and Māndū, who was able to make head against him. The banners of the infidel flaunted over two hundred cities inhabited by people of the Faith.'[1]

Finally, we came to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrāhīm Lodī succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yādgār says, 'Many nobles became aware of the king's fickle disposition and raised the standard of opposition.'[2] He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1517) one of his brothers was proclaimed king at *Jaunpūr*, was subdued in the course of a twelve month, and was privately executed by Ibrāhīm, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islām Khān next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion ; some were secretly made

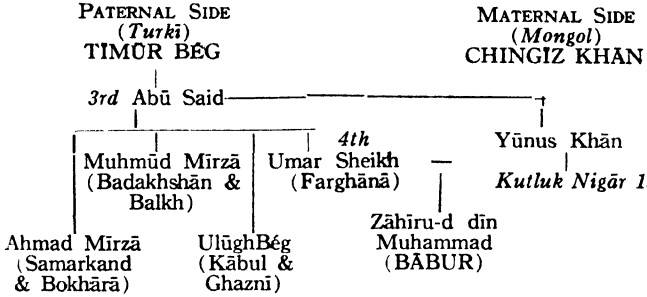
1. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder*, pp. 12-13.
2. E. D., op. cit., V, p. 14.

away with after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrāhīm's dominion threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Daryā Khān Lohāni, whose son afterwards took the title of King. Daulat Khān Lodī, Governor of the Punjāb, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted and called in the aid of Bābur.[1] So also did Rāṇā Sanga: "The Empire of Delhi was in confusion; it had become the prey of the strongest; and the former successes and mighty power of the Rāṇā might secure to justify at once his hopes of seating himself on the vacant throne of the Lodīs, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghāns and Turkī invaders from India, and restoring her own Hindu race of kings, and her native institutions."[2]

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 420.
2. Erskine, *Bābur and Humāyūn*, I, p. 462.

BĀBUR'S PEDIGREE

GENEALOGY



Note :—It will be seen from the above that Bābur was *fifth* in descent from Tīmūr and fourteenth from Chingīz Khān, both of them great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Bābur was a *Turk* from his father's side, and a *Mongol* from his mother's side. *Turkī* is therefore a more accurate term for Bābur's dynasty, than *Mughal*. Mughal or Mogul is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol.

3. Bābur was the cognomen given to his grandson by Yūnus Khān. In Turkī it means 'tiger.'

(For a history of Tīmūr and Chingīz Khān and their descendants prior to Bābur, see Erskine, *A History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr*, vol. I, pp. 8-76).

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (i) Bābur's own *Memoirs* are the principal source of information about his life and career.

"If ever there were a case," writes Lane-Poole, "when the testimony of a single historical document, unsupported by other evidence should be accepted as sufficient proof, it is the case with Bābur's *Memoirs*..... No reader of this prince of autobiographers can doubt his honesty or his competence as witness and chronicler."

According to Beveridge, the *Bābur-Nāmā*, (*Wakai* or *Wākiāt-i-Bāburī*, or *Tuzak-i-Bāburī* as Bābur's *Memoirs* have been variously called) "is one of those priceless records which are for all time."

Elliot says, "Bābur's *Memoirs* form one of the best and most faithful pieces of autobiography extant."

Originally written in Bābur's native tongue, Turkī, it was translated into Persian, notably, by Mīrzā Abdur-Rahīm (Bairam Khān's son) in 1589, by order of Akbar.[1] Its first English translation was made by Leyden and Erskine in 1826 (2 vols. ed. King, O. U. P. 1921) and the second in 1905 by Mrs. Beveridge (2 vols. Luzac, 1921.) There is also a French translation by Pavet de Courteille (1871).

The first part of the *Memoirs* being revised and enlarged by Bābur himself, after his invasion of India, is better than the second part which has remained an unrevised and rough diary. There are three important gaps in the *Memoirs* : the first covering the period 1503-1504 ; the second 1508-19 ; and the third 1520-25.

They are therefore to be supplemented by—

(ii) *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar (a cousin of Bābur) who completed his chronicle within seventeen years of Bābur's death. According to Erskine, "It is the production of a learned and accomplished man ; and, in the latter parts, of

1. A beautiful MS copy of this, with Shāh Jahān's autograph on the fly-leaf and many coloured pictures, is said to be in the Āgrā College Library.

a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the Commentaries of Bābur, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

It has been rendered into English by Elias and Denison Ross (1895).

(iii) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Bābur's daughter, Gulbadan Begam, is, in the estimation of Rushbrooke Williams, "exceedingly partial". Nevertheless, it contains some personal recollections of its author's father. It has been edited by Mrs. Beveridge" (R. A. S., 1902).

(iv) *Tārīkh-i-Ferishtā* of Mahomed Kāsim Ferishtā also supplies the gaps in Bābur's *Memoirs*. The account, says Rushbrooke Williams, "is sane, accurate, and well-balanced". For an English translation of it see Col. Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year A. D. 1612*, vol. II, pp. 1-69. Longmans (1829).

B. SECONDARY : (i) Erskine, *A History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr, Bābur and Humāyūn*, vol. I, Longmans (1854).

(ii) Lane-Poole, *Bābur*, Rulers of India Series, O. U. P. (1899).

(iii) Rushbrooke Williams, '*An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century*,' Longmans (1918).

(iv) Edwardes, S.M., *Bābur : Diarist and Despot*, Philpot, (London).

Note :—The bibliographies given in this book are not exhaustive. Only such works as are considered most essential have been included. Fuller guidance is to be had in the works herein cited.

Elliot and Dowson's *The History of India as told by Its own Historians*, contains valuable extracts from various original sources in translation. (8 vols. Trübner, 1877).

CHAPTER II

HOW THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

BĀBUR.

The Mughal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Bābur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India ; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given such a man," writes Flora A. Steele, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Bābur's life falls into three definite periods : 1. Early adventures up to his conquest of Kābul (1494-1504) ; 2. Bābur as King of Kābul (1504-25) ; and 3. Bābur in India (1525-30).

I. EARLY ADVENTURES

A.—Birth and Accession.

Bābur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (*Muharram* 6, 888 *Hijra*).

Bābur's father Umar Sheikh, died on Monday, June 8, 1494 (*Ramzān* 4, 899 *Hijra*).

Bābur's *Memoirs* begin with the sentence—'In the month of *Ramzān* of the year 899 (*Hijra*), in the twelfth year of my age, I became ruler in the country of Farghāna.'

B.—Political Heritage.

Tīmūr's empire had been divided among his own descendants, as well as those of Chingīz Khān. Its principal kingdoms and rulers were all interrelated as follows* :—

1. Tāshkent, Sairam, Shāhrukhia were under Bābur's elder maternal uncle, Mahmūd Khān.

2. The region between Tāshkent and Yalduz was under Bābur's younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khān.

3. Samarkand and Bokhāra were ruled by Bābur's eldest paternal uncle, Ahmad Mīrzā.

4. Badakhshān, Hisār and Kunduz were ruled by Bābur's elder paternal uncle, Mahmūd Mīrzā.

5. Kābul and Ghaznī were ruled by Bābur's youngest paternal uncle, Ulugh Bég.

6. Khorāsān and Herāt were under Husain Mīrzā, the head of the House of Tīmūr.

7. Farghāna was the kingdom of which Bābur's father, Umar Sheikh, was the ruler.

Yūnus Khān, twelfth in descent from Chingīz Khān, had three daughters by his first wife. They were married respectively to Bābur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mīrzā and Mahmūd Mīrzā, and Bābur's father Umar Sheikh. Kutluk Nigār was Bābur's mother.

Both Yūnus Khān and his wife, Ais-Daulat Begum, exercised considerable influence over Bābur. About the former, Bābur writes in his *Memoirs* : 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society'; and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture ; she was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried through by her advice.'

Bābur combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and capacity of the Turk', and the polished urbanity of the Persians—which were all inherited traits.

*See also C. H. I., IV, p. 3.

Farghāna, with Andijān as its capital, was, as above noticed, Umar Sheikh's kingdom. It was a fertile tract of country on the Jagzrates, 50,000 sq. miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkistān). But Bābur's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mīrzā who had received the largest share of the paternal dominions, viz., Samarkand and Bokhāra.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Sheikh died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June, 1494). This fatal event synchronised with the invasion of Farghāna by Bābur's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmūd Mīrzā, respectively.

Though Bābur was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gratefully records : 'They (i.e., his enemies) found in our soldiers and peasantry a resolution and single-mindedness such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies'.

C.—Samarkand.

Samarkand, the city of Tīmūr, (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mīrzā) exercised the greatest fascination over the ambitious son of Umar Sheikh. It was to the west of Farghāna, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Bég), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques. According to Bābur 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skilful'.

In July 1494, when Ahmad Mīrzā died, Bābur set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1496), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Bābur's life.

Next year (1497), though only for a while, Bābur succeeded in his ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghāna, which

cost him both the kingdoms : 'Thus for the sake of Farghāna I had given up Samarkand, and now found I had lost the one without securing the other'.

D.—Wanderings.

After this, Bābur became a wanderer for two years. As he himself writes, ever since he was eleven years of age, he never spent two festivals of the *Ramzān*, in the same place' ; or in the words of Ferishta, 'the football of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore.'[1] But wherever he went, Bābur was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature, —especially 'a wonderful, delicate, and toothsome melon with a mottled skin like shagreen'.

In 1498, he won Farghāna back, though he had to lose it again in 1500, because of an attempt to restrain his greedy 'Mughal rascals' from plundering. 'It was a senseless thing,' he writes, 'to exasperate so many men with arms in their hands. *In war and in state-craft a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon.* This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second expulsion'.

Once more, therefore, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb, many a horse and camel dropped and fell out.... We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and losses, at last we topped those murderous steep defiles and came down on the borders of Kān, with its lovely expanse of lake'.

During 1500-1 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Ayesha, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to partake of the mercy of God.' After this they parted : for, 'as my affections decreased, my shyness increased.'

1. Briggs, II, p. 23.

Soon, Bābur was defeated by Shaibānī, the Uzbeg leader[1] at Sar-i-pul (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samarkand within eight months. From 1502-4 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with clubs in their hands and tattered clothes in their backs.' In a garden he was once awaiting death; 'but soon found life and fortune.' The kingly blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kābul, in 1504.

II. KING OF KĀBUL (1504-1525)

'It was in the last ten days of the second *Rabi* (Oct. 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābul and Ghaznī and their dependent districts.'

'During my residence at Kābul', he writes with great self-complacency, 'I passed my days in such entire absence of care, as I never did at any other time or do now.' So he assumed, in 1507, the title of Pādshāh or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Tīmūrid before him: 'Up to that date people had styled Tīmūr Beg's descendants *Mīrzā* even when they were ruling; now I ordered that people should style me *Pādshāh*'.

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'[2]

The same year (1507), Bābur conquered Kandahār and bestowed it upon his younger brother Nāsir, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

1. 'Shaibānī or Shāhi Bég was a princely adventurer who first become Governor of Turkistān, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Tīmūrids in general, and of Bābur in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty, made him a most formidable opponent; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was to constitute an insupportable barrier to the career of the young prince of Farghāna.' (*Rushbrooke Williams*, op. cit., p. 44.)

2. Ishwari Prasad, *A short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 295.

Bābur still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1507) also he paid a visit to his cousins in Herāt which was 'the home of culture and ease.' [1] 'In the whole habitable world,' says Bābur, 'there is not such another city'. But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in making yet another effort against Shaibānī. He, however, soon realised that 'the brave barbarian from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The Mīrzās, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a campaign or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Bābur met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless, in 1511-12, he had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhāra, and Khorāsān, for the last time, with the help of Shāh Ismael Safavi of Persia.

In *Rajab*, 917 *Hijra* (Oct. 1511) Bābur re-entered Samarkand, 'in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or ever since.' [2] Bābur's dominions now reached their widest extent: from Tāshkent and Sairam on the borders of the deserts of Tartary, to Kābul and Ghaznī near the Indian frontier, including Samarkand, Bokhāra, Hisār, Kunduz and Farghāna.

But this glory was as shortlived as it was great. After flying from one part of his dominions to another, losing everywhere, he returned to Kābul in 1513-14.

The Shāh had exacted from him a very heavy price: Bābur was to hold those kingdoms under the Shāh; he was

1. 'Herāt,' says Khwāndamīr, 'is the eye—the lamp that illumines all other cites; Herāt is the soul to the World's body; and if Khorāsān be the bosom of the earth, Herāt is confessedly its heart.'

2. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 246; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 131.

also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunnī subjects of the conquered kingdoms. Though Bābur refused to prosecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discomfiture in the north and west, the second period of Bābur's life comes to a close; after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kābul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514-25 is of little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Bābur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

'Kābul', writes Bābur, 'is the intermediate point between Hindūstān and Khorāsān'. "Bābur", according to Lane-Poole, "is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tarmerlane and Akbar."[1]

III. BĀBUR IN INDIA (1525-1530)

Towards Hindūstān.

'The great advantage of Hindūstān,' Bābur was aware, 'besides its vast extent of territory, is the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, which may be found there'. To Hindūstān, therefore, he turned his wistful attention when, after the conquest of Kābul, he felt the need for supplies :

(1) In 1504, he marched along the Peshāwar-Attok road, went through the Khyber, and then instead of crossing the river Indus, marched on Kohāt. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1507, he resolved, after some discussion, to march in the direction of Hindūstān. So, placing a cousin in charge of Kābul, he came as far as Ādīnāpūr (now Jalālābād), fighting his way among the Afghāns and vainly

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 9.

attempting to subdue those 'robbers and plunderers even in time of peace'. The retreat of Shaibānī emboldened Bābur to return to his capital; and once more the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Sometime between 1514 and 1519, Bābur profited by the example of Shāh Ismāil, determined to possess an effective artillery; and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Ustād Āli, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1520 and 1525, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert named Mustafā, for the same purpose.

These were clear indications of Bābur's effective preparations for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindūstān," observes Rushbrooke Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."[1]

(4) Bābur again, in 1518, attempted reduction of the tribes and fortresses on the north-east of Kābul, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindūstān.

Five Expeditions.

The urge for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his nobles, who said, 'Go on then and possess yourself of the noblest country in the universe. Establish beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindūstān and prefer the delights of the Indies to the hoar and snow of Tartary. Everything seems to invite you to the south; Providence has conducted you to Kābul and put you on the road to Hindūstān; God and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the idolatry of the Indians.'

The effect of this on Bābur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Pānīpat :—

'From the year 910 *Hijra*, when I obtained the principality of Kābul, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindūstān. But I

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 111.

had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of my *Bégs*, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself. Finally, all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, *Bégs* and captains, no one dared say a word against the project.

'So, in 925 *Hijra* (1519) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking Bājaur..... *From this time to* 932 *Hijra (1526) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindūstān.* I went there in person, at the head of an army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath my blows an enemy as formidable as Sultān Ibrāhīm, and I gained the vast Empire of Hind'.[1]

The five expeditions referred to above were—

First Expedition: In 1519 he stormed Bājaur which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Bābur's new artillery played a decisive part. 'By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours; matching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes'.

Bābur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindūstān. If here he indulged in wholesale massacre, it was to make an example. When he proceeded further to Bhirā, on the Jhelum, he acted with great restraint: 'As *it was always in my heart to possess Hindūstān*, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks,[2] I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hillmen well, this order was given: *Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton ends and broken needles.*'

1. Cf. Ibid, p. 113, n. 2. cf. C. H. I., IV, p. 10.
2. Tīmūr had overrun the Punjāb in 1398-9.

He despatched Mullā Murshid to Sultān Ibrāhīm 'giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me.' The Mullā was also given letters for Daulat Khān, Governor of the Punjāb. 'But the people of Hindūstān, and particularly the Afghāns,' writes Bābur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, Daulat Khān detained sometime in Lāhore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultān Ibrāhīm; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kābul without having received any answer.'

Bābur quitted India, leaving Bhirā in the charge of Hindū Bég; but the latter was soon (1519) expelled by the natives.

Second Expedition: The same year, in September, Bābur again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufzāi and provision Peshāwar fort as a base for future operations in Hindūstān. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshān, which came into Bābur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition: For the third time Bābur marched, in 1520, through Bājaur towards Bhirā. Subduing the recalcitrant Afghān tribes on the way, he proceeded to Siālkot, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Saiyidpūr defied Bābur, but were easily subdued. However, Bābur had to hastily retrace his steps again to fight Shāh Bég Arghūn, ruler of Kandahār.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Bābur finally acquired Kandahār, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulānā, Abdul Bagi. Shāh Beg established himself in Sindh, and Kāmrān (Bābur's second son) was put in charge of Kandahār.

Fourth Expedition: Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Bābur for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khān, Governor of the Punjāb, was growing very powerful. Sultān Ibrāhīm had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khān offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultān's wrath, Daulat Khān sent his son Dilāwar

Khān, to invite Bābur to dethrone Ibrāhīm Lodī in favour of his uncle Ālam Khān (or Alāu-d dīn).

Bābur readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Lāhore and Dīpālpūr soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khān was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Bābur, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Sultānpūr instead. Daulat Khān felt disappointed, and the fiefs were bestowed upon his more reliable son Dilāwar Khān. Dīpālpūr was given to Ālam Khān.

Daulat Khān and his second son Ghāzī Khān fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Bābur's withdrawal. They recaptured Sultānpūr from Dilāwar, and Dipālpūr from Ālam Khān. Ibrāhīm's attempt to subdue Daulat Khān proved unsuccessful. But Bābur's Lāhore detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Ālam Khān fled to Kābul and once again sought Bābur's aid to seat himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Bābur was promised sovereignty over Lāhore and the west Punjāb.

Ālam Khān returned to India with this understanding. But the wily Daulat won him over. The two Khāns accordingly marched on Delhi, only to be disgracefully routed by the Sultān.

Fifth Expedition : Bābur now crossed the frontier for the last time (Nov. 1525), with the largest army he had ever led into Hindūstān. Humāyūn was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshān. Crossing the Jhelum, the Lāhore army also joined him. All told, his followers numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 8,000 were effectives.

Siālkot had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Lāhore. But Daulat Khān alone had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Ibrāhīm Lodī was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khān's forces melted away at Bābur's mere approach. Bābur had nothing more to do with him than to upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon snatched away Daulat Khān altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humāyūn won his spurs for the first time, against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Ibrāhīm was coming from Delhi, and Bābur from Sirhind and Ambālā. On April 1, again Bābur's men encountered a cavalry division of the Sultān and crushed it. From April 12 to 19, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Pānīpat—'the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations.'

FIRST BATTLE OF PĀNĪPAT

The battle was fought on April 21, 1526.

"On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of the mediaeval type, with crowded ranks of spear-men and archers thronging on in fool-hardy disorder."[1]

On April 19, a night attack by Bābur's men failed.

On April 20, there was a scare in Bābur's army, of being out-numbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unimpressive conduct of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers, it had to converge suddenly; the wide front collapsed in confusion in re-adjusting itself before Bābur's narrower entrenched position.

A keen master of strategy, Bābur at once had recourse to *Tulghma*,[2] and simultaneous artillery action. The Mughals

1. Keene, *History of India*, I, p. 76.

2. This was the usual Uzbeg tactic: first turning the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on front and rear, letting fly the arrows at a breakneck gallop, and if repulsed returning at top-speed. Bābur learnt this from Shaibānī, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 57.) For plan of battle see Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 131, C. H. I., IV, pp. 12-13.

surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Seldom was a day 'so fought, so followed, so fairly won.'

'The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Result : Ibrāhīm lay dead on the field, together with Bikram, the Hindu Rājā of Gwālior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultān in defence of their common country."[1]

(2) 6,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultān was found dead ; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. 'On reaching Āgrā, we found from the accounts of the natives of Hindūstān, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in the field.'[2]

(3) "The land simply changed masters after one supreme effort."[3]

"To the Afghāns of Delhi the battle of Pānīpat was their Cannae. It was the ruin of their dominion, the end of their power."[4]

(4) The battle of Pānīpat marks the end of the second stage in Bābur's conquest of Hindūstān.

Reasons : Ibrāhīm Lodī, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Bābur's estimation, 'an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method, and engaged without foresight.'

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Bābur's favour : it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

1. Keene, op. cit.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 255.
3. Keene, loc. cit.
4. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 166.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly re-adjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast numbers into utter confusion.

(4) Bābur was, on the contrary, a tried and resourceful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm : it was their Emperor's cool science and watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck." [1]

(5) Ibrāhīm's war-elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Bābur's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The last was used in India among the earliest by Bābur.[2]

The sequel.

After the victory Bābur at once despatched Humāyūn, with Khwājā Kalān, to Āgrā, and another party to take charge of the forts and treasure of Delhi. On Friday, April 27, the *khutbā* was read in his name at Delhi.

Marching with the main army, Bābur halted on the Jumnā, opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. 'On Thursday, the 28th *Rajab* (May 10th), about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Āgrā, and took up my residence in Sultān Ibrāhīm's palace.' Here Bābur received from Humāyūn, among other treasures, a diamond (Koh-i-noor?) valued at 'half the daily expenditure of the whole

1. Ibid.

2. Bābur's description of the reception of the fire-arms at Bājaur is interesting :—

'The people of Bājaur,' he writes, 'had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them ; but, hearing the reports of the shots, stood opposite the guns, mocking and playing unseemly antics. But, that day Ustād Āli Kūli (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Kazin killed two and the other musketeers shot well and bravely,... and aiming so truly that before night seven to ten Bājauris were laid low, whereupon defenders of the fort became so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen.'

world.'[1] But the father, in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Humāyūn together with other gifts worth 70,00,000 *dāms* (or £20,000). 'A *pargana* of the value of seven *lacs* was bestowed on Ibrāhīm's mother. *Parganas* were also given to each of her *Amīrs*. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a *kos* below Āgrā.[2] His *Bégs* received six to ten *lacs* apiece (£1,700 to £2,800). Every soldier got his share of the booty. Even traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the bounty, including those who were absent. Friends in Farghāna, Khorāsān, Kāshghar, and Persia were surprised with gifts of gold and silver, cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herāt, Samarkand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings; and every person in Kābul, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the vaults of the capital for the support of the army and administration.[3]

POST-PĀNĪPAT PROBLEMS

The Afghāns.

'When I first arrived in Āgrā, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Delhi and Āgrā, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put

1. Tavernier valued it at £880,000 (Erskine, op. cit., I, p. 438). It had originally belonged to Sultan Alāu-d dīn Khiljī of Mālwā. It was taken by Rājā Bikramjit of Gwālior who had fallen on the field of Pānīpat. Now the Gwālior army presented it to Humāyūn as ransom while he besieged Āgrā (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 257).

It weighed 8 *miskals* or 224 *rati* (672 carats). Aurangzīb's diamond presented to him by Mīr Jumla, weighed 900 carats. (Briggs, II, pp. 46-7). C. H. I., IV, p. 13, says that the diamond is now in the Tower of London.

2. E. & D., loc. cit.

3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 166-7.

their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.' The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Pānīpat is best described in his own words :—

(*a*) 'Kāsim Sambhalī was in Sambhal,

(*b*) 'Nizām Khān in Bayāna,

(*c*) 'the Rājā Hasan Khān Mewātī himself in Mewāt.

'That infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections.

(*d*) 'Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghāns, such as Nāsir Khān Lohānī, Ma'ruf Farmūlī,[1] and a number of other *Amīrs* who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ibrāhīm.

'At the period I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Bihār Khān (or Bahādur Khān), the son of Daryā Khān, as their King, and gave him the name of Sultān Mahmūd. When I came to Āgrā we could not find grain or provendor, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations.' To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Bābur's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Bégs* and best men began to lose heart, objected

1. Sheikh Rizkhulla Mushtaki (1492-1581) A.D.) in his *Wākiāt-i-Mushtaki* characterises this Mian Ma'ruf Farmūlī in the following terms : 'He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultān Bahlol to that of Islām Shāh, he fought in every battle-field but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king (as he was working 'solely in the cause of God') and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu.' For interesting anecdotes illustrating this character, see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 548-9.

to remaining in Hindūstān, and even began to make preparations for retreat. 'I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my *Bégs* to a council. I told them that, by Divine power, I had routed my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? "Let not any one who calls himself my friend, ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes.'

The final subjugation of the Afghāns had to be deferred in the face of a more formidable foe.

The Rājputs.

Rāṇā Sangrām Singh of Mewār, popularly known as Rāṇā Sanga,[1] and Medini Rāi of Chānderī, were two tough warriors under whose leadership the Rājputs had determined to drive out the insolent invader.

1. 'Rāṇā Sanga was the head of the Rājput principality of Chitor, and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rājputs, is allowed the pre-eminence among all the Rājput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Bābur, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side, and added largely to his hereditary dominions. From Sultān Mahmūd Khiljī, the king of Mālwā—whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry—he had wrested the wide and valuable provinces of Bhilsā, Sārangpūr, Chānderī and Rantambhor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Delhi, and twice had

The fact that Muslims like Hasan Khān Mewātī, and Sultān Mahmūd Lodī (brother of Ibrāhīm Lodī) had joined with the Rāṇā, made it apparent that *it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.*

Ahmad Yādgār, in his *Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i Afghānā* writes : 'Rāṇā Sanga who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Hasan Khān saying, "The Mughals have entered Hindūstān, have slain Sultān Ibrāhīm, and taken possession of the country ; it is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us ; if you will side with me we will be alive, and not suffer them to take possession."[1]

But Bābur himself looked upon this only as a *holy war* against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. This is indicated by his assumption of the title of *Ghāzī* after the victory : 'After this victory, I used the epithet of *Ghāzī*, in the Imperial titles.' This was necessary to arouse his dispirited and home-sick followers. Bābur was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a manly opinion. The *Wazīrs*, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the *Amīrs*

met the Sultān himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horses, seven Rājās of the highest rank, nine Rāos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rāwul and Rāwut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Mārwār and Amber did him homage, and the Rāos of Gwālior, Ajmer, Sīkrī, Rāisen, Kalpek, Chānderī, Bundi, Gagraon, Rāmpura, and Ābu, served him as tributaries or held of him in fief. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrior ; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodī King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken with a cannon-ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body.' (Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 173-4.)

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 35-6.

who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehensions of Bābur's men, who had heard disconcerting stories of Rājput valour. Bābur, as Lane-Poole points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Rājputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour." [1]

The forebodings of an astrologer, whom Bābur describes as an 'evil-minded rascally fellow,' made things appear more ominous. But Bābur rose equal to the situation, as always he had done :

'On Monday, the 23rd of the first *Jumāda*, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had been a confirmed toper ; [1] now he determined to renounce wine forever.

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 176.

2. Here is a typical passage from his *Memoirs*, wonderfully frank and joyous :—

Oct. 18 : 'We halted at Jagdalik. Towards evening prayer there was a drinking party ; most of the household were present. Near the end, G. M. grew very noisy and troublesome, and, when he got drunk, slid down on the cushion by my side, whereupon G. T. picked him up and carried him out.

Marching thence before day-break I explored the valley of the Baria-ab : some *turak* trees were in great beauty. We halted there and, having dined seasonably, we drank wine in honour of the rich crop. We made them kill a sheep picked up on the road, had some meat dressed, and amused ourselves by kindling oak branches.

Oct. 29 : On Sunday I had a party in the small picture-cabinet over the gate. Though the room was very small we were sixteen.

Oct. 30 : We went to Istalif to see the harvest. This day was done the sin of *Ma'jun* (i.e., I took *bhāng*). During the night there was a great deal of rain : most of the *Bégs* and household were

So, 'having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *derwishes* and the poor.'

Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from Ghaznī; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an alms-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his Muhammadan followers and subjects, he gave up the *tamgha* or stamp-tax in all his dominions *so far as Muslims were concerned.*

To 'stiffen the sinews, and summon up the blood' of his men Bābur also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words :—

"Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into this

obliged to take refuge in my tent outside the garden : Next morning we had a drinking party in the same garden : we continued at it till night.

Nov. 1 : On the following morning we again had an early cup.... getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers we left Istalif and took a drug (*bhāng*) on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before we reached Bihazadi. The crops were extremely good. While we were riding round the harvest fields, those who were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking bout. Although *bhāng* had been taken, yet as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit and began to drink. We kept the party in the same place till bedtime prayers. Abdullah who had got very drunk and made an offensive remark, recovering his senses, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening.

Jan. 6, 1520 : We embarked on a raft and alighted near the Garden of Fulfilment. Its oranges were yellowing well and the green of the plants was beautiful. We stayed five or six days there. *As I intended when forty years old to abstain from wine, and as now I wanted somewhat less than one year of that age, I drank wine most copiously.*

world is subject to dissolution.....How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy..... God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny, that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from such a death, or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."[1]

To suit the action to his words, on New Year's Day (March 12, 1527) 'they took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought in.....This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the divorce of their wives, and on the Holy Book' : they recited the *fatiha* and said, " O King ! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Jan. 7 : Mullā Yarak played an air, which he composed to the *Mukhammas* measure while I took my drug. It was charming. For sometime I had not much attended to musical matters. I took a fancy that I too should compose something.

Jan. 10 : While taking an early glass it was said in sport that whoever spoke like a Persian should drink a cup. In the result many drank. About nine in the morning, while we were sitting under willows in the meadow, it was proposed that everyone who spoke like a Turk should drink a cup ; and numbers drank. When the sun mounted high we went under the orange trees and drank our wine on the bank.'

Cf. The *Bhagawad Gītā*, Ch. II.—
'Nought better can betide a martial soul
Than lawful war ; happy the warrior
To whom comes joy of battle—comes, as now,
Glorious and fair, unsought ; opening for him
A gateway of Heaven ....
.... Either, being killed,
Thou wilt win *Swarga's* safety, or alive
And victor, thou wilt reign an earthly King.'
(Tr. Edwin Arnold.)

Jihād.

Bābur declared *Jihād* or holy war on the infidel, on February 11, 1527. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements :—

(i) 'Although Rāṇā Sanga, the Pagan, when I was in Kābul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Āgrā ; yet, when I defeated Ibrāhīm, and took Delhi and Āgrā, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement.'

(ii) On the other hand the Rāṇā also complained of broken faith ; and, in particular claimed Kālpī, Dholpūr, Bayāna, as well as Āgrā—all of which had been occupied by Bābur.[1]

(iii) 'Rāṇā Sanga, having reduced Nizām Khān of Bayāna to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Bābur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Sanga, Nizām Khān was confirmed in possession of Bayāna, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees.'[2]

The two armies met at Khānua (10 miles from Sīkrī ; 20 from Āgrā) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Bābur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Pānīpat, with this difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special feature in the disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Bābur in person led the centre, Humāyūn was on the right, and Mahdi Khwājā (Bābur's brother-in-law ?) on the left.[3]

The effectives on the Rājput side, no doubt, outnumbered

1. Erskine, op. cit., p. 462.
2. Briggs, II, p. 51.
3. For plan and details see Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 150.

their antagonists by seven or eight to one ;[1] and, although Bābur's army on this occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Pānīpat, "the depression and vacillation which the Pādshāh was at pains to overcome proves that the average morale was not so good".[2]

Results : The victory of Bābur, was nevertheless, final and complete. 'Hardly a clan of the Rājputs was there but had lost the flower of its princely blood.' Rāṇā Sanga himself escaped badly wounded. The heads of the gallant Rājputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Bābur, as previously stated, assumed the title of *Ghāzī* or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Khānua[3] were most momentous : (i) The menace of Rājput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadans in India for the last ten years, was removed once for all. (ii) The Mughal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, "Bābur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultān Ibrāhīm and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultān Ibrāhīm's most formidable antagonists. *Hitherto the occupation of Hindūstān might have been looked upon as an episode in Bābur's career of adventure : but from henceforth it became the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life.* His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away : the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his carreer which this battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting there is, and fighting in plenty, to be done ; but fighting for

1. Whatever the exact numbers might have been "a more gallant army could not be brought into the field". (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 180.)

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 152.

3. A village in Bharatpūr State 37 miles west of Āgrā. C. H. I., IV, p. 16.

the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne.

(iv) "It is also significant," he further observes, "of Bābur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth *the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kābul to Hindūstān* ... He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away."[1]

(v) Within a year Bābur had struck two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great organised forces : the battle of Pānīpat had utterly broken the Afghān power in India; the battle of Khānua (also called Sīkrī) crushed the great Rājput Confederacy.[2]

Reduction of Rebels.

Bābur commissioned his officers to subjugate the rest of the country, and sent them in various directions with small forces to help them. "These little bands fought with utmost zeal, conscious that they were making their own fortunes, while at the same time the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of their master." [3]

Humāyūn conquered Sambhal, Jaunpūr, Ghāzīpūr, and Kālpī ; Muhammad Āli Jang-Jang captured Rabiri ; Mahdī Khwājā subdued Etāwā ; Kanauj was taken by Sultān Muhammad Duldarī ; and Dholpūr by Sultān Junaid Barlās. Sheikh Guren of Kol (Doab) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bāyazīd—an important lieutenant of the Lodī king—was granted a *jāgir* worth a *crore* of rupees in Oudh. Bayānā and Gwālior had rallied round Bābur for fear of the Rājputs ; and the Lohānī and Farmūlī chiefs who had championed the cause of Sultān Mahmūd, melted away before Bābur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khān Mewātī died on the field of Khānua."[4]

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 156-7.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 182.
3. Rushbrooke Williams, loc. cit., p. 142.
4. Bābur bestowed on Hasan Khān's son a *pargana* of several *lacs* for his support'...'I bestowed on Chin Tīmūr Sultān the city

When Bābur felt his grip on Hindūstān sure beyond doubt he sent back Humāyūn to Badakhshān and other important officers to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kandahār, ever since its final conquest in 1522, was in Kāmrān's charge. Khwājā Kalān, Bābur's old general, had been sent to Ghaznī after the battle of Pānīpat. Askarī was established in Multān when it was conquered in 1527. Hindāl was at Kābul.

In February, 1529, Bābur wrote to Khwājā Kalān in Afghānistān : 'The affairs of Hindustān have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here.' But after the battle of Khānua, and before Bābur could realise the hope here expressed, there were at least three more enemies left to overcome :—

1. *Maidani Rāi of Chānderī* : 'On Monday the 14th of the first *Rabi*, (Dec. 9, 1527) I set out in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chānderī (near Bhopāl)...Chānderī had formerly belonged to the Sultāns of Māndū.....When Rāṇā Sanga advanced with an army against Ibrāhīm as far as Dholpūr, that prince's *Amīrs* rose against him and on that occasion Chānderī fell into Sanga's hands. He bestowed it on Maidani Rāi, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans.....I sent to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsābād in exchange for Chānderī. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation,.....and the treaty broke off without success....So, the citadel was attacked on all sides...Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason for this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved

of Tajara, which was the capital of Mewāt, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty *lacs*.....I bestowed the treasures of Alwar, with everything in the fort, upon Humāyūn.' (E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 273-4.)

to perish, had stripped themselves naked,[1] in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts. Two or three hundred Pagans had entered Maidani Rāi's house, where numbers of them slew each other. In this way *many went to hell*; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three *gharis*, I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettle-drum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the north-west of Chānderī, *I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans* ....I gave Chānderī to Ahmad Shāh, the grandson of Sultān Nāsiru-d dīn, and fixed a revenue of fifty *lacs* to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury.' We also learn from Ahmad Yādgār: 'So much plunder was taken from that heathen army' by the *Amīrs* 'that the King's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years.'[2]

2. *Afghān Rebels*: On February 2, 1528, Bābur set out to punish the Afghān rebels who had advanced from Bihār into Doāb, stormed Shamsābād,[3] and driven the Imperial garrison out of Kanauj. At Bābur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and mustered on its left bank to dispute Bābur's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27; built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 13, put the insurgents to headlong flight, and hotly pursued them as far as Oudh. After this Bābur returned to Āgrā for the rainy season.

1. Cf. Ahmad Yādgār who writes: 'The warriors of his vanguard, having already taken the fort, made captives of the connexions and family of the Rājā, and despatched them to the foot of the royal throne. His Majesty presented two of the daughters of the Rājā, whose beauty was unrivalled, who had never been exposed to the view of man, or to the hot winds; one to Mīrzā Kāmrān, the other to Prince Muhammad Humāyūn, and gave the others to the *Sardārs* of the army.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 39).

2. Ibid.

3. Bābur had bestowed Shamsābād on Bikramjit, the second son of Rāṇā Sanga, in return for Rantambhor. (E. & D., op cit., IV, p. 281).

'On Thursday, the 3rd of the first *Jumāda*, I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahmūd, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihār. On Thursday, the 17th, we marched eight *kos*, and halted at Dakdaki, a *pargana* of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges .... While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultān Mahmūd had gathered round him 100,000 Afghāns, and was moving upon Chunār ; that Sher Khān Sūr, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several *parganas*, and whom I left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghāns .... On the 24th,...it appeared that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunār ; but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broke up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nusrat Shāh of Bengal* : After this the rebels sought refuge in Bengal. 'As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Bābur started negotiations with Nusrat Shāh, the ruler of Bengal. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum : 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own act ; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstances that occurred.'

On May 6, 1529, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gogrā (Buxār). The result was disastrous to the Bengalis : 'The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random.' On Bābur's side, "the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had once more guided valour to victory."[1] A treaty of peace was concluded with Bengal, according to which

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 192.

each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.[1]

Sheikh Bāyazīd, who had throughout sided with the rebels, once more attacked Lucknow, but could not hold on for long : 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 12th of *Ramzān*, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 18th *Shawwal* at midnight I reached the garden of *Hasht-bihist* at Āgrā.

BĀBUR'S LAST DAYS

Bābur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindūstān, he had written to Khwājā Kalān in Afghānistān, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands ever be erased from the heart? How can one like me, who has vowed abstinence and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious melons and grapes of that happy land? The other day they brought me a musk-melon : as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness, and sense of exile from my land, and I could not help weeping.'

Accordingly, he even set out and went as far as Lāhore, where he met his son Kāmrān. He was disappointed at Humāyūn's failure against the Uzbegs. He had recalled Hindāl, his youngest son, from Kābul. The strain of his ceaseless campaigns, wanderings, and early drinking excesses, had told upon him rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

"He had been known to take up a man under each arm, and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures ; and even in March, 1529, he notes : 'I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my

1. Cf. C. H. I., IV, p. 18.

strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met, except only the Ganges.' He was also perpetually in saddle, riding 80 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."[1]

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother.[2] Now his strength was on the decline; even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to set aside Humāyūn, in favour of Mīr Muhammad Mahdi Khwājā (Bābur's sister's husband?). Humāyūn received a timely warning, and hastened to Āgrā, which he reached on June 27, 1529, together with his mother.

Nomination of Humāyūn.

"If God should grant you the throne and crown", Bābur said to him, "do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." In the summer of 1530 Humāyūn fell dangerously ill. In this state he was carried from Sambhal to Delhi. Hearing of this, Bābur tenderly expressed to Māham, Humāyūn's mother, "Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and *I desire the kingdom for him* because he has not his equal in distinction!"

Every school-boy knows the story how Bābur bore away his son's illness and sacrificed himself in order to save Humāyūn. As the latter recovered the former became worse; and after two or three months Bābur died, on Monday, December 26, 1530.[3]

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 188.

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 144-5. Also see S. M. Edwardes, *Bābur : Diarist and Despot*, pp. 63-7. Bābur, when he recovered from the effects of this poison, observed : 'An evil arrived but happily passed. God gave me new birth ... I know to-day the worth of life!'

3. Read S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 13 ; S. R. Sharma, 'The Story of Bābur's Death' in the *Calcutta Review*, Sept. 1936.

Just before this he had called his *Amīrs* together and told them : "*For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humāyūn* and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, *I charge you to acknowledge Humāyūn as my successor, and to remain loyal to him.* Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humāyūn will also bear himself well before men.'

Then turning to Humāyūn he repeated his admonition to him regarding, in particular, the treatment of his brothers : "Humāyūn, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people ; and all of those I confide to you .... The cream of my testamentary directions is this : 'Do nought against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.'

By his own desire, Bābur's body was carried to Kābul and buried there in 'the sweetest spot' on a hill-side, amidst beloved surroundings, a cool running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.[1]

"Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror,
For now he lives in Fame."

ESTIMATE OF BĀBUR

Bābur's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were 'a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice'.[2]

"Bābur", writes Vincent A. Smith, "was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country."[3]

1. For interesting particulars read S. K. Banerji, op. cit., p. 15.
2. Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 179.
3. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 321.

Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islām." [1]

According to Elliot, "Good humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe." [2]

'In his person', writes Ferishta, 'Bābur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable.' [3]

Last but not the least, Bābur's cousin Mīrzā Haidar describes him as being 'adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which towered bravery and humanity .... Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures.' [4]

(1) Bābur as a Man.

According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and persevering efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Bābur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception .... *His battles as well as his orgies were humanised by a breath of poetry.*" [5]

As a man of parts, the estimate of Mīrzā Haidar is invaluable: 'In the composition of Turkī poetry he (Bābur) was second only to Amīr Āli Shir. He has written a *dīvān* in the most lucid Turkī. He invented a style of verse called *mubāiyān*, and was the author of a most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote

1. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 420.
2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 219.
3. Briggs, II, p. 65.
4. *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*; cited by Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 10 n.
5. Lane-Poole, loc. cit., pp. 10, 12.

an essay on Turkī prosody, more elegant than any other and versified the *Rasāla-i-Vālidiya* of His Reverence (?). Then there is his *Wakai*, or Turkī *Memoirs*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts.'[1]

Bābur was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a born naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalised himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of autobiographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Memoirs* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern traveller; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observes, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."[2]

"No part of his character," Erskine points out, "is more admirable than his uniform humanity and kindliness of disposition. If, in the course of his *Memoirs* some cruel executions appear, they belong to the age, not to the man. The

1. Bābur, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also invented a style of his own, which was called after him 'the *Bāburi* script'. To Humāyūn his advice was to 'write unaffectedly, clearly, with plain words, which saves trouble to both writer and reader.' 'The language of kings,' he wrote, 'is the king of languages.' This at any rate aptly describes the quality of Bābur's own writings. For an appreciation of arts and letters under Bābur, read S. M. Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 27-31.

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 438-439.

historians of his reign remark, that whenever any, either of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offence and return to their duty than, to use the words of Khāfī Khān, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India, he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment." [1]

Bābur was pre-eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on His protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Ibrāhīm, even before entering the capital, he reverently visited the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious renunciation of wine before the battle of Khānua was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

(2) Bābur as a General.

The history of Bābur that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself 'an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good swordsman, and a mighty hunter,' Bābur was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtues of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private. What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the commanders and armies that were opposed to him. Above all, to his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquenchable fire of his ambition. 'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit or yield.'

1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 524-5.

The following passage from his *Memoirs* is typical of his life :—

1507—'For about a week we went on trampling down the snow, yet were only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in trampling the snow : with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Kāsim Bég and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at beating down the snow. Each step we sank to the waist or the breast, but still we went on trampling it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were treading it down dragged forward a horse without a rider ; the horse sank the stirrups and girths, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another ; and thus ten to twenty of us trod down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even our best men, many of them *Bégs*—rode along the road thus beaten down for them, hanging their heads : *It was no time for worrying them or using authority : if a man has pluck and hardihood, he will press forward to such work of his own accord.*

'That night the storm was terrible, and snow fell so heavily that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain cave the storm was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow ! a one-man road ! and even on that stamped-down and trampled road, pit-falls for horses ! The days at their shortest ! The first arrivals reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted wherever they happened to be ; dawn found many still in the saddle. The cave secured was small. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a prayer-carpet—near its mouth. I dug down breast high, but did not reach the ground. This made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. *I felt that for me to be in warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside, whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act and far from comradeship. What strong men can stand, I would stand : for, as the Persian proverb says, "In the company of friends, Death is a nuptial feast."* So I remained in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-hands thick on my head and back and ears.'

But, where strictness was called for, Bābur never hesitated : Ferishta observes, 'He even used violence to prevent outrage' ; 'It is certain', he adds, 'his presence alone saved the

honour of Daulat Khān's family,[1] (when Bābur's men would have otherwise outraged it). Bābur preserved by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghāzī Khān (Daulat Khān's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.'[2] Bābur himself records : 'Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Bahrāh, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. *As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Turks as my own territories, I admitted of no plundering or pillage.*'[3]

(3) Bābur as a Ruler.

The Empire of Bābur extended from Badakhshān to Bengal, from the Oxus to the Ganges : in India alone, from Bhīrā (Bahrā) in the west to Bihār in the east ; from the Himālayas in the north to Chānderī in the South. But 'I had not time .... to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations'. Bābur was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organisation of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organise conquest and to organise administration are two different things ; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shāh and Akbar possessed this, but not Bābur.

(i) To court danger and hardship, and show valour in arms ;

(ii) To shun indolence and ease, as unbecoming of a King;

(iii) To consult *Bégs* and ministers ; to avoid private parties ; to call the court to public levees twice every day ;

1. We have already noted how he honourably provided for Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother after the Sultān's death at Pānīpat.
2. Briggs, II, p. 42.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 233.

(iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army —these were the principles he had inculcated upon Humāyūn; and they seem to have nearly exhausted Bābur's kingly code. He was, no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his *Memoirs* :—'Every time that I have entered Hindūstān, the Jāts and Gujars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts (in the Punjāb) in former times, had been in a state of revolt and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices ..... I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.'

Another instance of Bābur's ruthlessness in putting down marauders is also recorded by Ahmad Yādgār : 'When he reached Sirhind, one of the *Kāzīs* of Samana complained to him that Mohan Mundāhir had attacked his estate and burned it, plundered all his property, and slain his son. His Majesty, the Conqueror of the World, appointed Ali Kūli Hamadāni, with three thousand horse, to avenge the injury which the Mundāhir had done to the petitioner ..... Nearly a thousand of the Mundāhirs were killed, and a thousand men, women, and children taken prisoners. The slaughter was great, and there was a heap of severed heads; and Mohan was taken alive. An account of the conquest of the village was sent to the Shāh. The village had been fully inhabited for no less than 160 years in the *pargana* of Kaithal; but was then made and still continues to be, a desert, and has never been inhabited again, although 160 years have elapsed since its destruction. When the prisoners were brought to Delhi, all the women were given to the Mughals. The offending Mundāhir was buried

in the earth up to his waist, and then pierced to death with arrows. Such was the respect for the army which this produced amongst the people of Hind that thenceforth no one ventured either to rebel or disobey.'[1]

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions; *e.g.*, he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Āgrā and Kābul, establishing a regular series of post-houses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.[2]

Ferishta says, 'Whenever he marched, he always caused roads to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of Hindūstān to this day; and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distance has hitherto remained in force ..... The *gaz Sikandarī* or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he reached India was suspended by the *Bāburī gaz*[3] which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jahāngeer Pādshāh.'[4]

Being a man of high æsthetic tastes, Bābur also delighted in creating beautiful bāgs and buildings, aqueducts and bridges. 'In Āgrā alone,' he writes 'I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Āgrā, Sīkrī, Bayāna, Dholpūr, Gwālior, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters'.

Ahmad Yādgār writes: 'In the second year of His Majesty's reign a beautiful garden was made on the borders of the river Jumnā .... he passed his time in that garden, in

1. Ibid. V, pp. 40-42.

2. 'Pathways were introduced into Hindūstān for the first time, they not having been in use before.' Ibid., p. 38.

3. He fixed 100 *tunabs* for 1 *Kroh*

1 tunab = 40 *gaz*

1 gaz = 9 (*moosht or fist*)

or 1 *Kos* = 4000 yards = over 2¼ miles. (Briggs, II, pp. 66-7).

4. Ibid.

company with Mughal companions and friends, in pleasure and enjoyment and carousing, in the presence of enchanting dancing-girls with rosy cheeks, who sang tunes, and displayed their accomplishments[1] ..... Mīrzā Kāmrān also prepared a splendid garden similar to this in Lāhore'.

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of avarice. 'The chief excellency of Hindūstān,' he noted, 'is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver'. This brought him a large revenue, utilising the old machinery of collection, and no new organisation of Bābur's creation. So, 'the countries from Bahrāh to Bihār, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 52 *krors* (*tankāhs*), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *parganas* to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* are in the possession of some *Rāis* or *Rājās*, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *parganas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.'[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 38.

2. Ibid., IV, p. 262; also Edward Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, pp. 387-91. "Everything considered", Erskine put it at "£ 4,212,000 as the amount of Bābur's nominal revenue; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect." Erskine, op. cit., p. 542.

Thomas's estimate is 2,60,00,000 silver *tankahs* or £2,600,000. Here it may also be pointed out that Bābur was responsible for the introduction of anonymous coinage in India:

"The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities," Thomas writes, "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultān's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of the supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

"Bābur's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhārā money into Hindustān was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *ashrafis*, in which he outraged local associations.

So much we are able to know from Bābur's own direct testimony ; the rest is mostly inference.[1] However, the following abstract of the description of Bābur's administration by Erskine,[2] ought to prove useful to the reader :—

'Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and secluded valleys, his sway was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them ; and prudence was satisfied with some easy acknowledgment which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the *khutbā* was read in his name ; but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of the Indus, all the Punjāb, including Multān, and to the south and east of the Sutlej, the rich provinces of Hindūstān lying between the river and Bihār on the one side, and the Himālaya mountains and the countries of the Rājputs and of Mālwā on the other, were subject to him ; the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortresses of Bayāna, Rantambhor, Gwālior, and Chānderī. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Bihār, some portion of it,

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathān issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankāh*, 4 to the modified *Sikandarī*, and 32 to the foreign *Bābarī and Shāh Rukhī*." (ib. p. 314).

1. We also get occasional glimpses of Bābur's administration in statements like the following in Ahmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i Afghāna* :—

'That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other and collectors were appointed in various places. Orders were issued for reading *khutbā* and coining money, and a *jāgīr* was bestowed upon the fortunate *Shāhzādā*.....

'The Mughals, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindūstān, at last governed it.... Amīr Khalifā, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority managed the government and his decrees were like those of the Sultān himself.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 37-8).

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 526-31.

especially the hilly or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the remains of the Afghāns or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire, the Rājput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Mālwā, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

'There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

'We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the taxes then levied. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly raised on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

'Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *jāgīrs* or estates, over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but to the exercise of such rights as belonged to the government. The *jāgīrdār* or holder of the *jāgīr*, was properly in Musalman times, merely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

'Besides the land-tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *tamgha*, or stamp, was the mark by which, on cattle and in goods, the payment of the duties was ascertained. There were transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns; and, in parts of the country where the Muhammadans had a confirmed and safe ascendency, the *jiziya* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Musalmans.'

Bābur was, with all his virtues, a Musalman Emperor.[1] When he had killed the Pagans (as he called the Hindus) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the delectation of his orthodox followers. He considered the war against the Rājputs as *jihād* or 'holy war' and assumed the title of *Ghāzī*, after his victory at Khānua. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rājputs at Chānderī as '*going to hell*.' When he remitted the *tamgha* after his penitence and vow to renounce wine, it was only Musalmans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chānderī, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the mosques in Chānderī, Sārangpūr, Rantambhor and Rāisen, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medini Rāi's orders.' Bābur himself stated on his conquest of Chānderī, that he converted 'the mansion of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith.' All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the Bhopāl MS.,[2] ascribed to Bābur.

1. Cf. "Bābur and the Hindus" by S. K. Banerji in the *Journal of the U. P. Hist. Socy.* IX, pt. II. 1936.

2. It reads:

'O my son! People of diverse religions inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanks-giving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you.

It therefore behoves you that:—

(i) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

(ii) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii) You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

(iv) The propagation of Islām will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

But to say this is not to allege the contrary. Bābur was beyond question a man of deep faith in God ; but his belief in Islām must have sat comparatively light on his mind. He had abjured his orthodoxy and become a Shia to win the support of the Shāh of Persia to his cause.[1] At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quandom orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted suzerain. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turkī *Amīrs* who had enlisted in his service.

'On Thursday, the 19th *Shaban*, I called the *Amīrs*', he writes, 'both *Turkī and Hindu*, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river'. This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1529).

At least six Hindu Rājās, and among them Rājā Bikramajit of Rantambhor (second son of Rāṇā Sanga), accepted Bābur's sway and paid their tribute.[2]

To conclude : "Unfortunately Bābur, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts,

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnīs ; otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islām.

(vi) Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease.'

This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmūd, of a document in the Bhopāl State Library supposed to be Bābur's confidential will and testament to his son Humāyūn. (*The Indian Review*, Aug. 1923.) For the text and a more recent version of the same see *The Twentieth Century* for January 1936, pp. 339-44.

1. Sir Denison Ross, while characterising Bābur as a 'rigid Sunnī,' also appreciates his 'moral courage' in adopting the Qizilbāsh head-dress in this connexion, though from a 'purely political' motive. See C. H. I., IV, p. 19.

2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 262, 281. Cf. S. M. Edwardes, *Bābur : Diarist and Depot*, pp. 40-41.

found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely, that of parcelling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same : the monarchy, having erected an artificial barrier between itself and the local administration, lost little by little all its authority, until last of all its prestige departed, and the throne became the prey for contending factions. The great *Amīrs* on the other hand, gained what the crown lost. During the reign of Bābur this does not become apparent, partly because he was invested with the prestige of a conqueror : partly because the time was too short for the consequences of his policy to make themselves felt. Even before he died, however, the symptoms of radical unsoundness in the administration are not far to seek. The old haphazard financial system entirely failed to provide means for the up-keep of the professional soldiers, like the gunners and matchlockmen, who were paid directly from the royal revenue. Having distributed with lavish generosity the royal hoards in Delhi and Āgrā, Bābur suddenly found himself with an empty treasury.[1] For the moment the deficit was met by a levy of 30 per cent on the revenues of all great officers. But in the time of Humāyūn there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty." [2]

1. 'By this time,' Bābur wrote in Oct. 1528, 'the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhīm in Delhi and Āgrā was at an end.' See S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 6.

2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

BĀBUR'S FAMILY

(1) *Māham* x BĀBUR x *Gulruk* (2) x *Dilbar* (3)

HUMĀYŪN Kāmrān, Askarī Hindāl, *Gulbadan*, etc.

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY : (i) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Humāyūn's sister, Gulbadan Begam, has already been noticed. She wrote this between 1580 and 1590 A.D. at Akbar's instance. Prof. Qanungo writes, "I have found this book very useful, especially as regards dates and events of Humāyūn's life. She is generally trustworthy with the exception of a few cases. The foot-notes given by Mrs. Beveridge here as well as in the translation of Bābur's *Memoirs* should not be as readily accepted as her translation of the text."

(ii) *Humāyūn-Nāmā* of Khwāndamīr, also called *Kānūn-i-Humāyūnī*. The author was intimately acquainted with Humāyūn, and died in Gujarāt in 1534-5 during Humāyūn's campaign there. It gives some "curious accounts of the regulations established by Humāyūn in the early part of his reign." The writer received from the Emperor the title of *Amīr-i-Akhbār* or 'the noble historian.'

(iii) *Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt* of Jauhar, Humāyūn's personal attendant, who wrote his reminiscences 30 years later, in Akbar's reign. Prof. Qanungo considers this work "a highly authoritative history of the reign of Humāyūn, and having greater weight than that of Gulbadan even"—at least up to Humāyūn's departure from Thatta to Kandahār. The work deals with the rest of his career as well. Jauhar's own preface is worth quotation :

> 'I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person ; it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the

events to which I had been an eye-witness, that it may remain as a record of the past interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 (A. D. 1587) and have named it the *Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt*, or Relation of Occurrences.'

"The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biographers are prone." (Dowson)

(iv) *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Haidar, already noticed, is also valuable for its intimate studies of Humāyūn. Mīrzā Haidar wrote his work relating to Humāyūn in 1541-42 A.D. He was personally present at the battle of the Ganges (Bilgrām or Kanauj), when Humāyūn fought against Sher Shāh. After this disastrous rout at Kanauj, he endeavoured to induce Humāyūn to secure a refuge in Kashmīr.

(v) *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizāmu-dīn Ahmad is a very voluminous work. The chapter on Humāyūn is the most valuable for us here. "His style has a simple elegance, natural flow and charm of its own unrivalled for many generations." Nizāmu-d dīn was *bakshī* under Akbar and his father had served under Humāyūn. The incentive for writing it was that he had 'from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strengthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation.'

Dowson observes: "This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognised by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in

the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely.... Ferishtā states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete."

B. SECONDARY : Erskine, '*History of India under the two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimūr, Bābur and Humāyūn,*' Vol. II.

Dr. S. K. Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh,* (Oxford U. Press, 1938). This contains a good bibliography on Humāyūn at the end.

NOTE—For other works bearing on the life of Humāyūn, see Authorities on Sher Shāh.

CHAPTER III

THE EMPIRE IN TRANSITION

'The world is his who exerts himself.'
'Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency: indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.'

BĀBUR TO HUMĀYŪN.

The Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Bābur was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an arch depends upon its keystone; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Humāyūn's loss and re-acquisition of his heritage are not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. They are also instructive as showing the vital dependence of the Empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Humāyūn's life divides itself into four clear periods: (I) Early Life, up to his Accession (1508-30); (II) Struggles to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40); (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-1555); and (IV) Restoration and Death (1555-56).

I. EARLY LIFE (1508-30)

Humāyūn was born on *Zaikada* 4, 913 *Hijra* (March 6, 1508) in the citadel of Kābul.

(1) Birth and Accession.

He mounted the throne, at Āgrā, on First *Jamadi* 9, 937 *Hijra* (December 30, 1530) at the age of twenty-three,—four days after the death of Bābur.

Khwāndamīr writes: 'The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Souls and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World. On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the *Jāmī Masjid* at Āgrā the *khutbā* was read in the name and title of this noble

King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.'[1]

The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* records: 'On the death of the Emperor Bābur, Prince Humāyūn, who arrived from Sambhal, ascended the throne at Āgrā, *with the support of Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Alī Khalīfā, on the* 9th *Jumada-l-awwal,* 937 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented.'[2]

(2) Apprenticeship.

(*a*) On the death of his cousin, Khān Mīrzā, in 1520, Humāyūn, at the age of twelve, was appointed to the government of Badakhshān. Bābur himself visited the province, together with Humāyūn's mother to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(*b*) When Bābur invaded India, in 1525, Humāyūn joined him with a contingent from Badakhshān.

(*c*) In this campaign, too, Humāyūn won his maiden victory over a force from Hissār-Fīroza, which was on its way to join Ibrāhīm Lodī (1526).[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 118.

2. Alī Khalīfā had favoured Madhī Khwājā's succession; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind see E. & D., loc cit., V, pp. 187-88. Note also on the same page the discrepancies in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The complacency of the nobles referred to here must have been only skin deep in the case of several of them.

3. In a foot-note to Bābur's *Memoirs,* Humāyūn notes that on March 6, 1526 he was at Shāhābād, on the left bank of the Sarsūtī, on his way to Pānīpat, and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to his beard. 'As my honoured father mentioned in the commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muhammad Humāyūn am transcribing a copy of these *Memoirs* from the copy in his late Majesty's own hand-writing.'—(Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 40 n.)

(*d*) After Pānīpat, Humāyūn, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 7,000,000 *dāms* (about £20,000).

(*e*) Humāyūn also, after this, led the army against the Afghān insurgents in the east, and captured Sambhal, Jaunpūr, Ghāzīpūr, and Kālpī.

(*f*) At the battle of Khānua (1527) Humāyūn led the right wing of the Mughal army and was well rewarded.[1]

(*g*) In 1528, when he was back in Badakhshān, Bābur wrote to him (Nov. 13) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Hisār, Samarkand, or Merv, as may be most available ..... This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.' He also tendered him much good advice in the same letter, urging Humāyūn, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Kāmrān; not to complain of loneliness in Badakhshān, as it was unworthy of a prince; to consult his *Bégs* and ministers, particularly Khwājā Kalān; to avoid private parties; but to call the court to public levees twice daily; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'[2]

(3) Return to India.

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Bābur, Humāyūn precipitately returned to India in 1529. Bābur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son: 'I was just talking with his mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like rosebuds, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had

1. With Alwar (Mewāt), Hasan Khān Mewātī's possession.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 197.

an inexpressible charm, and he realised absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood.'[1] But why did Humāyūn desert his charge?

The reasons were three: (i) His own failure against the Uzbegs who were making fresh incursions; (ii) Bāburs failing health, and his call to Hindāl from Kābul to be by his side; and (iii) *the conspiracy at Āgrā to supersede Humāyūn.*

(4) Abortive Conspiracy.

This last was in favour of Mīr Muhammad Mahdī Khwājā who was Bābur's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Khānua, where Humāyūn led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value to us, since it proved abortive. But, as Rushbrooke Williams observes, "that the scheme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Bābur's feebleness in body and mind."[2] He also contradicts Mīrzā Haidar's statement that Bābur had recalled Humāyūn, for which he gives the following reasons:— (i) The appearance of Humāyūn at Āgrā surprised everyone at Āgrā; (ii) Bābur was expecting Hindāl, and would never have recalled both sons at the same time; (iii) no successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshān; (iv) Humāyūn was asked by his father to return to his charge.[3]

Humāyūn had met Kāmrān and Hindāl at Kābul; and they had agreed that, in view of the grave conspiracy which was afoot at Āgrā, Humāyūn should hasten to the capital and Hindāl should take his place in Badakhshān. Ultimately, Bābur sent Suleimān Mīrzā to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy being nipped in the bud, Humāyūn spent some time

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 198.
2. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 171.
3. Ibid, p. 172 n. 2. Cf. S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 8-12. The circumstances that attended Humāyūn's succession have been well discussed by Dr. Banerji in Ch. II of his book. The date of Humāyūn's accession, viz. 30 Dec. 1530 (i.e. four days after Bābur's death) is also accounted for by him.

on his estate in Sambhal. Then followed his illness and Bābur's affectionate sacrifice on Monday 26, 1530. Before this happened Bābur had commended Humāyūn to his nobles in unmistakable terms : "Now when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humāyūn as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humāyūn will also bear himself well towards men."

But, no sooner was Bābur's breath stilled in death, or, to use Khwāndamīr's phrase, 'left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven,' than Humāyūn's troubles began.

II. STRUGGLES TO MAINTAIN HIS INHERITANCE (1530-40)

Political Situation.

Bābur had bequeathed to Humāyūn "a congeries of territories, uncemented by any bond of union or of common interest, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasties which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindūstān."[1] Bābur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Mālwā and Gujarāt, now united under one king (Bahādur Shāh), to the south. The many chiefs of Rājputāna were cowed but not subdued, and in most of the outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognised.[2]

(*a*) AFGHĀNS

Numerous Afghān officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghāns but a few years before. When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sultān Mahmūd Lodī) appeared amongst them in Bihār, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an

1. Mallison, *Akbar*, p. 49.

2. For a more detailed appreciation of the situation read S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 29-34.

eighth part of all India—Humāyūn was not secure from rivals and revolts.[1]

The principal rallying centres for these Afghāns who were all 'ripe for revolt,' were

(i) *Mahmūd Lodī* : the brother of Ibrāhīm, whom Bābur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghān nobility, Biban and Bāyazīd, who though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Bihār, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mahmūd Lodī, also supported him.

(ii) *Sher Khān Sūr*, who was 'the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghān party,' had joined the rebels even during the last days of Bābur, although the latter had 'bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several *parganas* and put him in command in the east.' He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt as indicated by his following statement :—

'If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindūstān ; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline ; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case ..... they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend.'[2]

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Sher Khān, who was soon to drive Humāyūn into exile and occupy his throne.

(iii) *Ālam Khān* or Alāu-d dīn Lodī, the uncle of Ibrāhīm, was one of those that invited Bābur to India, fought

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, pp. 219-20.
2. Keene, op. cit., p. 95.

against his nephew at Pānīpat. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshān. Since the death of Bābur, Alāu-d dīn had effected his escape, and sought refuge with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.

"Without any open declaration of war with Humāyūn, Bahādur Shāh liberally supplied Alāu-d dīn with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Āgrā, under his son Tātār Khān. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and Tātār Khān fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the desertion." [1]

The career of Bahādur Shāh, up to the death of Bābur, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter not merely to Alāu-d dīn Lodī, but also to another of Humāyūn's rivals, presently to be noticed. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his southern neighbours, Bahādur Shāh, who was ruler of Gujarāt and Mālwā, "was actively pressing his triumphs over the Rājputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Āgrā." [2]

(*b*) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghāns, Humāyūn had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā* was the grandson of Sultān Husain of Herāt, and had married his cousin Ma'Suma, a step-sister of Humāyūn. He had shown himself a capable general in Bābur's campaigns.

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 442.

2. "He earnestly wished for some political trouble to entangle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be diverted to that quarter, and Bahādur might thus be given a free hand to deal with the Rājputs. He scanned the eastern horizon of Hindūstān and saw the clouds gathering in South Bihār which boded ill to the Mughal Empire. He thought of subsidising Sher Khān and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (Qanungo, *Sher Shāh*, p. 109).

(ii) *Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā* was also a descendant of Tīmūr and grandson of the late Sultān of Khorāsān by a daughter. From his royal birth and station, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mīr Muhammad Mahdī Khwājā*, a brother-in-law,[1] of Bābur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has already been noticed. Bābur's prime-minister and life-long friend Khalīfā[2] was interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Khānua, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Humāyūn led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the present Emperor.

(iv) *Kāmrān Mīrzā* was the most dangerous of all Humāyūn's brothers. He was in charge of Kābul and Kandahār at the time of Bābur's death. Bābur, as we have noticed, had commanded Humāyūn 'to act handsomely by his brother Kāmrān.' Askarī and Hindāl were the other two brothers of Humāyūn. Elphinstone remarks, "From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Bābur did not intend

1. "He was the husband of Bābur's full sister, Khānzāda Begam." (Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 170.) Both Ahmad Yādgār and Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad however, (in the passage cited in n. 2 below) speak of him as Bābur's *son-in-law*. (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 36). Both Gulbadan Begam and Khwāndamīr describe him as *brother-in-law*. See S. K. Banerji, op. cit., p. 24.

2. His full name was 'Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Alī Khalīfā.' The *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* states:—Amīr Nizāmu-d dīn Alī Khalīfā was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humāyūn and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not friendly with the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahdī Khwājā* was son-in-law (?) of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mīr Khalīfā, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdī Khwājā. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs. (E. & D., loc. cit.).

to divide the Empire; but Kāmrān showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humāyūn, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces."[1] "Ever weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Askarī and Hindāl were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."[2]

(c) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HUMĀYŪN

Surrounded as Humāyūn was with astute and powerful enemies on every side, what was most necessary in him was 'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Humāyūn lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and soldierly genius."[3] On the north-west was Kāmrān, 'a surly ill-conditioned traitor, unworthy of Bābur's seed,' and the most formidable of Humāyūn's brothers. On the east were the Afghāns under Mahmūd Lodī and Sher Khān. On the south was Bahādur Shāh, supporting the pretenders.

'The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatai, Uzbek, Mughal, Persian, Afghān, and Indian. Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Bābur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Tīmūr, yet no eminent chief or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side,—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhāra, Hisār, Balkh and Hindūstān itself,—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 441.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.
3. Ibid. p. 219.

distinguished than themselves .... Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.'[1]

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of great importance. But Humāyūn, though he possessed all the humaner virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances; his failure was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but unwise clemency. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, meeting the most pressing danger first, and crushing one antagonist before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength; he left one enemy unsubdued behind him while he turned to meet another; and when victory by chance rewarded his courage, rather than his tactics, he resposed upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort ..... Humāyūn's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Rāṇā Sanga, and Bābur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humāyūn weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."[2]

Division of the Empire.

On the day of Humāyūn's accession, Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad writes, 'Mīrzā Hindāl arrived from Badakhshān and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do Khazāna*) of former kings. The territories were then divided: (i) Mīrzā Hindāl received the district of Mewāt (Alwar) in *jāgīr*; (ii) the Punjāb, Kābul, and

1. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 2-4.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 222.

Kandahār were settled as the *jāgīr* of Mīrzā Kāmrān ;[1] (iii) Sambhal was given to Mīrzā Askarī; (iv) every one of the *Amīrs* also received an increase of his *jāgīr*.' (v) According to the *Akbar-Nāma*, Mīrzā Suleimān was confirmed in Badakhshān...

Note—The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious Kāmrān in charge of the most vital part of Bābur's dominions. By this cession Humāyūn was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humāyūn's part," writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghān hills. Kāmrān could henceforward, as Prof. Rushbrooke Williams observes, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissār-Fīrōza was a blunder, for it gave Kāmrān command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Khandahār."[2]

III. EARLY EXCURSIONS

(i) 'After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty, proceeded to Kālinjar, the Rājā of which place expressed his

1. At first he had been confirmed in his possession of Kābul and Kandahār alone. But Kāmrān not being satisfied, left Kandahār in the possession of Askarī, and marched for Hindūstān. Humāyūn then added Peshāwar and Lamghan to his grant. "But Kāmrān's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession." He soon marched up to and occupied Lāhore as well. Humāyūn, surrounded as he was with great difficulties, confirmed him in his new acquisition. A *farmān* was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kāmrān the government of Kābul, Kandahār, and the Punjāb; "a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." Kāmrān, who had a turn for poetry, flattered Humāyūn with a few odes and wheedled out of him the rich province of Hissār-Fīrōza as well. This was an important grant, and most welcome to Kāmrān, as it lay nearly on the high-road between his possessions in the Punjāb and Delhi.

2. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., p. 326 ; Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 441.

fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[1]

(ii) 'In those days, Sultān Mahmūd (son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī), with the assistance of Biban, Bāyazīd, and the Afghān nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpūr and its dependencies. Humāyūn now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success,[2] he returned victorious to Āgrā. There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons.'

Note—Though such pomp was not unknown to Bābur,[3]

1. According to Badāunī, the fort was captured after a siege lasting for a month.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 189, n 3). The date assigned is May-June, 1531.—(Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 9). See S. K. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 34-36.

2. Sultān Mahumūd Lodī and his Afghān supporters were defeated at Dauroh on the river Gumti, about 48 miles north of Jaunpūr. Abbās Khān mentions the place as Lucknow ; Dauroh is mentioned by Jauhar. The following two extracts from these writers give the details :—

'His Majesty (Humāyūn),' writes Jauhar, 'after successive marches, reached Dauroh on the river Mati, when the above-mentioned rebels, with a large army, came towards that place ; the rebels were defeated.....Biban, Bāyazīd, and all the chiefs and refractory ones were slain.' (cited by Qanungo, op. cit, p. 72.)

'The two armies,' says Abbās Khān, 'met near Lucknow....As Miān Bāyazīd had drunk more wine than he could bear, and had got drunk and careless, he also was slain in that battle. Sultān Mahmūd and other chiefs, being defeated, fled to the kingdom of Bihār. The Sultān had neither money nor territory to entertain a force of his own, and his nobles who had placed him on the throne were most of them killed in the battle at Lucknow, while the few who remained, were from their quarrels dispersed. Sultān Mahmūd was greatly given to dancing-women, and passed most of his time in amusing himself, and as he had no power to oppose the Mughals, he abdicated his royalty, and settled himself in the province of Patna, and never again attempted the throne.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 350.

3. E.g. 'In the third year, His Majesty (Bābur) proceeded towards Lāhore. At Sirhind he was met by the Rājā of Kahlur, who

Humāyūn's already depleted treasury could ill-afford such extravagance at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the time of Humāyūn," says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[1] Humāyūn's lavishness on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) 'At this time Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā,...who had originally come from Balkh to seek refuge with His late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayāna, and placed in the custody of Yādgār Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yādgār Bég saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of

presented him seven falcons, and three *mans* of gold, and was confirmed in the *zamīndāri* of that place. When the King's camp reached Lāhore, Mīrzā Kāmrān was honoured to the presence, and he brought the *zamīndārs* of the country to kiss the feet of the conqueror of the world. The King's encampment was located in the environs of Lāhore, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the fort. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Shāhzāda Kāmrān, dressed in silks and brocade, decked like bridegrooms; and the troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring. Elephants adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal cortege. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sikandar Lodī. The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Punjāb afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mīrzā Hindāl came from Kābul. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mīrzā Hindāl returned to Kābul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.'—Ahmad Yādgār, E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 40.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt.

(iv) 'About the same time Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, with his two sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion.'

The Gujarāt Campaign.

(i) 'His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance.[1] This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarāt and chastise Sultān Bahādur. He proceeded to Gwālior and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting' (1532).

(ii) When Humāyūn finally marched against Bahādur Shāh, that prince was busy with the siege of Chitor[2] (1534). At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khān, who was the chief of the nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musalmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musalmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. 'When the Emperor had passed

1. For an account of the nature of the correspondence between Humāyūn and Bahādur Shāh, and other diplomatic relations see Banerji, op. cit., Ch. X, (pp. 99-117).

2. The Rāṇā in his distress dispatched an envoy to ask succour from Humāyūn. Humāyūn, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Gwālior, as if to assist the Rāṇā. There he encamped for about two months and asked Bahādur Shāh to desist from his attack on Chitor and give up the traitors he was harbouring. Neither demand was complied with. Humāyūn with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, compelled to repress disturbances in Jaunpūr and Bihār. The Rāṇā despairing of assistance bought peace of Bahādur Shāh (Erskine, op. cit., pp. 14-15).

through Mālwā and had come to Sārangpūr, he was informed of this; so he rested there.'

Note—This was Humāyūn's third great blunder. It was a double failing: timely assistance might have won over the Rāṇā as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Gujarāt; if attacked at once, Bahādur Shāh might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Sultān Bahādur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humāyūn then, hearing of this, marched against Bahādur Shāh and met him at Mandasōr. The King of Gujarāt again called a council of war. Sadr Khān advised giving battle, but Rūmī Khān who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Rūm, no other potentate could equal them. Sultān Bahādur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'[1]

For two months Humāyūn did nothing but cut off the supplies of the enemy. Famine ensued in the enemy's camp. 'The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultān Bahādur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the pavilion and went towards Māndū with five of his most trusty adherents..... When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.'

(iv) Humāyūn pursued Bahādur Shāh to Māndū and besieged the fort. 'Sultān Bahādur was asleep when the alarm

1. 'Flushed with the recent victory the Gujarātīs might probably have overwhelmed Humāyūn's army, on which the irritations as well as the revels of the delay had exerted their usual influences;

was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujarātīs took to flight. Sultān Bahādur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarāt, and Sadr Khān and Sultān Ālam (Lodī) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Māndū. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khān was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Ālam Khān.'

(v) 'Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarāt. Sultān Bahādur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Chāmpānīr, and these he carried off to Ahmedābād. (He set fire to the town before leaving Chāmpānīr.) Humāyūn pursued him up to Cambay. On his way he took Ahmadābād, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil.' Bahādur Shāh ultimately escaped to the island of Diu.[1]

Note—Humāyūn, instead of following up his success and finishing with the fugitive, marched to Chāmpānīr. This was his fourth blunder.

(vi) Chāmpānīr[2] was no doubt taken (1535-6), Humāyūn himself with Bairam Khān scaling the fort at night its

but the triumph of the heavy artillery in the siege of Chitor had given undue weight to the advice of the Ottoman engineer, the 'Rūmī Khān,' who had worked the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners; and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevestopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders'. (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 224).

1. July 1535. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humāyūn arrived, and 'encamped on the shore of the salt sea' which none of his ancestors had ever seen.

2. *Chāmpānīr*: This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that arises towering out of the level plain, in the south-east portion of Gujarāt and is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly perpendicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to active operation. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other; while the extensive, and at the same time magnificent town of Muhammadābād—Chāmpānīr extend-

most abrupt side, with the help of steel spikes driven into the scarp of the rock. 'Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.' Ikhtiyār Khān who held a high position among the Gujarātīs, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was also of some repute as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahādur Shāh had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Humāyūn instead of getting the secret out of him by torture, preferred to make use of wine : the man was invited to an entertainment ; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer,' he revealed the secret. The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a reservoir.[1]

'The gold was divided among the soldiers,—so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rūm, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gujarāt had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarāt.'[2]

(vii) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadābād, in favour of Bahādur Shāh. But Mīrzā Askarī who was at Muhammadābād won over them an easy victory. 'More than two thousand men were killed in the battle.'[3]

ed on one side along its base. Humāyūn invested it vainly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

'The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved,' says Ferishta, 'render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history.'—(Briggs, II, p. 79).

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 443 n.

2. Cf. Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 80.

3. The author of this work (*Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*) heard from his father who was then wazīr of Mīrzā Askarī, that at midday, when

(viii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmadābād and its dependencies upon Mīrzā Askarī in *jāgīr*, Pātan upon Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir, and Broach upon Mīrzā Hindū Bég. Tardī Bég received Chāmpānīr, and Kāsim Hussain obtained Baroda. Khān Jahān Shirāzī and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhānpūr, and from thence to Māndū.[1]

"Mālwā and Gujarāt—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Humāyūn's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Never was conquest so easy. Never, too, was conquest more recklessly squandered away." [2]

Note—This was Humāyūn's fifth great blunder in this direction. Instead of ensuring the settled government of the conquered provinces he was content to assign its various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasures. 'The Emperor Humāyūn,' says Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, 'remained for a year at Āgrā and took his pleasure.'[3]

(ix) Meanwhile, both Gujarāt and Mālwā were rapidly lost[4] (1535-36).

it was intensely hot, the Gujarātīs came hastily out of Ahmadābād .... Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir and Mīrzā Hindū Bég came up in due order, with their forces, and the Gujarātīs took to flight.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 196).

1. Ferishta adds: "In this state of affairs, Buhrān Nizām Shāh, Imād Shāh, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Humāyūn had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sher Khān."—(Briggs, II, pp. 80-1).

2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 225.

3. 'On the return of Humāyūn to his capital, it was observed that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium: public business was neglected; and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandisement.' (Briggs, II, p. 83).

4. "One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 226).

'One night Mīrzā Askarī in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, "I am a King, and the shadow of God." Just at this period Hindū Bég had counselled Mīrzā Askarī to have the *khutbā* recited and coin struck in his name, and set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mīrzā Askarī did not accept this advice; but Tardī Bég.....sent a messenger to Humāyūn, to inform him that Mīrzā Askarī had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Āgrā and proclaim himself King.'

Ahmadābād and other places revolted in favour of Bahādur Shāh, who soon returned from Diu with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.[1] 'Mīrzā Askarī and the *Amīrs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired....But before Mīrzā Askarī retreated from Ahmadābād, the news-writers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mīrzā Hindū Bég had made to the Mīrzā for his assuming the crown, and although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entered into hostile designs' (1535-36).

Humāyūn left Māndū, and reached Āgrā before Askarī. Although not received, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. Thus the countries of Mālwā and Gujarāt, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.'[2]

Note—This 'beautiful but unwise clemency' towards his brothers was to prove Humāyūn's ruin.

1. Nuno d'Cuna, the Portuguese Viceroy, offered Bahādur Shāh a force of 500 Europeans in return for allowing them to fortify Diu and important trade concessions. Later Bahādur Shāh was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1537, at the age of 30. But Humāyūn took no advantage of the death of his intrepid enemy which put Gujarāt into disorder.

Dr. Banerji attributes the general revulsion of feelings against Humāyūn in Mālwā and Gujarāt to Humāyūn's indulgence in excessive cruelty. See Banerji, op. cit., pp. 135-6.

2. Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 83.

(x) When Sultān Bahādur was defeated, Humāyūn had sent away Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. That pretender laid siege to Lāhore, when, on account of trouble in Kandahār, Kāmrān had left the Punjāb temporarily. When Muhammad Zamān heard of the Emperor's return to Āgrā, he again took refuge in Gujarāt. Kāmrān meanwhile recovered Kandahār from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.[1]

The Fateful Contest with Sher Khān.

Sher Khān has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghān revolt against the Mughals. His early life and career will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. Here only his relations with Humāyūn will be considered.

(i) By the end of 1531 Sher Khān had made himself master of the province of South Bihār, and occupied the important stronghold of Chunār[2] (near Benāres). In that year, Humāyūn, before marching south against Bahādur Shāh, but after the defeat of Mahmūd Lodī at Dauroh, encountered Sher Khān for the first time.[3] The *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī* of Abbās Khān gives the following account of this event :—

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 199.

2. The fort of Chunār stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mīrzāpūr. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westwards, by the fort of Rohtās and Shirghāti, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpūr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihār and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunār and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bhagalpūr. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods. "As Humāyūn marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunār."—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 446.

3. Gulbadan Begam states : 'He (Humāyūn) defeated them (Biban and Bāyazīd) and then went to Chunad (Chunār), took it and thence returned to Āgrā.' This is also confirmed by Jauhar.—(Qanungo, op. cit., p. 73.).

'When Humāyūn had overcome Sultān Mahmūd, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Hindū Bég to take Chunār from Sher Khān, but Sher Khān declined to give it up to him. When he heard this, Humāyūn commanded his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Chunār....The army of Humāyūn besieged Chunār....Sher Khān knew that the Emperor would be unable to delay long in those parts, for his spies brought him word that Bahādur Shāh, the King of Gujarāt, had conquered the kingdom of Māndū and was meditating the seizure of Delhi and would shortly declare war.[1] Humāyūn also having received this intelligence, Sher Khān sent his *vakil* to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the client of Junaid Barlās....As you must entrust the fort of Chunār to some one, make it over to me, and I will send my son Kutb Khān to accompany you in this expedition. Do you lay aside all anxiety as regards these parts; for if either I or any other Afghān do any act unbefitting or disloyal, you have my son with you; inflict on him such reprisals as may be a warning to others."

'When Sher Khān's emissary represented this to the Emperor Humāyūn, he replied, "I will give Chunār to Sher Khān, but on this condition, that he sends Jalāl Khān[2] with me."

'Finally, when Humāyūn heard of Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān's escape from Bayāna, and Bahādur Shāh's intended march on Delhi, he agreed to Sher Khān's proposal. Sher Khān was delighted and sent Kutb Khān, his son, and Isā Khān his chamberlain, to the Emperor, who set off to Āgrā, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Sultān Bahādur.'[3]

(ii) 'Sher Khān took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihār. When the Emperor came back from Gujarāt, the Khān-Khānan Yūsuf-Khail (who brought the Emperor Bābur from Kābul to Hindūstān) said to him: "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khān, for he is rebelliously inclined, and well understands all matters pertaining to government; moreover all the Afghāns are

1. Abu-l Fazl also asserts that Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt sent him (Sher Khān) a subsidy and summoned him to his side. Farīd made capital out of this for sedition and sent excuses for not going.—*Akbar-Nāma*, I, p. 328.

2. Jalāl Khān succeeded Sher Shāh after his death, as Islām Shāh.

3. Kutb Khān escaped from Humāyūn when he was busy in Gujarāt.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 12.

collected round him." The Emperor Humāyūn, relying on the vastness of his forces, and on the pride of Empire, took no heed of Sher Khān, and remaining the rainy season at Āgrā, sent Hindū Bég to Jaunpūr, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Sher Khān.

'When Sher Khān heard that the Emperor Humāyūn, intended himself marching towards Bihār, he sent magnificent presents to Hindū Bég, Governor of Jaunpūr, and gained his good-will. At the same time Sher Khān wrote thus: "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly write to the Emperor, and assuring him of my loyalty, dissuade him from marching in this direction; for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindū Bég beheld Sher Khān's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the *vakīl*, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall injure you." And in the presence of Sher Khān's *vakīl* wrote a letter to the Emperor Humāyūn saying: "Sher Khān is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and strikes coin and reads the *khutbā* in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done anything since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to you." The Emperor on receipt of Hindū Bég's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) 'Sher Khān meanwhile detached Jalāl Khān, Khawās Khān senior, and other chiefs, to conquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultān Mahmūd, unable to oppose them retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghāns having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, invested and besieged that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) 'The following year the Emperor marched towards Bihār and Bengal. When he arrived near Chunār,[1] he consulted his

1. The march took place, according to Elphinstone, in *Safar* 944 (July, 1537)—*History of India*, pp. 444-n. 6. "The Memoirs of Humāyūn say that the army reached Chunār on the *Shabi Barat* (*Shaban* 15th) of A. H. 945, January 1539; but this would leave only 6 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humāyūn's defeat in *Safar* A. H. 946, June 1539. I conclude therefore that the Memoir writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began on 15th *Shaban*, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say 6 months."—(Ibid., p. 436 n.) According to Dr. Banerji, the correct dates were, starting from Āgrā 27 July 1537 A.D., reaching

nobles whether he should first take Chunār, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Khān was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles advised that he should first take Chunār, and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined; but when Humāyūn asked the Khān-Khānan Yūsuf-Khail for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chunār) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chunār first; the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur, it is advisable to take Gaur first; after that the capture of Chunār is an easy matter. The Emperor replied: "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fort of Chunār in the rear." The author has heard from the Khān-Khānan's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed: "The luck of Sher Khān is great that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghāns will have conquered Gaur, and all its treasures will fall into their hands." When Chunār fell to Humāyūn, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khān,[1] who also took about the same time the more important fort of Rohtās by stratagem.[2]

He (Sher Khān) thanked God and said: "The fort of Chunār is no fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as (I am) at getting possession of Rohtās."

(v) 'After the Emperor had got possession of Chunār, he halted in Benāres, and sent an envoy to Sher Khān, having in view to get possession of the country of Bihār. Sher Khān knew he had this

Chunār Oct. 1537 A.D., siege of Chunār Oct. (1537)—March (1538), (Banerji, op. cit., p. 210).

1. When the fort fell into Sher Khān's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Niamatulla, 'he could not get a sufficient number of porters to carry it, and was at a loss how to convey these effects to Rohtās.' Finally, all the elephants, camels, oxen and all the beasts of burden captured at Ghari, from the Mughals, were utilised for the purpose.—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 112.)

By his wrong choice, Humāyūn committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Khān had cleverly laid for him. He had to pay dearly for this initial mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chunār, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jauhar; ibid., p. 140.)

2. For details of this see E. & D. op. cit., IV, pp. 357-462; also Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455 n. 10.

design, and said to the envoy, "I have captured this fort of Gaur, and have collected about me a very large force of Afghāns. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Bengal, I will surrender Bihār to him, and make it over to whomsoever he will depute, and will agree to the same boundaries of Bengal as existed in Sultān Sikandar's time; and I will send all the ensigns of royalty—as the umbrella, throne, etc.,—to the Emperor, and will yearly send ten *lacs* of rupees from Bengal. But let the Emperor return towards Āgrā." The Emperor, on hearing about Bihār, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khān proposed...Sher Khān was much delighted, and said, "I will fulfil the terms agreed upon, and will pray day and night to Almighty God that while life lasts no hostility may befall between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependant and servant."

(vi) 'Three days after this despatch the envoy of Sultān Mahmūd, the successor of Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, came into the presence of the Emperor Humāyūn, and made the following communication: "The Afghāns have seized the fort of Gaur, but most of the country is yet in my possession; let not Your Majesty trust to Sher Khān's promises, but march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves, expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Sultān Mahmūd, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal.'

Jauhar adds,—'The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghāns. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into *jāgīrs* among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his *harem*, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khān had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chunār, and taken the city of Benāres; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohtās.'[1]

1. E. &. D., op. cit., V, p. 141. 'When Humāyūn entered Gaur,' says Niamatulla, 'Sher Khān had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by

sultation, Sher Khān gave to Sheikh Khalīl money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he plied him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice :—

"War with the Emperor Humāyūn is more for your advantage than peace; for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists;[1] he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him.[2] He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khān addressed his army thus : "For two days I have drawn out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was coming towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of

1. 'Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chausa....Sher Khān having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.'—Ibid., p. 202. See Banerji, op. cit., pp. 228-35.

2. Ferishta writes,—'To add to Humāyūn's embarrassments which could hardly be exceeded, his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā, instead of aiding him in this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with 10,000 horse from Lāhore, giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kāmrān at Delhi, Hindāl Mīrzā prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege....The princes finding the governor of Delhi refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards Āgrā. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindāl Mīrzā, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwar with 5,000 horse and 300 elephants; while Kāmrān Mīrzā entering Āgrā proclaimed himself King.'—Briggs, II, p. 86.

Khān also collected the revenue of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts.'

(viii) Meanwhile, Mīrzā Hindāl who had returned to Āgrā from Humāyūn's camp, raised the standard of revolt at the capital, and murdered Sheikh Bahlōl who was much respected by the Emperor Humāyūn. 'When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahāngīr Bég in charge of Bengal with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Āgrā. At this time Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā returned from Gujarāt with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not utter a word of reproach.'[1] Humāyūn, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khān.

(ix) The latter, summoning all his forces from Bihār, Jaunpūr, and other places, collected them in the environs of the fort of Rohtās. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. 'At every stage he entrenched himself with an earthwork, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khān was coming, he retraced his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khān's army. But, Sher Khān, on hearing this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the *khutbā* be read and money struck in the Emperor's name, he would be the Emperor's vassal.' 'These proposals were received with great satisfaction.'[2] 'Then Humāyūn sent Sheikh Khalīl on an embassy to Sher Khān...Sheikh Khalīl, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khān and strongly advised the proposed peace; and during the consultation, the following words fell from Sheikh Khalīl: "If you do not agree to peace, away with you; declare war and fight." Sher Khān said, "What you say is a good omen for me; please God, I will fight." After the con-

1. *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*; E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 201-2.
2. 'But next morning Sher Khān fell upon the royal army unawares and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.'—Ibid., p. 203.

sultation, Sher Khān gave to Sheikh Khalīl money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he plied him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice :—

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the Emperor, and let not the honour of the Afghāns out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Empire of Hindūstān."

The Afghāns replied, "Let not our lord allow any hesitation to find its way to his noble heart." Having read the *fatiha*, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khān with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghāns were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khān was coming with all speed to battle with him.

'The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying that after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion in valour, and in the excess of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forces of Sher Khān who were all Afghāns, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement; nor did he take into consideration the disorganisation which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army.'[1]

'Sher Khān knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghān army were already upon them, and coming boldly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 26th June, 1539. Humāyūn had not completed his ablutions when the intelligence reached him that the Mughals were utterly scattered, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to remove his

1. 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humāyūn ought to have brought on action at all hazards being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.'—Ibid., p. 85.

family,[1] but fled in the direction of Āgrā with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.'

Jauhar, Humāyūn's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the disastrous end of this battle (of Chupāghāt or Chausa) :—

'An archer seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.[2] His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed ; and the Afghāns having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost ; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leather bag (*masak*) with air offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.[3]

'According to the most authentic accounts, 8,000 Mughals exclusive of Hindūs, were drowned, during the flight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā.'[4]

(x) After this victory, Sher Khān assumed the title and insignia of royalty, at the desire of his nobles. Sher Khān said, "The kingly name is a very exalted thing, and is not devoid

1. 'Sher Khān, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohtās under charge of Husain Khān Nirak, and providing the families of the other Mughals with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Āgrā.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 376.

2. Note the difference in the previous account of Abbās Khān and this of Jauhar, regarding the part played by Humāyūn in this engagement.

3. 'On reaching his capital, Humāyūn allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents.'—Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 88.

4. Ibid. ; also E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 203.

of trouble; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me King, I agree." He seated himself on the throne, unfolded the umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shāh, and struck coin, and caused the *khutbā* to be read in his own name; and he took also the additional title of Shāh Ālam.[1] The coronation, according to Qanungo, took place at Gaur, about the beginning of December, 1539.[2]

(xi) Meanwhile Humāyūn reached Āgrā. 'Mīrzā Kāmrān had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brothers, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindāl Mīrzā (who had come from Alwar) received pardon for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mīrzā Kāmrān was desirous of returning to Lāhore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwājā Kalān Bég exerted himself to bring about the return of Mīrzā Kāmrān. The negotiations went on for six months. Meanwhile, Mīrzā Kāmrān had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lāhore, having sent Khwājā Kalān Bég in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Āgrā; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, excepting only 2,000 men whom he left at Āgrā under the command of Sikandar.'[3]

(xii) Sher Shāh himself pursued the Emperor Humāyūn and got possession of the whole country, as far as Kālpī and Kanauj. He sent Īsa Khān towards Gujarāt and Māndū and to the chiefs of these parts he wrote saying, "I am about to

1. His coins bear the title of 'Sultān-ul Ādil,'—Thomas, op. cit., p. 395.
2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 208.
3. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.

send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humāyūn moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Āgrā and Delhi."

'News arrived that the Emperor Humāyūn purposed marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shāh despatched his son Kutb Khān to Māndū, in order that he might, in concert with the chiefs of those parts, alarm and ravage the country about Āgrā and Delhi.

'When the Emperor Humāyūn heard that Sher Shāh had sent his son towards Chānderī, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Askarī, with other nobles in that direction. When the Mālwā chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming to oppose Kutb Khān, they gave him no assistance. Kutb Khān went from Chānderī to the city of Chondha (Kālpī?),[1] and, engaging the Mughals at Chondha, was slain. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Askarī having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

When Sher Shāh heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humāyūn arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (*Zilkada*, 946 A.H., April 1540). Sher Shāh also fortified himself on the opposite side.'

BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR BILGRĀM[2]

(xiii) 'On the 10th *Muharram*, 947, A.H. both armies drew out their forces..When Sher Shāh had drawn up his army,..he said to the Afghāns: "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghāns replied, "The mighty King has much protected and favoured us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

'Sher Shāh ordered each chief to return to his own followers and

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 204.
2. See Banerji, op. cit., 243-49.

to remain with them; and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.'

Quite in contrast to this was the ineptitude on the side of Humāyūn. Mīrzā Haidar, Bābur's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the occasion, vividly describes the condition of the Mughal army and the course and result of the battle thus :—

'The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shāh on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had several times revolted against Humāyūn, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shāh, deserted.

'A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shāh, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kāmrān's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lāhore ...

'As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We therefore crossed the river. Both armies entrenched themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose...

'Between me and the river there was a force of 27 *Amīrs*, all of whom carried the *tugh* banner[1] ... On the day of battle, when Sher Shāh, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these 27 *tugh* banners, not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The soldiership and bravery of these *Amīrs* may

1. *Tugh* was the standard surmounted by the flowing tail of a mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to the heroes.—Erskine, op. cit., p. 541.

be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Shāh came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the *Amīrs* and officers of the army was such as I have described.'

'Every *Amīr* and *Wazīr* in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his *ghulāms*. An *Amīr* of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and *ghulāms*, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatsoever place there was conflict, the *ghulāms* were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short, it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the gun-carriages, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Such was the state of the centre.

'On the right, Sher Shāh advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind. and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

'The Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded; not a gun was fired; and the chariots were useless.'

'But the Emperor Humāyūn himself,' says Abbās Khān, 'remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battle-field, and displayed such valour and gallantry as is beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the bridle of his purpose toward his capital of Āgrā. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.[1] The greater part of his army was driven into the river Ganges.[2]

1. Humāyūn crossed the river on the back of an elephant; but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. 'At length,' says Jauhar, 'some of the colour-men, who were on the look out for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Āgrā.'—(E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 144.)

2. "Most writers," says Elphinstone, "ascribe Humāyūn's de-

'The Emperor fled to Āgrā; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay but went to Lāhore.'[1]

(xiv) Sher Shāh having sent two of his best officers to besiege Gwālior and Sambhal, and 'speedily settled the country about Kanauj, betook himself in the direction of Āgrā. When Sher Shāh approached Āgrā, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lāhore. Sher Shāh was greatly displeased at this, ... and on his arrival at Āgrā, remained there, for some days himself, but sent Khawās Khān and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lāhore, with a large Afghān force to pursue the Emperor ... But the Emperor and Mīrzā Kāmrān quitted Lāhore, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Sher Shāh, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Lāhore, he heard that Mīrza Kāmrān had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kābul, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bhakkar. The King went to Khushab and thence despatched Khawās Khān... and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.'

The Futile Conclave.

Here we must slightly retrace our steps to recount Humāyūn's last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of his ungrateful brothers. 'At the beginning of *Rabiu-l awwal* all the Chaghatai Sultāns and *Amīrs* were assembled in Lāhore; but Mīrzā Muhammad Sultān and his sons, who had come to Lāhore, fled from thence to Multān. Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir found it expedient to go towards Bhakkar and Thatha, and Mīrzā Kāmrān determined to go to Kābul as soon as the party was broken up.

'It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there

feat to treachery, and say that Sher Shāh attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. But Abu-l Fazl asserts, with great justice to Sher Shāh, that he delayed Humāyūn's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem."—(*Hist. of India*, p. 450 n.). Cf. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 205.

was no possibility of bringing his brothers and *Amīrs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent.' Ferishta says, 'Humāyūn used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sher Shāh telling them that their intestine feud must end in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Tīmūr in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part.'[1]

'Mīrzā Haidar Bég after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kāshmīr,[2] and Khwājā Kalān Bég was ordered to follow him. When the Mīrzā had reached Naushahar, and Kalān Bég had got as far as Siālkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Shāh had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultānpūr, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lāhore.

'Mīrzā Kāmrān, after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra.[3] When Khwājā Kalān Bég heard of this, he marched rapidly from Siālkot, and joined the camp of Humāyūn. At Bahra, Mīrzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā Askarī parted from Humāyūn, and went off accompanied by Khwājā Kalān Bég to Kābul.' This was towards the end of October, 1546.

1. Briggs, II, pp. 86-7. For an analysis of the causes of Humāyūn's failure to maintain his sovereignty see Banerji, op. cit., pp. 253-6.

2. When Mīrzā Haidar reached Kāshmīr, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kāshmīr fell into his hands, without striking a blow. On the 22nd *Rajab*, he became ruler of Kāshmīr.—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 206.

3. Abu-l Fazl says, he sent an envoy to Sher Shāh, intriguing for the Punjāb.—*Akbar-Nāma*, I, p. 205.

III. FIFTEEN YEARS OF EXILE (1540-55)

Wandering in the Desert.

'Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir still remained with Humāyūn, but after a few stages they also disagreed. For twenty days they disappeared, but falling into difficulties, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind (Indus) a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place,—Rohri, Bhakkar, Patar—and sought refuge in vain from Shāh Husain Arghūn, ruler of Thatha, with a view to '*attempt the recovery of Gujarāt.*'

'Grain becoming scarce at Bhakkar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mīrzā Hindāl was staying, for he had heard that Mīrzā Hindāl intended to go to Kandahār. It was here, in the camp of Hindāl at Patar, that Humāyūn fell in love with Maryam-i Makāni Hamida Bānu Begam (who soon became mother of Akbar), in the summer of 1541. Nizāmu-d dīn says, he 'spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindāl.' The Emperor forbade Hindāl to go to Kandahār, but he did not obey. When Humāyūn was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

Then the conquest of Thatha was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Thatha, a large body of soldiers parted from him, and stayed at Bhakkar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Sīwan, and retired to Bhakkar. Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to harass Humāyūn, but Humāyūn once more forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.' But, 'he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.' The men of Humāyūn's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir, who 'in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humāyūn himself.'

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān, who at that time

surpassed all the *zamīndārs* of Hindūstān in power and in the number of his forces.' This Maldeo had sent letters to Bhakkar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindūstān. Humāyūn, accordingly marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of this latter place, Rāi Lon Karan, 'shamefully took an unmanly course'. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march ; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humāyūn had a great many men wounded. Then he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent on Atka Khān to Maldeo at Jodhpūr, while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

'When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shāh. For Sher Shāh had sent an ambassador to Maldeo, holding out great expectations ; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humāyūn a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor and its dependencies had fallen into the power of Sher Shāh, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Shāh should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Humāyūn. But luckily, one of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldeo, now wrote to Humāyūn informing him that Maldeo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Humāyūn marched off at once to Amarkot.

'At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Thatha. The Rāṇā of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 A. H., 15th October, 1542,

and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar.'

About July 1543,[1] 'His Majesty, seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, determined upon going to Kandahār. At this time Bairam Khān, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him; he had sought refuge in Gujarāt after Humāyūn's defeat at Kanauj, and after some adventures found the way back to his master.[2] But Humāyūn's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Shāh Husain of Thatha informed Mīrzās Askarī and Kāmrān about his movements, and those ungrateful wretches 'wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner.' Humāyūn only said: "What is the worth of Kandahār and Kābul that I should strive with my faithless brothers?"

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old, at Kandahār, in the charge of a small party,[3] Humāyūn accompanied by Bairam Khān and a few others, 'set off even without determining the route.'

In Persia.

'The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty; so he proceeded onwards towards Khorāsān and Irāq.

Upon entering Sistān, Ahmad Sultān Shamlu, governor of that province under Shāh Tahmāsp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herāt, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shāh Tahmāsp. All the palaces and

1. "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which 18 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country; 6 months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jun (a branch of the Indus, half way between Thatha and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahār."—(Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 455.)

2. Erskine, op. cit., pp. 258-59; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 215.

3. Askarī carried off the Prince 'and gave him into the charge of Sultān Begam, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year, 1544). Ibid., p. 216.

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gardens of Herāt are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshed and Tus.'

Under the orders of the Shāh, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Pulak Surlik and had an interview with Shāh Tahmāsp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shāh a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahār. In return Humāyūn promised to establish the *Shia* faith in his dominions, when he reacquired them, and to hand over Kandahār to the Persians.[1]

Reconquest Commenced.

At this time, Kāmrān was in possession of Kābul, Hindāl of Ghaznī, and Askarī of Kandahār. Kāmrān had also taken Badakhshān, or South Bactria, from Suleimān Mīrzā who had been placed there by Bābur ; North Bactria, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbegs. Sher Shāh was still alive, and therefore there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindūstān.[2]

(i) 'When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took

1. Shāh Tahmāsp was the son of Shāh Ismāel who had rendered assistance to Bābur on very similar terms. Shāh Ismāel had established the *Shia* faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmāsp too was an equally ardent apostle of the sect. When Humāyūn showed some disinclination to accept the terms, Shāh Tahmāsp appears to have sent him a large supply of fuel, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a *Shia*. Humāyūn was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The *qāzī* who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as interest to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting.

"The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known the contents of the papers ; but it seems clear that they must have contained a profession of the *Shia* religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Kandahār.... That Humāyūn himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunnī."—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 463-5 ; see also Erskine, op. cit., p. 298.

2. Elphinstone, loc. cit., p. 466.

possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahār, a large body of men sallied out of the fort, and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege of Kandahār went on for three months.'

Bairam Khān was sent to Kābul on an embassy to Kāmrān Mīrzā. There he had interviews with Kāmrān, Hindāl, and others. Kāmrān sent his envoy 'to settle terms of peace if possible'. But Mīrzā Askarī was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahār, and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great *Bégs* rallied round the Emperor, Askarī lost heart and proposed to surrender. 'The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms.'

'It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahār was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory ... Mīrzā Askarī having found an opportunity, made his escape; but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahār must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the reconquest of Kābul and Badakhshān.

'They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humāyūn mounted his horse and went into the city .... The Chaghatais to their great satisfaction thus obtained possession of Kandahār' (September, 1545).

"The cession of Kandahār to the Persians was the price of the assistance of the Shāh," observes Elphinstone, "and by availing himself of that assistance, ...he ratified the engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."[1]

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 468.

(ii) After this, Humāyūn marched to effect the conquest of Kābul, and left Bairam Khān in charge of Kandahār.

'Mīrzā Yādgār Nāsir and Mīrzā Hindāl, having devised a scheme together, deserted Kāmrān. After being much harassed by the Hazāra tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kābul... Mīrzā Kāmrān who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting; but every night parties of men deserted his army and joined Humāyūn. Mīrzā Kāmrān, being alarmed, sent a party of Sheikhs to wait upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kāmrān did not agree to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kābul. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Kāmrān fled to Ghaznī. The Emperor sent Mīrzā Hindāl in pursuit.

'The Emperor then entered Kābul (15th November, 1545), and at night the citizens in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young Prince Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th *Ramzān*, 953 A. H., when the Prince was 4 years, 2 months, and 5 days old. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kābul.'

(iii) In the following year, Humāyūn marched to Badakhshān, for Mīrzā Suleimān had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mīrzā Suleimān was defeated and put to flight.

When Humāyūn was away in Badakhshān, Kāmrān, by a surprise attack, took possession of Kābul and Ghaznī. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kābul, having put Suleimān again in charge of Badakhshān and Kunduz. Kāmrān had taken possession of Prince Akbar, and in the fight that ensued, he made good use of this possession. 'With dastardly

feeling,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Māham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (i.e., the garrison) and God Almighty preserved him.'[1] Kāmrān's spirit fell, and, from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Reinforcements came from Badakhshān and Kandahār.

Mīrzā Kāmrān now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some scrapes and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshān. In vain he tried to get help from the Uzbegs, and when he failed in this, being very much downcast, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kāmrān, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Kolab as an *ikta* to Kāmrān.

(iv) In June 1548, Humāyūn left Kābul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and summoned Kāmrān and Askarī. Though Hindāl joined him, Kāmrān and Askarī once more showed hostility, and did not come to pay their homage....

'In consequence of Kāmrān's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kābul while the Emperor was engaged in Balkh. Humāyūn declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had

1. Abu-l Fazl relates in the *Akbar-Nāma* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Bāyazīd, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in his Memoirs, does not mention this; while Jauhar in his private Memoirs of Humāyūn, states that he only threatened to expose him, on which Humāyūn, ordered the firing to cease.—Malleson, op. cit., p. 56 n.

been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kāmrān's remaining absent.... The expedition proved a failure' (1549-50).

Humāyūn reached Kābul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Kāmrān once again captured Kābul. Hindāl remained with the Emperor, and Askarī fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askarī died 'in the country of Rūm' between Damascus and Mecca, in 1558.[1]

Kāmrān had married a daughter of Shāh Husain Arghūn of Sindh. When Humāyūn dislodged him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kābul. In the course of this fight Hindāl met his death—19 Nov., 1551.[2] Finally, Kāmrān sought refuge with Sultān Salīm Shāh Sūr in Hindūstān; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the hills of Siālkot. Here he fell into the hands of Sultān Ahmad Gakkar, who sent him as a captive to Humāyūn. 'The Emperor in his natural humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Kāmrān, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things owing to Kāmrān's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humāyūn, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Kāmrān Mīrzā, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humāyūn had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded.'[3]

1. *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234. Malleson says that he was exiled to Mecca in 1551, where he died in 1559.—(*Akbar*, p. 59.)

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 234; Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 169. 'Out of affection to the memory of Hindāl Mīrzā, who had expiated for his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rāzia Sultāna, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time all the wealth of Hindāl, and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the Government of Ghaznī.'

3. Cf. Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 170.

Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna, and Ghulām Āli *Shash-angasht* (the six-fingered) deprived Mīrzā Kāmrān of his sight with a lancet.[1] Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained permission to go to Mecca, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out'. He died in the holy city four years later, on 5th Oct., 1557.'[2]

IV. RESTORATION AND DEATH (1555-56)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultān) Salīm Khān (Sūr), and of the dissensions among the Afghāns.[3] In November 1554, the Emperor begun his march.

1. Jauhar gives all the painful details of the operation :—

'Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindūstān, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act.....Ghulām Āli represented to Kāmrān, in a respectful and condoling manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The prince replied, "I would rather that you would at once kill me". Ghulām Āli said, "We dare not exceed our orders". He then twisted a hand-kerchief as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the *farash*, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God!). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit on my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some lemon juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes. He could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next".....The author of these pages (Jauhar), seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a melancholy mood.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 148-49.

2. Ibid., p. 235.

3. At the death of Salīm Shāh, the Sūr Empire broke up into several parts: Sikandar Sūr, to whose share the Punjāb had fallen, had since attacked Ibrāhīm the usurper of Delhi and Āgrā and had

When the army encamped at Peshāwar, Bairam Khān, according to orders, came up from Kandahār, and the royal standards passed the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Rohtās, although that fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled.... Humāyūn continued his march towards Lāhore, and when the Afghāns of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lāhore without opposition (24th February, 1555), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Hissār, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatai forces. A body of Afghāns, assembled at Dīpālpūr, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

'Sikandar Afghān, who held possession of Delhi, sent 30,000 men under Tātār Khān and Haibat Khān to attack the advance forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated at Jalandhar and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej.... As the sun went down a great battle began.

Battle of Machwāra.

'The Afghāns began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghāns being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashī*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindūstān are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

'A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lāhore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjāb, Sirhind, and Hissār-Fīroza were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

driven him from his territories; while Ādil Shāh, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 472.

'On hearing of this defeat, (Sultān) Sikandar Afghān marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humāyūn for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were four times more numerous than the Mughals.

Battle of Sirhind.

'For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Bairam Khān (*Khān-Khānan*) on the one side, and on the other a third division under Iskandar Khān.....attacked the enemy. In the engagement of all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghāns, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultān) Sikandar fled.

'The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions.'

'*This victory*,' says Farishta, '*decided the fate of the Empire; and the kingdom of Delhi fell forever from the hands of the Afghāns.*'[1]

Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Samānā. A body of Afghāns in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbeg entered and occupied the city. Mīr Abul Ma'ali was sent to Lāhore to keep in check (Sultān) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwālik mountains. 'In the month of *Ramzān* (23rd July 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi, and once more the *khutbā* was read, and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindūstān. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was

1. Briggs, II, p. 176.

made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.'

Death of Humāyūn.

'But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th *Rabi-ul awwal*, at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up senseless, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th *Rabi-ul awwal*, 963 A. H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line : "*Humāyūn bādshāh az bam uftad.*"'

By a strange presentiment as it were, sometime before his death, Humāyūn used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gushing from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice[1] :—

"*O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own ;*
Make me a partner of the knowledge of Thy attributes ;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life ;
O call to Thee Thy poor madman (lover),
O grant me my release !"

1. 'I lately rose,' writes Humāyūn, 'after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest ; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses.'—(Erskine, op. cit., p. 535.)

CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Contemporary Estimates.

Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Humāyūn, concludes his account of him with the following estimate of Humāyūn's character: 'He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age.[1] His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindūstān would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth, during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mīrzā Kāmrān and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoner and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mīr Abu-l Hai, the *sadar* or Chief Judge, by the name of *Abdal*. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologised, and said, that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him! (Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*; E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 240.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Humāyūn, that of his uncle Mīrzā Haidar will be always considered the most valuable for its intimacy as well as truthfulness. For, 'No

1. Humāyūn was 48 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Bābur, in 1530, the effective reign of Humāyūn, including both his first and second periods of rule, had subsisted for only about ten years."—(Smith, *O. H.*, p. 327.)

one of my brothers or Sultāns of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been honoured in such a way as I, Muhammad Haidar Kurkan, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as "*dast*".

'Humāyūn Pādshāh was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Bābur's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he; but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in feast, and very generous. In short, he was a dignified stately sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Āgrā, it was after his defeats, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on me), there were still 17,000 menials in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment.' (Lane-Poole, *Med. India from Contem. Sources*, p. 50.)

Ferishta says, 'Humāyūn was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humāyūn's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geopraphy, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.' (Briggs, II, p. 178.) "Humāyūn was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and for the most part disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure.

He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (Ibid., pp. 70-71).

Some Modern Estimates.

"Like Bābur his education and tastes were entirely Persian, ...but while Tīmūr and Bābur were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be turned from any set purpose, either from the preaching of a *mullā* or the prognostications of a sooth-sayer, Humāyūn was but a weak dilettante who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.[1]....In spite of these precautions the stars in their courses fought against Humāyūn... His shallowness and defects of character were covered by the saving grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Mughals, he was for his intimate friends a prince of good fellows. He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Mughal dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shāh's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shāh and Humāyūn could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humāyūn's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the facile *chermeur* and rather superficial dilettante of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar; Sher Shāh's at Sahserām, the stern strong man, egotist

1. 'He caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first called the *Palace of the Moon*, was set apart for ambassadors, messengers and travellers. In the second, called the *Palace of Venus*, civil officers and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the house-hold attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business for one day in the week.'—Ferishta; Briggs, II, p. 71.

and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindūstān with a rod of iron.' (E. B. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 428-9, 448-9)

"Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet as he had been brought up under Bābur, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretentions, though he never turned them to the best account...He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II." (Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 451, 471)

"His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate,' and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled...His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humāyūn was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it." (Lane-Poole, *Mediæval India*, pp. 219, 237).

"Humāyūn, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failures to a considerable extent." (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 325-6)

"Brave, genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous, and merciful, Humāyūn was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and unsteady. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality; his attachments into weak-

ness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst for comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him."—(Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 50).

"The real character of Humāyūn may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians....He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he over-ran, first the kingdoms of Mālwā and Gujarāt, and next those of Bihār and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions; but destitute of those powers of combination which are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy,—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

"His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate; his manners polite, frank, and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes....but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited the fondness for literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronised such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a *bazār* or market,

which is constructed at Āgrā, on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumnā, has been celebrated ; this and several other of his contrivances evinced his fondness for the mechanical arts....But though Humāyūn was brave and good tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighbouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralised his good qualities ; and a fatality seemed to attend on his merits.—(Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 530-31, 534-35.)[1]

HUMĀYŪN'S PLAN FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EMPIRE

'From the time when Humāyūn arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce different provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Āgrā, Kanauj, Jaunpūr, Māndū, and Lāhore were among the capitals fixed upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others ; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horse, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution.' —Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 526-27.

The dilettante character of Humāyūn's regime is perhaps best illustrated in the following extracts from the writings of Khwāndamīr who died in Humāyūn's service during the Gujarāt campaign :—

Classification of the people.

'When the auspicious throne was filled by this dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into *three classes*. The brothers and relations of the King, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men

1. Also read S. M. Jaffar, op cit., pp. 41-49.

were called *Ahl-i Daulat* (Officers of the State), because it is evident that according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men", no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

'Kings with the assistance of their army,
Place their feet upon the throne of empires.
He alone can obtain wealth and rank
Who is assisted by his army.'

'The holy persons, the great *mushaikhs* (religious men), the respectable *saiyids*, the literati, the law-officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the *second class*, and were denominated *Ahl-i Sa'adat* (good men), because, to observe honour and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

'Virtue is the gift of God:
It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it.
If you wish to obtain fortune,
You must associate with virtuous men.'

'Those who possessed beauty and elegance, those who were young and most lovely, and also clever musicians, and sweet singers, composed the *third class*, and the appellation of *Ahl-i-Murād* (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take delight in the company of such young-looking men, of rosy cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sounds of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the sackbut and the lute.

'The hope of the heart of lovers
Is never realised but when they meet persons whose cheeks are rosy.
He who is fond of hearing songs and music
Has the gates of happiness opened for himself.'

Gradations of Rank.

'The ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into *twelve orders* or arrows, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. Arrows of different standards of gold were distributed, by means of which the distinction of ranks and stations among servants of the throne was marked. The twelfth

arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the auspicious quiver of the King and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and brethren, and all the Sultāns who were in the Government employ. Tenth, to the great *mushaikhs*, *saiyids*, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the harems and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth to young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurers and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the menial servants. First, to the palace guards, camel-drivers, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades: the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

Government Departments.

'Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into four Departments, after the number of the four elements, viz., *Atashī*, *Hawāī*, *Ābī*, and *Khakī*; and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken of fire, was called *Atashī*; and the superintendence of this Department was placed under Khwājā Amidu-l Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on those works. The duties connected with the ward-robe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Hawāī* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwājā Lutfulla. The *Sharbat-khāna*, *Suji-khāna*, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *Ābī* Department, and its superintendent was Khwājā Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of *Khalisa* lands, and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khakī*, and this was placed under the management of Khwājā Jalāu-d dīn Mīrzā Bég. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amīr Wais Muhammad.

Apportionment of time.

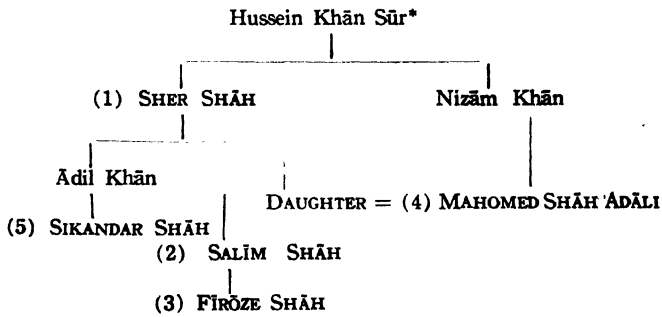
'According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two days were

appointed for this class was that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the *saiyids*, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State officers; and all the Government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the nobles and plebiens were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom according to the will of God, is attached the fates of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public Court-Hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper.

'Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne of sovereignty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing of their noise, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gunners fired guns to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the ward-robe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer some purses of money, and they placed them in the Court, in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one from them, and no delay should take place. And also that several people who resembled Bahram, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking swords in their hands, stood before the throne to seize and punish those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days, some of the old companions and chosen friends were convened, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the Moon, and hear sweet songs and delightful music. On Fridays, as the name *juma* indicates, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.'

(*Humāyūn-Nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 119-24).

SHER SHĀH AND HIS SUCCESSORS



* From Brigg's Ferishta, vol. II, p. 98 opp.

AUTHORITIES[1]

AFGHĀN

A. PRIMARY : (1) *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*, also called *Tuhfat-i Akbar Shāhī*, by 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, written by order of Akbar. The author himself says that he was connected by marriage with the family of Sher Shāh, and "so had peculiar sources of information as to the life and character of that adventurous and successful chief, whose craft and valour won a crown." Dowson, however, says, "It is a biography, not a history," though he admits, "this work has fortunately preserved the means of forming a judgment of his (Sher Shāh's) character and talents." Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 305-433. Later writers like Nizāmu-d dīn and Badāunī drew largely from Sarwānī.

2. *Makhzan-i-Afghāna* of Niāmat-u-llāh (see Dorn's *History of the Afghāns*, Bk. II, pp. 80-142, pub. 1829). "Therein alone," says Qanungo, "has been preserved a faithful summary of Abbās Sarwānī's work, with the exception of its concluding chapter." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 434). See E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 70.

3. *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī of Abdu-llāh*, written in the reign of Jahāngīr. Extracts in ibid., IV, pp. 434-513. "Abdullāh,"

1. Prof. Qanungo divides the contemporary writers into (1) Afghān and (2) Non-Afghān, and points out : "This division is important because the former, owing to national sympathy and natural bias, are supposed to be friendly and even eulogistic to Sher Shāh, while the latter are either hostile, indifferent or neutral according to the circumstances under which their works were composed."—*Sher Shāh*, p. 427.

says Qanungo, "has in many cases borrowed the very words of Nizāmuddīn. Here and there he gives valuable pieces of information." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 435). It is interesting to note that this medieval chronicler wrote : '*History is not simply information regarding the affairs of kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.*" (E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 434).

NON-AFGHĀN

4. Works like the *Memoirs of Bābur, Tārīkh-i Rashīdī, Humāyūn-nāma, Tazkirat-ul-Wākiāt*, etc., cited already as authorities for Bābur and Humāyūn are also valuable supplementary sources for this period and *vice versa.*

5. *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* of Nizāmud-d dīn Ahmad (see Authorities for next chapter) is valuable, as the testimony of Nizāmu-d dīn in favour of Sher Shāh has greater weight than that of Abbās Sarwānī. (Qanungo, op. cit., p. 442).

6. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* of Abdul Qādir Badāunī. "He often writes from personal knowledge and his account of the Sūr dynasty, especially of the reign of Islām Shāh, is of great importance. There is a freshness and originality in his work which we miss elsewhere." (Ibid., p. 443).

7. *Akbar-Nāma* of Abu-l Fazl "paints Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh in the same colour as the Court historians of Aurangzīb, two centuries afterwards, painted the great Marāthā hero Shivājī and his son." Nevertheless, where he praises Sher Shāh's administrative ability, as he undoubtedly does, he "is certainly more valuable than the most fulsome eulogy of Abbās." (Ibid., p. 444). The *Āīn-i Akbarī* by the same writer has some valuable references to Sher Shāh's land settlement and revenue system. "Āīns V, VI, and VII, in which minute instructions are given to the revenue officials, are based on the regulations (*qānūn*)of Sher Shāh and Islām Shāh." (Ibid., pp. 444-45).

8. *Tārīkh-i Ferishta* has practically nothing new to say. "The tradition of the descent of the Sūrs from the royal

house of Ghor, which is perhaps his only original contribution, is baseless." (Ibid., p. 445).

EUROPEAN WRITERS

9. "The Portuguese under Martin Affonso De Mello first landed at Chittagong in 1533 A. D. The Portuguese Captain visited Gaur in that year when war broke out between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Khān. In this war the Portuguese rendered great help to Mahmūd Shāh. The Portuguese historians Castenheda and others have left good accounts of the war between Mahmūd Shāh and Sher Khān and of the struggle of Humāyūn with Sher Khān. This important source of Indian history has not yet been utilized." (Ibid., p. 447).

B. SECONDARY : 1. *Sher Shāh* by Prof. Kalikaranjan Qanungo. Kar, Majumdar & Co., Calcutta 1921. He calls Sher Shāh "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghāns."

2. *The Successors of Sher Shāh* by Nirod Bhushan Roy, Dacca (1934).

3. Erskine's *History of India*, vol. II (Humāyūn) already noticed, is according to Prof. Qanungo, within a small compass "a masterly sketch of the career of Sher Shāh. His estimate of the administrative genius of Sher Shāh (pp. 441-444) deserves credit."

4. Elphinstone's *History of India* removes several persistent errors of Persian historians.

CHAPTER IV

THE SŪR INTER-REGNUM

"This Afghān is not to be disconcerted by trifles; he may come to be a great man yet....Keep an eye on Sher Khān. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."—BĀBUR.

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day."—SHER SHĀH.

"It was the rare good fortune of the house of Tīmūr that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghān Sher Shāh, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly built for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."[1]

In this brief statement, Prof. Rushbrooke Williams has admirably summed up the place of the Sūr Inter-regnum in the history of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, as the events of Humāyūn's first reign were inextricably connected with the fortunes of Sher Shāh, his restoration and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shāh's descendants. The sad contrast between Bābur's brilliance and Humāyūn's political incapacity also finds a sharp echo in the Afghān episode; both pointing to the same moral for us, viz., the fatal incapacity of monarchical, like other, genius to transmit itself unimpaired.

1. Rushbrooke Williams, op. cit., p. 162.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shāh's career, in his triumphant duel with Humāyūn. Here must be attempted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

A. EARLY LIFE

1. Ancestry.

'Sher Shāh was born in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl (1450-88), and they named him Farīd, writes Abbās Sarwāni in his *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī*.[1]

It was in the 'City of Victory' Hissār-Fīrōza (Delhi District) founded by Fīrōz Shāh Tughlak. The year, according to Qanungo, may have been 1486 A.D.[2]

'The grandfather of Sher Shāh, by name Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, with his son Hasan Khān, the father of Sher Shāh, came to Hindūstān from Afghānistān[3]...They settled in the *pargaṇa* of Bajwāra.' Later, Jamāl Khān Sarangkhānī of Hissār-Fīrōza bestowed on Ibrāhīm 'several villages in *pargaṇa* Narnaul for the maintenance of forty horsemen.' Hasan Khān entered the service of Umar Khān, *Khān-i-āzam*, who was 'counsellor and courtier of Sultān Bahōl.' Umar Khān gave 'several villages in the *pargaṇa* of Shāhābād as a *jāgīr* to Hasan Khān.' After Ibrāhīm's death Hasan Khān also received his father's *jāgīr* 'with several villages in addition to it.'

When Jamāl Khān was sent to the *subāh* of Jaunpūr by Sikandar Lodī (who had succeeded Bahlōl), he took with him

1. Abbās Khān, at the commencement of his work, states, 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghāns, skilled in the science of history and rhetoric, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his fortunes to the end of his reign, and were employed in his confidential service. I have written also what I have well ascertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus acquired, and could not stand the touch-stone of truth, I have rejected.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 305).

2. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 3. See n. 1. p. 127 below.

3. 'From a place which is called in the Afghān tongue "Sher ghari," but in the Multān tongue "Rohris." It is a ridge, a spur of the Suleimān Mountains, about 6 or 7 *kos* in length, situated on the banks of the Gumal.'—(E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 308).

Sher Shāh's father, being 'much pleased with Hasan Khān's good service,' and 'gave him in *jāgīr* the *paraganas* of Sasarām, Hājīpūr, and Tanda, near Benāres, to maintain 500 horse.'

2. Boyhood's Promise, 1501.

'Hasan Khān had eight sons. Farīd Khān and Nizām Khān were born of one Afghān mother;' the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farīd.' The latter, 'annoyed with his father, went to Jamāl Khān at Jaunpūr,' where he 'employed himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar-Nāma*, the *Gulistān*, and *Bostān*, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a maintenance (*madad ma'ash*), he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,[1] that Hasan Khān came to Jamāl Khān when all his kinsmen in Jaunpūr reproached him for having sent Farīd away; and they remarked that *Farīd Khān, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness;* that he bore the marks of excellence on his forehead, and that in all the tribe of Sūr there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Hasan Khān would entrust him with the charge of a *pargana*, he could discharge it excellently well, and perfectly perform all his duties.'

3. Young Jāgīrdār, 1511.

When father and son were reconciled, Farīd was given charge of the two *paraganas* of Sasarām and Khawāspūr (in the present District of Shāhābād).[2] Even so early as this (1511), the future Sher Shāh gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

1. Farīd lived at Jaunpūr up to his twenty-fifth year, from 1501 to 1511. (Qanungo, op. cit., p. 8).

2. It was a frontier march on the southern side of Bihār. To the south lay the outskirts of the Rohtās hills, then inhabited by

"*I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district,*" he said to his father, "*and that depends on a just administration.*"

Abbās Khān further tells us, 'when he got to his *jāgīrs*, he said :—"Let all the headmen (*muqaddaman*) and the cultivators (*muzzarian*) on whose labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accounts (*patwaris*) attend my presence." When they came, he summoned also the soldiery, and thus addressed them :—

"My father (*abu*) has committed to me the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned ; and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

'When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said :— "This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."

'Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent ; others preferred payment in kind (*kismat-i ghalla*). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (*Jaribana*), and the fees for the tax-collectors and measures (*muhassilana*); and he said to the *chaudharis* and headmen :—"*I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants ; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much.* I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators ; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-gatherers' fees,—that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will

non-Āryan semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Hindū Rājā of Rohtās ; on the east was the Son river. To the west was the *pargana* of Chaund, which belonged to Muhammad Khān Sūr, the future enemy of Farīd. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

take the accounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivators to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a *pargaṇa*, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. *It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency, but collect the revenue with all strictness.* If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

'He then said to the peasantry, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. *I will suffer no one to oppress you.*" Having thus addressed them he dismissed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

'After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, "The *cultivators are the source of prosperity.* I have encouraged them and sent them away, *and shall always watch over their conditions, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.* There are certain *zamīndārs* who have been behaving contumaciously in these *pargaṇas*, who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*makhama-i-hakim*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I overcome and destroy them?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Miān Hasan; wait a few days and they will return." Farīd said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God; do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them."

'He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the *pargaṇa*, and he

sent for all the Afghāns and men of his tribe who were without *jāgīrs*, and said to them, "I will give you subsistence and clothing till Miān Hasan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you; and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *jāgīr* from Miān Hasan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good humour by all sorts of favours, and by gifts of clothes, etc. and presented them also with a little money...

'Early in the morning, Farīd Khān mounted and attacked the criminal *zamīndārs*, and put all the rebels to death, and making all their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to sell them as slaves; and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.

'If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farīd would examine it in person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to carelessness or sloth.

'In a very short time, both *parganas* became prosperous, and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented. When Miān Hasan heard of this he was much pleased; and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his *parganas*, the gallantry of his son, and the subjection of the *zamīndārs*.'

In spite of all this, however, Farīd once again lost favour with his whimsical father, and for a time sought refuge at the court of Ibrāhīm Lodī at Āgrā, under the patronage of Daulat Khān. When that prince died on the gory field of Pānīpat (April, 1526), the young adventurer went to Bahār Khān, son of Daryā Khān, who had assumed the title of Sul-

4. Farīd becomes 'Sher Khān,' 1519-26.

tān Muhammad.[1] 'Employing himself day and night in his business, Farīd gained Bahār Khān's favour, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country of Bihār.'

One day he went out hunting with Bahār Khān, and a tiger (*sher*) having been started, Farīd Khān slew it. On account of this gallant encounter Bahār Khān gave him the title of "Sher Khān the Tiger Chief."

5. Sher Khān and the Mughals, 1527-28.

Sher Khān after this, getting help from Sultān Junaid Barlās, the Governor of Jaunpūr, sought preferment under Bābur at Āgrā.[2] There being admitted to the court, he remained for some time among the Mughals,[2] was present at the siege of Chānderī, and 'acquainted himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their nobles.' "*If luck aided me*," he is reported to have said among the Afghāns, "*and fortune stood my friend, I could easily oust the Mughals from Hindūstān.*" The Emperor Bābur, with his keen insight into human character, observed to Khalīfā, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khān, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghān nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of mightiness."

1. According to Qanungo, Farīd governed his paternal estates for 7 or 8 years, from 1511 to 1518 or 1519. He went to Bahār Khān about 1522. (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 24, 31-32). Dr. Banerji has pointed out that some of Dr. Qanungo's 'dates and events' have been corrected by Dr. P. Saran in the B. & O. R. S. J. for March 1934.

2. "Just after the battle of Pānīpat the ambitious Afghān chiefs unsuccessful at home against rivals of their own race, resorted to Bābur in the hope of overcoming their domestic enemies with the help of the Mughals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Qanungo, loc. cit., p. 34).

B. CONQUEST OF EMPIRE

Sher Khān was too circumspect a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quitted Bābur's camp at the earliest opportunity.[1] "I have no longer any confidence in the Mughals, nor they in me," he declared, "I must go to Sultān Muhammad Khān."[2] When Sultān Muhammad died, Sher Khān became the Deputy to his son Jalāl Khān, in the Government of Bihār and its dependencies, about October 1529.

1. The First Step, 1529.

The following year 1530, Sher Khān *captured the important fortress of Chunār. This may be considered the starting point of his career of aggression.* The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abbās Sarwāni[3] :—

'Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī had entrusted the fort of Chunār to Tāj Khān Sarang Khānī, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Tāj Khān was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lād Malika, who was a woman of great sagacity and wisdom. One night, Tāj Khān's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lād Malika with a sabre, but not severely. Her servants complained to Tāj Khān, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sabre, and escaped out of the house. Tāj Khān died of the wound.'

Sher Khān, after this incident, cleverly ingratiated him-

1. He was there at most for 15 months, from April 1527 to June 1528, when he got back his *parganas* as a result of Bābur's eastern campaign of 934 A. H. (Ibid., pp. 44, 52-3).

2. Qanungo says, "Sher Khān joined not Sultān Muhammad Lohānī (as Abbās Sarwāni, Nizāmuddīn, Ferishta, etc., say), but Sultān Mahmūd Lodī." (Ibid., pp. 58-9).

3. 'I, the author of this history of Sher Khān, Abbās Khān Bin Sheikh Ali Sarwāni, have heard from my kindred and connexions who were great nobles and companions of Sher Khān, that he got possession of the fort of Chunār in the following manner.' For fuller details of the incident see E. & D., op., cit., IV, pp. 343-46.

self with Lād Malika and married her.[1] By this means he not only got possession of the fort, but 'she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 7 *mans* of pearls, and 150 *mans* of gold, and many other articles and ornaments.'

Subsequent to this, Sher Khān also got into his power and possession the *parganas* near the fort of Chunār; and further strengthened his resources by inheriting 60 *mans* of gold from Guhar Husain, the widow of Nāsir Khān.

2. First Encounter with Humāyūn—1531.

When Humāyūn had overcome Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Dauroh, he sent Hindū Bég to take Chunār from Sher Khān, but the latter refused to give it up. Jauhar says, 'When the victorious army of the Mughals reached Chunār, Jalāl Khān, son of Sher Khān, and several other nobles were within the fortress; the fortress was besieged for four months. When Sher Khān saw that the fort would fall to-day or to-morrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Kutb Khān, to the presence of His Majesty (Humāyūn) and secured peace.'[2] Thus he put off Humāyūn for the time being with clever but insincere professions of loyalty. Humāyūn withdrew and turned towards Gujarāt, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

'Never were the eastern provinces rendered so submissive to the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultān Sikandar (1517) as now," writes Qanungo. "The indomitable Afghān leaders, Baban and Bāyazīd, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Gūmtī to the Gandak (boundary of the kingdom of Bengal) was as tranquil as ever. On the southern bank of the Ganges the pretensions

1. "The whole story," says Qanungo, "is unskilfully got up with the object of convincing us that Sher Khān obtained Chunār by legitimate means, from its virtual mistress Lād Malika." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 71).

2. Ibid., pp. 76-7.

of Sher Khān were subdued, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was scotched, not killed; and this foreboded future trouble. When Humāyūn was reposing in the bed of fancied security, it recovered from the shock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of lifelong enmity was sown between the two men."[1]

3. Bihār and Bengal.

To resume Abbās Khān's narrative, 'Sher Khān took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihār. He also began to patronise all Afghāns. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared *he would kill every Afghān who refused to be a soldier.* He was also very careful of his Afghāns in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghāns heard that Sher Khān was eagerly desirous of patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.

'Sultān Bahādur (of Gujarāt) being defeated by Humāyūn, went towards Surat, and all the Afghāns who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khān.[2]

'When Nāsir Khān (Nusrat Shāh) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultān Mahmūd his successor;[3] but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 78.

2. "When the sun of Bahādur Shāh's fortune sank down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khān arose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon." —Ibid., p. 128.

3. This is a remarkable confirmation of Bābur's observation regarding the tradition in Bengal (see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 260-61). Nusrat Shāh died about December 1532, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Alāu-dīn Fīroz Shāh, who was murdered by Mahmūd Shāh soon after, in May 1533.—Qanungo, loc. cit., p. 83.

disorder. Mahmūd Shāh, nevertheless, conceived the design of conquering Bihār from the Afghāns, and accordingly despatched Kutb Khān with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khān earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated ; but Kutb Khān gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khān consequently told his Afghāns, "With the Mughals on one side, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no recourse save in our own bravery." The Afghāns replied, "Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost ; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

'Sher Khān having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated...Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Sher Khān did not give any part to the Lohānīs,[1] and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohānī's who thereafter became the enemies of Sher Khān. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were foiled in their attempts, they won over Jalāl Khān (Sher Khān's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

'As soon as Sher Khān heard that Jalāl Khān had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said : "Now the kingdom of Bihār had fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihār, and as enmity existed between the Lohānī's and myself, I feared lest the enemy should be victorious, for *the surest means of defeat are divisions in your own army*. Now that the Lohānīs are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army ; and if there be no divisions among the Afghāns, how can the Bengal army compare with

1. The Lohānīs as a tribe were the rivals of the Sūrs. Sher Khān himself stated : "The Lohānīs are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Sūrs ; and the custom of the Afghān is, that if any man has four kinsmen more than another, he thinks little of killing or dishonouring his neighbour."—E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 335.

them in the day of battle? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughal's from Hindūstān."

Events showed that these calculations of Sher Khān were not wrong. 'After this Sher Khān began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Wherever there were any Afghāns he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked. Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihār in his rear, and proceeded against the King of Bengal, "*This campaign*," says Qanungo, "*was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India. It was a turning point in the career of Sher Shāh.*"[1] The following account of the engagement is given by Abbās Khān :—

BATTLE OF SŪRAJGARH :[2] 1534

'When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khān arrayed his forces, and brought them out of their entrenchments; and after the morning prayers, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, "In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns, and a great force of infantry; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengal cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their array may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengālīs. I will draw up the greater part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horse. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion, without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my selected division, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengālī army, shall retreat.

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 98.

2. The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kiul river, east of Bihār town. Abu-l Fazl says that Sher Khān fought the battle at *Sūrajgarh*, on the boundary between the terri-

'The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghāns are beginning to fly; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himelf, and disorder and confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force which had been concealed behind the eminence, who will attack the enemy. The Bengālī cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghān horse. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight."[1]

The result was just what Sher Khān had so shrewdly anticipated. 'The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khān, who was thus supplied with munitions of war, and became master of the kingdom of Bihār, and much other territory besides. *Since God, the most holy and omnipotent, had preordained from all eternity to give the kingdom of Hind to Sher Khān, and that people of the Lord should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a zealous and just ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually came into his possession.*

In the beginning of May 1535, Sher Khān again turned upon Mahmūd Shāh, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihār. "This came as a complete surprise to the incapable voluptuary who disgraced the throne of mighty rulers like Hussain Shāh and Nusrat Shāh. Sher Khān's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmūd Shāh on this side of Teliagarhi."[2] Mahmūd Shāh,

tories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. Hemmed in between the Ganges on the north and the Kharagpūr hills on the south, the narrow plain of Sūrajgarh (about 5 miles in width) was indeed the most suitable place for making such a stand. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a decisive battle.—Ibid., pp. 99-100.

1. *Cf.* William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Senlac.

2. Sher Shāh was never scrupulous in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest; *e.g.*, he took from Bibi

like Ethelred the Unready, bought him off for the time being with an indemnity of 13,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khān once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we learn that Sher Khān sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khān invited Humāyūn's attention towards him. Abu-l Fazl says, 'Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Sher Khān and of his commotions in the eastern provinces.... Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khān should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued.'[1]

4. Defeat of Humāyūn—1539-40.

We have already followed the course of subsequent events. Sher Khān defeated Humāyūn at Chausa, in 1539, and assumed the title of Sher Shāh ; *at the battle of Bilgrām, in 1540 Humāyūn was finally routed and expelled out of the Empire.* Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to this period, which, like the Fath Malika story, throws light upon the machiavellian character of Sher Shāh. It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Rohtās :

Fath Malika the helpless widow of Bāyazīd's brother Mustafa, who had sought his refuge and protection, 300 *mans* of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two *parganas* for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 352-55. "This is an indefensible act of spoliation of an helpless woman," says Qanungo, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is so often put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khān; because the money was not utilised in self-defence, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge armament was being equipped solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible blots upon his character." (*Sher Shāh*, p. 111.)

1. *Akbar-Nāma*, I, p. 326.

Sher Khān was in difficulties owing to the capture of Chunār by Humāyūn. 'There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khān and the Rājā of the fort of Rohtās, and Churāman, the Rājā's *naib*, was on particular terms of intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khān. This Churāman was a Brāhman and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khān's brother Nizām, and procured them shelter in the fort of Rohtās... On the present occasion Sher Khān wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Rājā would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past, he would again restore the fort... Sher Khān also gave to Churāman a bribe of 6 *mans* of gold, and said, "Persuade in any way you can the Rājā to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Humāyūn, and will revenge myself on everything belonging to the Rājā."....When the Rājā finally consented, Sher Khān treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to eject them by force.... Sher Khān placed his own guards and sentries in every part of the fort, and drove the Rājā away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Rohtās. 'The commonly received report that Sher Khān put Afghāns into *dolis* and sent them into the fort as women, is altogether erroneous and false,' writes Abbās Sarwāni; 'for I, the writer of this history,...have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khān in the affair.'[1]

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably justified by the importance of the place. For after taking possession of the fort, Sher Khān observed, "*The fort of Chunār is not a fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of*

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 361 n. The rejection of the *doli* story, says Qanungo, does not in any way acquit Sher Khān of the charge of the treachery...Sher Khān's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Rājā's good services. (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 149-50.)

my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as I am in getting possession of Rohtās."[1]

Sher Khān was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort; he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghān families but also came into possession of the vast treasures which had been accumulated there for ages by Hindū kings. Prof. Qanungo thinks it must have come into Sher Khān's possession in March, 1538.[2]

An admirable summary of Sher Khān's relations with Humāyūn—though only from the Afghān point of view—up to the battle of Chausa, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said: "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humāyūn; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit; and after all my loyalty to him ..., he demanded from me the fort of Chunār. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mīrzā Muhammad Zamān had escaped from prison, and had raised a sedition in the country. Moreover Sultān Bahādur, King of Gujarāt, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kutb Khān with him throughout the Gujarāt campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sabre. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpūr, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujarāt, he got his army in

1. Rohtāsgarh is situated on the upper course of the river Son in an extremely hilly and inaccessible region. Its position on the map is 83° long. and 24° lat. 'It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India', observes Qanungo. Ferishta says, 'Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtās.' (Ibid., p. 151.)

2. Ibid., p. 152.

readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Bengal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sambhal, and have not left a single Mughal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and of every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, and eventually will not abide by this peace; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Āgrā, and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me. *I have often experienced that the Afghāns are braver in battle than the Mughals, who only got the country from the dissensions of the Afghāns.* If my brothers advise so, I will break off the peace, and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, stood by Sher Shāh's fortune. *Chausa and Bilgrām gave the Empire of Humāyūn to his Afghān rival. Bābur's wise declaration came true: 'The world is his who exerts himself.'* We must now follow the rest of Sher Shāh's brilliant career.

(i) *Pursuit of Humāyūn.*—'Sher Shāh being at his ease regarding the Mughals, wrote to Suja'at Khān, whom he had left as *faujdār*, in the country of Bihār and Rohtās, to besiege the fort of Gwālior .... As soon as he received the *farmān*, Suja'at Khān went and besieged Gwālior. From Kanauj Sher Shāh despatched Barmazid Gur[1] with a large force

5. After Kanauj or Bilgrām, 1540-42.

1. "Properly, Brahmajit Gaur," Qanungo observes; "Hindūs were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shāh's best generals was Brahmajit Gaur," mentioned by Jauhar and Abbās Sarwāni. "Rājāh Rām Shāh of Gwalior was another."—(Ibid., pp. 369-70)

in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humāyūn, and he also sent another force under Nāsir Khān towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kanauj, he betook himself in the direction of Āgrā.

'When Sher Shāh approached Āgrā, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lāhore. Sher Shāh was greatly displeased at this, and reproached Barmazid very much, and on his arrival at Āgrā remained there for some days himself, but sent Khawās Khān and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lāhore, with a large force to pursue the Emperor.[1]

'On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Sambhal came and complained that Nāsir Khān had oppressed and tyrannised over them in various ways. Sher Shāh, therefore, despatched Isā Khān, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nāsir Khān under him. After this, Sher Shāh breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at my ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow."

'Entrusting Mewāt to Hājī Khān, he then proceeded towards Lāhore ... On the third march beyond Lāhore, he heard that Mīrzā Kāmrān had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kābul, and that the Emperor Humāyūn was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multān and Bhakkar. The King (Sher Shāh) went to Khushab, and thence despatched Khawās Khān....and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multān. He instructed them not to engage the

1. According to Gulbadan Begam—During the three months that the Emperor was at Lāhore, word was brought day after day, "Sher Khān has advanced 4 miles, 6 miles," till he was near Sirhind...The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Muzaffar Bég, with Kāzī Abdullah to Sher Khān, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindūstān. Leave Lāhore alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Kābul, you should go there." (Cited by Qanungo).

Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

'The Mughal division which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Kābul, encountered Khawās Khān and not being strong enough to fight, fled leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khawās Khān's hands, and the Afghān army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shāh.'

(ii) *Baloch and Gakkar.*—'Sher Shāh delayed sometime at Khushab. While there Ismāil Khān, Fath Khān, and Ghāzī Khān Balochī came and waited on him ... Sher Shāh confirmed Ismāil Khān in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Roh came to wait on him; and Sher Shāh wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

'Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Garjhak, in order that he might choose a fitting site and build a fort there to keep down the Gakkars, in which he might leave a garrison on the Kābul road, when he himself returned. Having selected Rohtās,[1] he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Gakkars.'

(iii) *Bengal.*—'In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khizr Khān, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal.' There, "instead of placing the whole province

1. Burns considered it one of the greatest bulwarks between Tartary and India. The imperfectly subdued Gakkars 'made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one act to the contrary, he must be destroyed...Todar Mal (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Sher Shāh, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in copper. The fort was completed though the expenses were enormous. Sher Shāh called it 'Little Rohtās.' The *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* calls it 'New Rohtās', and adds, that it 'cost 8 *krors*, 5 thousand, and 2½ *dāms*, which means *Bahlōlis*—all which is written over the gate of the fort.' (E. & D. op. cit., IV, p. 419; also Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 405-6.)

under one military governor, as had hitherto been the custom, Sher Shāh created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another, in the administration of their respective areas. They were all directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion."[1] He remained in Bengal for about seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Āgrā.

(iv) *Mālwā.*—In April 1542, Sher Shāh marched towards the country of Māndū by way of Gwālior, in order to take on the rulers of Māndū his revenge for their backwardness in assisting Kutb Khān.[2] At this time there were princes in the kingdom of Māndū who ruled independently. Mallū Khān who had assumed the title of king and the name of Kādir Shāh, held possession and rule of the city of Shadmābād, that is to say, the fort of Māndū, and of Ujjain, Sarangpūr, and the fort of Rantambhor.

'When Sher Shāh reached Sarangpūr, Mallū Khān came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and exertions of Sher Shāh's army, and said to the Afghāns, "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions; night and day you have no rest; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghāns replied, "Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. *Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men.*"

'Sher Shāh assigned the country of Māndū to Suja'at Khān ...and then returned to Āgrā, via Dhār and Rantambhor.'

1. Ibid., pp. 242-43.

2. Apart from this, Qanungo gives two more political motives: (i) To come into direct touch with the kingdoms of Gujarāt and Mewār, through which the Mughals might break into Mālwā; (ii) to forestall the design of Maldeo in Mālwā and crush Maldeo's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. Ibid, pp. 252-53.

(v) *Raisin.*—From Āgrā he went towards Bihār and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and ague. After recovery he once again returned to Āgrā. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Māndū, in the year A. H. 950 (1548 A. D.), and took the fort of *Raisin.*[1] This expedition, according to Abbās Khān, had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by its Rājā Puran Mal. But Prof. Qanungo definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Puran Mal for enslaving the families of the Muslims of Chānderī, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed .. No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulant to move Sher Shāh against Raisin... One single fort unsubdued might overturn an empire, as Sher Shāh could realise by contemplating the fate of Humāyūn. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rājput influence in Mālwā."[2]

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Puran Mal and his companions, Abbās Khān proceeds to tell us, 'like hogs at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry; but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.[3] ...He made over the fort of Raisin to Munshī Shāhbaz Khān Sarwāni, and returned himself towards Āgrā, and remained at the capital during the rainy season.'[4]

1. The fort of Raisin (long. 77°. 50′; lat. 23°. 19′) stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about 7½ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S. two mountain streams cut off this ridge from contiguous hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of unbroken rock-wall, 1722 to 1760 ft. in height. (Ibid., p. 284.)

2. Ibid., pp. 288-89.

3. For a full account of this incident see E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 397-403; also Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 284-99.

4. This time, about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544, according to Qanungo) he utilised for building projects, administra-

(vi) *Multān and Sindh.*—About the same time as the fall of Raisin, Sindh and Multān were conquered by Sher Shāh's general, Haibat Khān Niāzī. The turbulent Balochīs were ever a source of danger to Multān. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shāh. More than anything else it closed the route to Qandahār, via Siwi, against Humāyūn, by strengthening Sakkar and Bhakkar to which he gave the name of Shergarh. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

(vii) *Rājputāna.*—'After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shāh ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or enumeration,[1] should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagor, Ajmir and Jodhpūr, which belonged to Maldeo[2] the Rājā with whom Humāyūn had sought shelter in vain.

'When he arrived at Fathpūr-Sīkrī, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should throw up an earthen entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on ac-

tive work, but chiefly military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Rājputāna. (Ibid., pp. 316-7).

1. 'Sher Shāh had so great an army, in this campaign,' says Abbās Khān, 'that the best calculators, in spite of all reflection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often ascended the tops of eminences that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them; but so exceeding was its magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and we asked old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.' —E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 404.

2. Maldeo ascended the throne of Mārwār in 1532. At his accession it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his shrewd policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Mārwār proper from his powerful but disobedient vassals, annexed Bikānīr, and considerably aggrandised himself at the expense of Jesalmīr, Mewār, and Amber.—(Qanungo, op. cit., 263-79.)

count of the sand, make an entrenchment. Mahmūd Khān, grandson of Sher Shāh, said : "Let my Lord order that sacks should be filled with sand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shāh was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When he approached the enemy, Sher Shāh contrived a stratagem ; and having written letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you" ; and having inclosed these letters in a *kharita* or silken bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the *vakīl* of Maldeo, and remain there ; and when he went out, to drop the *kharita* on his way, and conceal himself.

'Sher Shāh's agent did as he was ordered ; and when the *vakīl* of Maldeo saw the *kharita* lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took oaths of fidelity, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaya Chand and Goha, and others, came and attacked Sher Shāh, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain Afghān came to Sher Shāh, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Mount, for the infidels are routing your army." Sher Shāh was performing his morning devotions, and reading the *Musta' abi-i' ashr*. He gave no reply to the Afghān. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khawās Khān had slain Jaya and Goha with all their forces. When Sher Shāh learnt of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, '*I had nearly lost the kingdom of Delhi, for a handful of bhajra* (millet seed)."

This occurred about March, 1544. 'He left Khawās Khān and Īsā Khān Niāzī and some other chiefs in the country of Nagor, and himself withdrew. Khawās Khān founded a city in his own name, near the fort of Jodhpūr, and brought into

his power and possession the whole country of Nagor and Ajmir, the fort of Jodhpūr, and the districts of Mārwār. Maldeo went to the fort of Siwāna, on the borders of Gujarāt.' Sher Shāh, to allay misgivings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and rejoined his camp at Ajmir, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mewār at this time was utterly prostrate; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rājputāna. The bastard Banabīr, whom the disaffected nobles of Mewār had raised to the throne, had murdered the dethroned Bikramjit, and would have done the same with the infant Udai Singh, but for his nurse Panna's noble sacrifice. The boy had been installed only two years before Sher Shāh invaded. No wonder that 'when he was yet 12 *kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Rājā who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shāh came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khawās Khān, Miān Ahmad Sarwāni, and Hasan Khān Khiljī. Sher Shāh himself marched towards Kachwāra, and thence to Kālinjar.

'The Rājā of Kālinjar, Kirāt Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shāh) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they overtopped the fort. The men who were in the streets and houses were exposed, and the Afghāns shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this tedious mode of capturing the fort was this: Among the women of Rājā Kirāt Singh was a Patar slave-girl, i.e., a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he feared lest, if he stormed the fort, the Rājā Kirāt Singh would certainly make a *Jauhar*, and would burn the girl.'

"The fortress of Kālinjar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A.D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 1230 ft. above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or

ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The sides rise rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 or 180 ft. in height, and in most places inaccessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 35 ft. thick."

'On Friday, the 9th *Rabiu-l awwal*, 952 A.H. when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shāh called for his breakfast, and ate with his *ulama* and priests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast, Sheikh Nizām said, "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidels. If you be slain, you become a martyr; if you live, you become a *ghāzī*." When Sher Shāh had finished eating his breakfast, he ordered Daryā Khān to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said, "Daryā Khān comes not; he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shāh came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell full of gun-powder struck on the gate of the fort and broke, and came and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. Those which were loaded all began to explode. Sheikh Halil, Sheikh Nizām, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not burnt; but they brought out Sher Shāh partially burnt. A young princess who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

'When Sher Shāh was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled in *darbār*; and he sent for Īsā Khān Hajib and Masnad Khān Kalkapūr, the son-in-law of Īsā Khān and the paternal uncle of the author (Abbās Khān), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Īsā Khān came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shāh's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, men came and swarmed out instantly on every side like ants and locusts; and by the time of afternoon prayers captured

the fort, putting everyone to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening prayers, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shāh, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

'On the 10th *Rabiu-l awwal*, 952 A. H. (22 May, 1545 A.D.) Sher Shāh went from the hostel of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the abode of this world to the lofty heavens; the date was discovered in the words *az atash murd*, he died from fire.'

It is not certain whether Sher Shāh's body was buried at Kālinjar, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at *Sasarām*—the home of his greatness.[1] He had reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Jaunpūr, and for five years as the Emperor of Hindūstān. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus passed away in the mid-career of victory and beneficent activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindūs the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equality of political rights, which broadened into dazzling noon on the accession of Akbar."[2]

C. SHER SHĀH'S CAPACITY

Introduction.

Sher Shāh was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. It would not be unfair to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the feudal nobility; with Frederick William I—Prussia's greatest 'internal king'—in the care he bestowed upon both military organisation and civil administration; with Kautalya and Machiavelli in his practical outlook and political principles; and Aśoka in his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Bābur and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Erskine says: "Sher Shāh

1. Qanungo, op. cit., p. 343.
2. Ibid., p. 341.

was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Tīmūr, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.[1] But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."[2]

(a) Personal Character.

Sher Shāh's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary on his character that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his success is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their dignity and loftiness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty."[3] The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition; but it was an ambition conceived by his national patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unfair

1. E.g. Abu-l Fazl affects to deride his institutions, which he represents as a revival of those of Alāu-d dīn; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akbar.—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 457-8.

2. Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 110-11.

3. The *Wākiāt-i-Mushtāki* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shāh's busy life :—

'Sher Shāh was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers. Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon; there was no need of

treatment drove him to Jaunpūr, he utilised the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. 'Subsequently,' Abbās Khān informs us, 'whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia,* and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.' When he was appointed to the administration of his father's *jāgīrs,* he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty. "To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power....I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration; for it has been said by the learned...." His tenure as *jāgīrdār,* short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care,—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abbās Khān tells us, he never breakfasted except in the company of the *ulama.* But in moments of action, he was his own best counsel. After the Raisin expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his courtiers, and they said, 'It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this innovating (*Shia*) schism from the Dekhin'; but Sher Shāh replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind....until I have cleansed the country from the existing

further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace.'—E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 550-51.

contamination of the unbelievers (Hindūs), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . . " 'The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled.' But Sher Shāh's whole administration is a refutation of the implication of religious bigotry against the Hindūs, contained in this representation of him by our historian. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political : it was to give the Rājput a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Mughal, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Shāh's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success he achieved. After the final discomfiture and dispersal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial tents, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all Victory. " He did not now hesitate to declare a dream which he had on the preceding night. He thought that he and Humāyūn were both carried into the presence of the Prophet of God, who was sitting in state on a throne, and who, addressing the Emperor, told him that the Almighty had bestowed his kingdom on Sher Shāh ; and, at the same time, taking the crown and cap of authority from his head, placed them on that of his rival, commanding him to rule with justice."[1]

(b) Military Genius.

Genius has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, audacity, and infinite capacity to take pains. However this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship, as Humāyūn's failures had amply demonstrated, required many other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shrewd insight into

1. Erskine, op. cit., II, p. 173.

human nature, resourcefulness, and a clear grasp of the real in a very mundane sense. The uniform success of Sher Shāh showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(i) The resolute manner in which he brought under control the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order in those troubled times. 'There were some *zamīndārs* who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's presence, but were insolent from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Farīd collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers who had a horse should come riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

'When the soldiers and peasants were assembled, he marched towards the villages of the recusants, and at a distance of a *kos* threw up an earthen entrenchment, and ordered them to cut down the neighbouring jungle. His horsemen he directed to patrol round the villages; to kill all men they met, and to make prisoners of the women and children, to drive in the cattle, to permit no one to cultivate the fields, to destroy crops already sown, and not to permit any one to bring anything from the neighbouring parts, nor to allow any one of them to carry anything out of the village, and not to permit a soul to go out. His footmen he also ordered to cut down the jungle. When the jungle was all cut down he marched from his former position, and made another entrenchment nearer the village, and occupied it. The rebels were humbled, and sent a representative saying, that if Farīd Khān would pardon their fault, they would submit. Farīd Khān replied that he would not accept their submission, and there could be nothing but hostility between him and them, to whichever God might please, He would give the victory.

'Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Farīd Khān would not accept the money, but said to his men :—"This is the way of these rebels : first they fight and oppose their ruler : if they find him weak, they persist in their rebelliousness ; but if they see that he is strong, they come to him deceitfully, and humble themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money, and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone ; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

'When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.'

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shāh showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Ibrāhīm Khān the Bengalī general commanded vastly superior numbers, and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khān who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said :—"I have for some time abstained from meeting the Bengalīs in the open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments, lest our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalīs are much inferior to the Afghāns in war....I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghāns and Bengalīs, the Afghāns must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalīs can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. Tomorrow morning, if you concur with me, hoping in the mercy of the protector, and on this text—'By God's command the lesser number overcomes the greater,' I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghāns replied : "That which your noble mind has determined is extremely right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Senlac, and the result identical.

(iii) The manœuvres by which Sher Shāh encompassed the ruin of Humāyūn were masterpieces of military strategy. For details the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chausa and Bilgrām, given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shāh on both the occasions, Humāyūn was too dull to profit by experience.

(iv) To economise in his men, and not to waste them in avoidable encounters was with Sher Shāh a constant principle. This often led him to attain his ends through means too open to moral censure. The acquisition of Chunār, Rohtās, and Raisin are examples of treacherous conduct—though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shāh's otherwise fair reputation. His ruse of the forged letters in the case of Maldeo is of a piece with this unscrupulous behaviour, that sometimes passes in the name of political adroitness. Nevertheless, these actions seem to have originated chiefly from Sher Shāh's extreme reluctance to shed the blood of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He inspired confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the Mughals are not superior to the Afghāns in battle or single combat; but the Afghāns have let the Empire of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.' His successive triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Afghāns that his was a national cause; and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he compelled by conscription. 'Many of them,' Abbās Khān says, 'who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghān who refused to be a soldier. He was very care-

ful of his Afghāns in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghāns heard that Sher Khān was eagerly patronising their race, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Prof. Qanungo writes : "He was one of the most humane conquerors....In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their onerous duties. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up redoubts round their encampment. They implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot but as the comrades of an adored commander....Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterised Sher Shāh's campaigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had above all, a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy : we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Mughal queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after, Humāyūn's defeat at Chausa)."[1]

(c) Administrative Ability.

Prof. Qanungo has described Sher Shāh as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghāns".[2] A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within his dominions and its abiding effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Bābur will find in Sher Shāh's constructive achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Bābur's lack of administrative genius. Abu-l Fazl's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of Alāu-d

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 411-14.

2. Ibid., Foreword, p. iii. Also read Jaffar, op. cit., pp. 56-66 ; and C. H. I., IV. pp. 55-57.

dīn Khiljī of which he had heard 'as they are detailed in the *Tārīkh-i Fīrōzshāhī*, does scant justice to Sher Shāh's political originality.[1] But more than any detail of civil or military organisation which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime forms the basis of his enduring fame. Crooke's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark: "He was the first Musalman ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularised, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindūs must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged....All this and more Akbar strove to do later on.... Sher Shāh relaxed the oppressive Muhammadan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathān,' as Keene says."[2]

'For an elaborate treatment of Sher Shāh's administration the reader is directed to Prof. Qanungo's exhaustive study (*Sher Shāh*, chapter xii, pp. 346-406). Here we subjoin an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* of Abbās Khān Sarwānī, with critical observations wherever necessary :—

Prologue : "When fortune gave into the hands of Sher Shāh the bridle of power, and the kingdom of Hind fell under his dominion, he made certain laws, both from his own ideas and by extracting them from the works of the learned, for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy; for maintaining the prosperity

1. "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shāh gradually built up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was co-extensive with the area of his Empire."—Qanungo, op. cit., p. 351.

2. *Memoirs of the Races of the N. W. Provinces*, II, p. 97; cited by Qanungo.

of his realms, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops. "Crime and violence," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity. It behoves kings to be grateful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to disobey the commandments of God.

Personal Attention :

'Sher Shāh attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, whether great or small, in his own person. So he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business and suffered no idleness to find its way to him. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue reliance on their ministers.... The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt *vakīls* or *wazīrs;* for a receiver of bribes is dependent on the giver of bribes ; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of *wazīr*, for he is an interested personage ; and to an interested person loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

Administration of Justice :

'Sher Shāh was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he oftentimes remarked : "*Justice is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.*"

'When the young shoot of Sher Shāh's prosperity came into bearing, he always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed, and the suitors for justice ; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons,[1]

1. Erskine gives the following anecdote to illustrate Sher Shāh's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities :—

'One day, his eldest son Adel Khān, riding on an elephant through the streets of Āgrā, in passing a house, the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of a shop-keeper, undressed and bathing. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bīdā* (*pān*), and passed on. The woman, being thus treated as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shāh, and among other suitors, preferred his complaint. The King, having investigated the circum-

his renowned nobles,[1] or of his own tribe ; and he never showed any delay or lenity in punishing oppressors. He appointed courts of justice in every place.[2]

'He strictly impressed on the *āmils* and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good ; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders, or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the *āmils* were enjoined to seize the *muqaddams*, as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived, they were to let the *muqaddam* go, and put the murderer to death ; but if the *muqaddams* of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this they were themselves put to death ; for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can only take place by the connivance of these headmen... If a *muqaddam* harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be a warning to others to abstain from similar acts.

stances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced ; and that the shop-keeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw *bīdā* to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. *Such* he said, *was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant* : that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied ; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.'—Erskine, op. cit., II, pp. 444-45.)

1. See E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 425-32.

2. Criminal justice was administered by the *Chief Shiqdār* and revenue disputes settled by the *Chief Munsif*. No historian tells us, says Qanungo, anything about the appointment of the *mīr-i-adals* or the *qāzīs* for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim canon-law. In an anecdote of the *Tārīkhi-i Dāudī* (MS. p. 204) we find the only allusion to *mīr-i-adal* and *qāzī*. This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution, developed by Sultān Sikandar Lodī.—*Sher Shāh*, p. 399.

Collection of Revenue :

'The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this wise :—

'There was in every *pargaṇa*, one *amīr*, one God-fearing *siqdār*, one treasurer, one *kārkūn* to write Hindī, and one to write Persian[1]; and he ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement, and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half share to the *muqaddam*; and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain, in order that the *muqaddams* and the *chaudharīs*, and *āmils* should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.

'Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but there was a *qanungo* for every *pargaṇa*, from whom was ascertained the present, past, and probable future state of the *pargaṇa*.[2]

'In every *sarkār* he appointed a chief (*Siqdār-i-siqdāran*) and a *Chief Munsif* (*Munsif-i-munsifan*), that they might watch over the conduct of both the *āmils* and the people; that the *āmils*, should not oppress or injure the people, or embezzle the King's revenue;

1. The *pargaṇa* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without destroying the autonomous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing; it has been used in Abbās Khān's narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Amīr, *amīn*, and *āmil*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenue, and to act as an umpire between the State and the individual.

The *siqdār* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *farmāns*, to assist the *amīns* in revenue collection, if necessary and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see Ibid., pp. 352-53.

2. The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such, entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no fixity of the State demand; the revenue was generally assessed in the gross by guess or computation. Alāu-d dīn Khiljī first devised the scheme of *Jarib* (survey and assessment). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any diminution' (E. & D., op. cit., III, p. 182). The license of the Muslim soldiery and the exactions of the Hindū *muqaddams*, were the bane of the peasants. The fief-holders and the soldier-lords wielded almost absolute political authority over their tenants.

and if any quarrel arose among the *āmils*, regarding the boundaries of the *parganas*, they were to settle that no confusion might find its way amongst the King's affairs.

'If the people, from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit, created a disturbance regarding the collection of the revenue, they were so to eradicate and destroy them with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion should not spread to others.'[1]

Transfer of Officers :

Every year, or second year, he changed his *āmils*, and sent new ones, for he said, "I have examined much, and accurately ascertained that there is no such income and advantage in other employments as the government of a district. Therefore, I send my good old experienced loyal servants to take charge of districts, that the salaries, profits, and advantages, may accrue to them in preference

Under Sher Shāh, lands were surveyed under an uniform system of mensuration. He ordered the use of the *gaz-Sikandarī* (32 digits). The land was measured by rope,—for which later on Akbar substituted the bamboo,—into *bhigas*. The terms *bhiga* and *jarib* were interchangeable ; one *jarib* or *bhiga* consisted of 3,600 sq. *gaz*. (*Āin.*, II, p. 62). The holding of every *rayat* was separately measured and ¼ of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As the custom under previous Sultāns, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *kabuliyat* or agreement, containing a short account of the *rayat's* holding, and the amount to be paid by him to Government, was taken by the *amin* from every individual *rayat*, duly signed and attested ; and he gave in return a *patta* or title-deed to the *rayat*, with a record of the State demand.

"Sher Shāh regarded the interests of the ruler and the *rayat*, as identical. 'If a little favour is shown to the *rayat*, the ruler benefits by it.' His general instruction to the revenue officers was—'Be lenient at the time of assessment, but show no mercy at the time of collection.' His revenue system, popularly known as *Todar Mal's bandobast*, obtained in Northern India throughout the Mughal period, and in all its essential features has survived in British India under the name of the *rayatwārī-settlement*, admired so enthusiastically by the Anglo-Indian administrators." Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 370-79.

1. The duties of the *Chief Siqdār* resembled those of the *Faujdār* under the Mughals, and discharged functions as under Sikandar Lodī. Though a military noble, with a police force of 2,000 to 5,000 troops under him, he was essentially a civil officer like a modern magistrate.

to others; and after two years I change them, and send other servants like to them, that they also may prosper, and that under my rule all my old servants may enjoy these profits and advantages, and that the gate of comfort and ease may be opened to them.

As with the civil so with the military, he observed this rule of equi-distribution of profits and of labour. Abbās Khān writes: 'And in every place where it served his interests, he kept garrisons. After a time he used to send for the forces which had enjoyed ease and comfort on their *jāgīrs*, and to send away in their stead the chiefs who had undergone labour and hardships with the victorious army.

Military Organisation:

'His whole army was beyond all limit or numbering, and it increased every day. The rule regarding the army for guarding the kingdom from the disturbances of rebels, and to keep down and repress contumacious and rebellious *zamīndārs*, so that no one should think the kingdom undefended, and therefore attempt to conquer it, was as follows:—

'Sher Shāh always kept 150,000 horse, and 25,000 footmen, either armed with match-locks or bows, present with him, and on some expeditions took even more with him. There were also 5,000 elephants in his elephant-sheds. And in every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons; *e.g.*, in the fort of Gwālior he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Bayāna he kept a division, besides a garrison of 500 match-locks; in Rantambhor another division besides 1,600 match-lock men; in the fort of Chitor, 3,000 match-lock men; in the fort of Shadmābād or Māndū was stationed Suja'at Khān with 10,000 horse and 7,000 match-locks. He had his *jāgīrs* in Hindia and Mālwā. In the fort of Raisin a force was stationed together with 1,000 artillery men; and in the fort of Chunār, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men; and in the fort of Rohtās, near Bihār, he kept Ikhtiyār Khān Panni, with 10,000 match-lock men: and Sher Shāh kept treasures without number of reckoning in that fort... (Similarly, at Nagor, Jodhpūr, Ajmir, Lucknow, Kālpī, etc.). The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Kāzī Fazilat *Amīr* of that whole kingdom.

Prof. Qanungo observes that to Sultān Alāu-d dīn Khiljī belongs the credit of organising the Indian army on a new model. He created

The word *munsif* means 'doer of justice'; the *Chief Munsif* seems to have also acted as a circuit-judge for trying civil suits, and redressing the grievances of the peasants and *muqaddams* at the hands of *pargana* officials.—(Ibid., pp. 354-57.)

an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the Sultān's own choice, while corruption was checked by the *dāgh* (branding) system. The armies of the Lodīs were of the clannish feudal type, consisting of the quotas of various tribal chiefs enjoying *jāgīrs* for service. Sher Shāh revived the system of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The soldier obeyed his immediate commanding officer, not as his personal chief, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor combined in himself the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Pay-Master-General.[1] . . In order to take away from the military character of the administration, Sher Shāh took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only as the support of the civil authority.[2]

Branding of Horses :

'Among the rules which Sher Shāh promulgated, is the branding of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account, that the rights of the chiefs and soldiers might be distinct, and that the chiefs might not be able to defraud the soldiers of their rights ; and that every one should maintain soldiers according to his rank (*mansab*) and not vary his numbers. "For," said he, "in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm, and afterwards, I observed that many base nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their monthly salary was assigned to them, had a number of soldiers ; but when they had got possession of their *jāgīrs*, they dismissed the greater number of their men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties, and did not even pay them in full. Nor did they regard the injury to their master's interests, of the ingratitude of their own conduct ; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mustered them, but the money they put into their own treasuries. In time of war they would be defeated from paucity of numbers ; but they kept the money, and when their master's affairs became critical and disordered, they, equipping themselves with this very money, took service elsewhere ; so, from the ruin of their master's fortunes, they suffered no loss. When I had the good fortune to gain power, I was on my guard against the deceit and fraud of both soldiers and chiefs, and ordered the horses to be branded, in order to block up the road against these tricks and frauds, so that the chiefs could not entertain strangers to fill up their ranks." Sher Shāh's custom was this that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were

1. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 361-63.
2. Ibid., p. 353.

branded, and he carried it to such an extent that he would not give anything to the sweepers and women servants about the palace without a brand, and they wrote out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries and then he had the horses branded in his presence.

Roads and Sarais :

'For the convenience in travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two *kos*, he made a *sarai* : and one road with *sarais* he made from the fort which he built in the Punjāb to the city of Sunārgāon, which is situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Āgrā to Jodhpūr and Chitor, and one road with *sarais* from the city of Lāhore to Multān. Altogether he built 1,700 *sarais* on various roads ; and in every *sarai* he built separate lodgings, both for Hindūs and for Musalmans, and at the gate of every *sarai* he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink ; and in every *sarai* he settled Brāhmans for the entertainment of Hindūs, to provide hot and cold water, and beds and food, and grain for all their horses ; and it was a rule in these *sarais*, that whoever entered them received provision suitable to his rank, and food and litter for his cattle, from Government.

'Villages were established all round the *sarais*. In the middle of every *sarai* was a well and a *masjid* of burnt brick ; and he placed an *imām* and a *muazzim* in every *masjid*, together with a custodian (*shahna*), and several watchmen ; and all these were maintained from the land near the *sarai*.

'On both sides of the highway Sher Shāh planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also gave much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees ; and if they should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put up at a *sarai*, they bound their horses under the trees.[1]

1. "These roads and *sarais*," observes Qanungo, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials ; some of them developed into centres of busy market-towns, where the peasants could profitably sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort....

"The *sarais* of Sher Shāh were also the stations of *Dāk-chauki*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Empire by means of this institution.... This was the origin of the News Department under the *Daroghā-i-dāk-chauki* appointed by the Mughals. It was first introduced by Sultān Alāud-dīn Khiljī. (By means of this) daily reports of prices and occurrences in the *parganas* of his dominion reached him every day."—(Ibid., pp. 391-95.)

'At every *sarai* were placed two horses for the news reporters. So there were 3,400 horses, in all the *sarais* together, always ready to bring intelligence every day from every quarter. For the enforcement of the regulations which he had established for the protection of the people, Sher Shāh sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles, in order that, inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people, they might relate them to him; for the courtiers and ministers, for purposes of their own, do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, lest any disorder or deficiency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.

Spies and Informers :

'In the days of Sher Shāh and of Islām Shāh, the *muqaddams* used to protect the limits of their own villages lest any thief or robber or enemy might injure a traveller, and so be the means of his destruction and death. And he directed his governors and *āmils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travellers well in every way, and not to injure them at all; and if a merchant should die by the way, not to stretch out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods as if they were unowned; for Sheikh Nizāmī (may God be merciful to him!) has said: "If a merchant should die in your country, it is perfidy to lay hands on his property."

Merchants and Travellers :

'Throughout his whole kingdom Sher Shāh levied customs on merchandise only in two places, *viz.*, when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Gharri (Sikri gali); and when it came from the direction of Khorāsān, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom; and again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the ferries, in town or village.[1] Sher Shāh, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the *bazārs* except at the usual *bazār* rates and prices.

'One of the regulations Sher Shāh made was this: That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people and when he marched he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round to prevent people from trespassing on anyone's field. If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hands, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him

Protection of Cultivators :

1. "Sher Shāh's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India."—(Ibid., p. 386.)

to be paraded through the camp. And if from the narrowness of the road, any cultivation was unavoidably destroyed, he would send *amīrs*, with a surveyor, to measure the cultivation so destroyed, and give compensation in money to the cultivators. If he entered an enemy's country, he did not enslave or plunder the peasantry of that country, nor destroy their cultivation. "For," said he, "the cultivators are blameless, they submit to those in power, and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous."

Charities :

'His kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand horsemen and private followers, fed there ; and there was a general order, that if any soldier or religious personage, or any cultivator, should be in need of food, he should feed at the King's kitchen, and should not be allowed to famish. The daily cost of these meals was 500 gold pieces (*ashrāfis*). Sher Shāh often said : "It is incumbent upon kings to give grants to *imāms* ; for the prosperity of and populousness of the cities of Hind are dependent on the *imāms* and holy men ; and the teachers and travellers, and the necessitous, who cannot come to the King, will praise him, being supported by those who have grants ; and the convenience of travellers and the poor is thereby secured, as well as the extension of learning, of skill and religion, for whoever wishes that God Almighty should make him great, should feed the *ulāmā* and pious persons, that he may obtain honour in this world and felicity in the next."

Buildings :

"Sher Shāh left the indelible impress of his personality," writes Qanungo, "not only upon the useful but also on the ornamental side of the imperial edifice. His noble tomb at Sasarām still brings home to the mind of the beholder the grandeur of the Empire,—severe yet graceful ; externally Muslim, but Hindū inside."[1] V. A. Smith observes : "The mausoleum of Sher Shāh at Sasarām, built on a lofty plinth, in the midst of a lake, is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it even to the Tāj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Gol Gumbaz of Bījāpūr, is 13 ft. wider than that of the Āgrā monument. Externally the architecture is wholly Muhammadan, but Hindū corbelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the inner door-ways, as at Jaunpūr. The style may be described

1. Ibid., p. 399.

as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the faminine grace of Shāh Jahān's masterpiece."[1] Havell saw in it the personality and character of Sher Shāh : "Though forbidden by his creed to make himself a graven image, the Musalman monarch took so much interest in the planning of his last resting place, that unconsciously he gave it the impress of his own character, the builders formed it after his own image...."[2]

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shāh, "I will build a fort in every *sarkār*, on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the contumacious ; and I am making all the earthen-work *sarais* of brick that they may also serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Rohtās, on the road to Khorāsān to hold in check Kāshmīr and the country of the Gakkars, about 60 *kos* from Lāhore, and fortified and strengthened it exceedingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and immense sums were expended upon the work. He called that fort *Little Rohtās.*

'The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jumnā, and Sher Shāh destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jumnā, and ordered two forts to be built in that city, with the strength of a mountain, and loftier in height ; the smaller fort for the governor's residence ; the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it ; and in the governor's fort he built a *jāmā masjid* of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli* and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shāh died.

'He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick there ; and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Sher Sūr.* I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the act was very unpopular,' writes Abbās Sarwāni.

Epilogue :

'From the day that Sher Shāh was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him : nor did any one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him ; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom, nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or a thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another ; nor did any theft or robbery even occur within his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers during the time of Sher Shāh's reign were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch ; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of

1. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 405-6.
2. *History of Āryan Rule in India*, p. 444.

a desert : and the *zamindārs* for fear lest any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer, or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shāh's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishment which Sher Shāh inflicted. Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustom. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghāns, was altogether quieted and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindūstān. Sher Shāh, in his wisdom and experience, was a second Haider. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiery and people. God is a discerner of righteousness!'

So closes Abbās Khān Sarwāni's account of Sher Shāh. It is well to close our study of the great Afghān with a few modern estimates of him.

SOME MODERN ESTIMATES

E. B. Havell.

"Sher Shāh showed brilliant capacity as an organiser, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindūstān in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghān for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sūdras were Āryan free-men, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies." (*Āryan Rule in India*, pp. 441-42.)

William Erskine.

"He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, who ever ruled in India.... Sher Shāh

had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."—(*History of India*, pp. 441, 443.)

Mountstuart Elphinstone.

"Sher Shāh appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles, ... but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*The History of India*, p. 357.)

H. G. Keene.

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great need of his country. Though a devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progresses were the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasions of devastation....It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation; for the acts of Sher Shāh are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever." (*History of India*, I, pp. 98-9 Rev. ed.)

V. A. Smith.

"Sher Shāh was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce Afghāns. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasserām (Sahasrām) in Bihār which he prepared for himself... He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Alāu-dīn Khiljī and were developed by Akbar .... He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shāh had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Mughals' would not have appeared

on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327-29.)

H. L. O. Garrett.

"Few men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and conscientious man." (Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

Ishwari Prasad.

"In spite of the limitations which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 334.)

Kalikacharan Qanungo.

"The accession of Sher Shāh marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islām which lasted till the reaction of Aurangazeb's reign....Sher Shāh may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation.... The work of Sher Shāh's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the substratum of our present administrative system. The modern magistrate and collector of British India is the official successor of the *Shiqdāri-shiqdāran* of Sher Shāh, and the *tahsīldār* that of the *āmil* or *amīn*.... The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shāh." (*Sher Shāh*, pp. 415, 420, 360, 347.)[1]

Sher Shāh's Coinage.

"Sher Shāh's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only its specific mint reforms, but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and as introducing these many reforms which the

1. Cf. Sri Rama Sharma, *The Administrative System of Sher Shāh*, I. H. Q., XII, 4 (1936).

succeeding Mughals claimed as their own."—(Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 403.)

"Sher Shāh is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the inconvenient billon coinage of mixed metal, and struck well-executed pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupees, which weigh 180 grains, and contain 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in Nāgarī characters in addition to the usual Arabic inscriptions."—(V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, pp. 145-6.)

"His coins also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the countries settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads, and establishment of mint towns seem to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies."—(Qanungo *Sher Shāh*, p. 383.)

III. SHER SHAH'S SUCCESSORS

Introduction.

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of succession of the principal successors of Sher Shāh; but, apart from the first, namely Salīm or Islām Shāh, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shāh's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire except as revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humāyūn to recover his lost patrimony. Few text-books dealing with the period mention even their names. But, the Sūr Inter-regnum, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nut-shell, as it were, the same lesson that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Keene says, "It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never

ensure a worthy successor." Sher Shāh's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were labouring under the usual trials of princes born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shāh himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghān dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old contentiousness of the Afghān nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salīm's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels ; and on his death in November 1554, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. " The native Muslims fell into such a state of quarrelsome imbecility that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindū chandler named Hemū."[1]

(A) SALIM SHAH AND FIROZ SHAH

1. Salīm Shāh Sūr.

Abdulla, author of *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī*, writes :—' It is related in the *Akbar Shāhī*, that when Sher Shāh rendered up his life to the angel of death in Kālinjar,....the nobles perceived that as Ādil Khān (Sher Shāh's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rantambhor), and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalāl Khān who was nearer (in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bhata). He reached Kālinjar in five days, and by the assistance of Īsā Hajjab and other grandees was raised to the throne near the fort of Kālinjar, on the 15th of the month *Rabiul awwal*, 952, A. H. (25th May, 1545 A. D.). He assumed the title of Islām Shāh, and this verse was engraved on his seal :

" The world, through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy.

Since Islām Shāh, the son of Sher Shāh Sūr, has become king."[2]

1. Keene, op. cit., I, p. 99.

2. His fort at Delhi is still called *Salīmgarh* ; but on his coins he is *Islām Shāh*. Ferishta writes, 'Jalāl Khān....ascended the throne,..... taking the title of *Islām* Shāh, which by false pronunciation is called *Salīm* Shāh, by which name he is more generally known.' —Briggs, II, pp. 126-27; E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 478-79, n. 1.

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shāh, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.' He was an improver, like his father, observes Elphinstone, "but rather in public works than in laws."[1] Other writers look upon his regulations as "silly and nonsensical, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Islām Shāh was desirous of showing the world that he also had 'his own thunder'."[2] But a statement of these reforms and enactments will speak for itself. Badāunī, whose account is given below, says, 'These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salīm Shāh, and the compiler of this history (*Tārīkh-i-Badāunī*) witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A. H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend His grace to him!) to the camp of Farīd Taran, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Bajwara, a dependency of Bayāna.'

Salīm Shāh's Regulations:

'Salīm Shāh in the beginning of his reign issued orders that as the *sarais* of Sher Shāh were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public; and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindū, as well as Muhammadan travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the *madad-ma'sh* and *aima* tenures in Hindūstān which Sher Shāh had granted, and all the *sarais* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 459.

2. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 480 n. 2. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Islām Shāh had all the faults of the Afghāns, from which Sher Shāh was free. See C. H. I., IV, p. 63.

'He took away from the nobles all the dancing-girls maintained in their courts, according to the common practice of India. He also took from them all their elephants, and let none of them retain more than a sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage. It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed and placed under immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Shāh.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, *whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not;* a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Kāzīs* and *Muftīs.*

'In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of 5, 10, or 20 thousand horse were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Salīm Shāh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the *munsif*, or *amin*, and so on; after which with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a secretary coming forward read to them the whole of the circular instructions above referred to, which filled about 80 sheets of paper. Every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to its purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the King, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well *as on his family.*'[1]

1. Ibid., V, pp. 486-87.

Character of Administration.

The real character of Salīm Shāh's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* : 'Islām Shāh,' writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire for dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants, and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horse and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army : one month of this he gave them as a present ; the other as subsistence money.[1] Moreover, he resumed all the *jāgīrs* in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury instead. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shāh he gave lands and *parganas*. During the time of Sher Shāh, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Islām Shāh directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the *sarais*, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contented and at peace. He had, whilst Prince, 6,000 horsemen with him, and he now promoted all of them : He made privates officers, and officers nobles. These regulations of Islām Shāh caused those of Sher Shāh to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shāh's principal nobles were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Islām Shāh. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grandees, and thus *the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.*'[2]

1. This was more than counter-balanced by long arrears of pay later on ; e.g. see Ibid., p. 489.

2. Ibid., IV, pp. 479-80.

Revolts and Disturbances :

'Islām Shāh was a monarch of treacherous and vindictive disposition. When he secured power in his own hands, he dissimulated loyalty to his elder brother, 'Ādil Khān, who had been nominated Sher Shāh's heir-apparent. "Because I was near and you were distant," he wrote to 'Ādil Khān, "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your orders." (How like Aurangazīb later on!) His real object was to get rid of his brother during the perfidious interview for which he soon summoned him.

'Ādil Khān proceeded to meet his brother after being doubly assured as to his safety. 'Islām Shāh, intending treachery towards his brother, had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to enter the fort with Ādil Khān. When they arrived at the gate of the fort of Āgrā, Islām Shāh's men forbade their entry; to this Ādil Khān's people paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with 'Ādil Khān!' Ahmad Yādgār says, five or six thousand of 'Ādil Khān's men, armed with swords, forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to exclude them.[1]

'Ādil Khān was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware of the deceit and cunning of Islām Shāh. So he preferred to retire to the *jāgīr* of Bayāna, which was assigned to him. Even there he was not allowed to be at peace. Islām Shāh made an attempt to secure his person. 'The latter however,' says Ferishta, 'having timely information of the design, fled to Mewāt, where Khawās Khān then resided, and acquainted that chief with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khawās Khān, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, seized Ghāzī Mahally (Islām Shāh's agent), and went into open rebellion. Khawās Khān's character was so high, that by writing letters to the nobles of the court, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince 'Ādil Khān, he marched towards Āgrā.... (But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salīm Shāh. After the action, the prince 'Ādil Khān fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; the insurgent chiefs were obliged to retreat among the Kumaon hills, but only for a time.'[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 481-82.
2. Briggs, II, pp. 129-31.

After these events, Islām Shāh became mistrustful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmūd Khān, the son of 'Ādil Khān, under surveillance, and ruined, first Kutb Khān Sūr, then Barmazid Sūr, Jalāl Khān Sūr, and Zain Khān Niāzi. He slew Jalāl Khān Sūr, as well as his brother, by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the aforesaid nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shāh were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawās Khān, who bore the title of Masnad Alī, who was impaled on some frivolous pretext. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity."[1]

Conclusion.

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of Salīm Shāh's reign. There were other rebellions and disturbances, principally of the Niāzis under Āzam Humāyūn, and the Gakkars under Sultān Ādam Gakkar (who delivered Kāmrān into the hands of Humāyūn). To the last, Salīm Shāh was engaged in reducing these disorders. In the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made on his life. 'Certain nobles desired to place Mubāriz Khān, (who possessed the title of Adali) on the throne."[2] As the rebellious Niāzis declared: "*No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance; it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword.*"[3] 'Islām Shāh was informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and there punish them. The chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbār* all at once, but to go one by one. Islām Shāh was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, p. 485.
2. Ibid., p. 496.
3. Ibid., p. 487.

ill and confined to bed in the fort of Gwālior (which had been long his favourite residence).....He summoned (his wife) Bībī Bāi, and said, "I have the reigns still in my hands, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubāriz Khān to be removed." On this Bībī Bāi began to weep. Islām Shāh said, "You know best!" And then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 A. H. (November, 1554). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into confusion. His body was taken from Gwālior, and deposited at Sasarām, near that of his father.'[1]

2. Fīrōz Shāh Sūr :

Ferishta narrates the sequel thus :—Salīm Shāh 'was succeeded by his son, the Prince Fīrōz, then twelve years of age, who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Sūr at Gwālior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubāriz Khān, the son of Nizām Khān Sūr (Sher Shāh's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sher Shāh, and brother-in-law of Salīm Shāh, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Ādil....On the third day after the death of Salīm Shāh, Mubāriz Khān, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Bībī Bāi, his own sister.' When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother, Mubāriz Khān being too dangerous for the Prince, she had always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."[2] But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels!'

1. Ibid., pp. 504-5.
2. Briggs, II, pp. 141-142.

The Mahdī Episode:

Among the forces that created disturbance in the reign of Islām Shāh, one deserves special and separate treatment; it is with regard to a peculiar religious movement led by one Sheikh Alai. Its doctrines as well as the religious aspects of the reigns of the first two Sūrs will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Akbar's religious reforms. 'Among the most extraordinary events of this reign,' writes Ferishta, 'is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Alai. The story is as follows :—

'The father of Sheikh Alai was Sheikh Hasan, who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Bayāna; but he adopted opposite tenets to those of Sheikh Salīm of Sīkrī. Sheikh Hasan dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Alai, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. He imbibed the Mahdī or Mahdavī doctrines of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all wordly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpūrī, the founder of the sect; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened where fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide in common among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was their practice to go armed, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates, themselves being *Mahdavīs*, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them.'[1]

When Sheikh Alai went to Khawāspūr, which is in the Jodhpūr territory, Khawās Khān came to meet him, and joined him. 'When Islām Shāh heard of these events, he summoned him (Alai) to his

1. Briggs, II, pp. 138-39.

presence. The Sheikh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased. The courtiers were very wrath at this conduct. Mulla Abdulla Sultānpūrī, who was entitled Makhdumu-l Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Sheikh Alai, and decreed that he should be imprisoned. Islām Shāh assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them to enquire into the matter. Sheikh Alai's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. Islām Shāh said, "O Sheikh, forsake this mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you (*muhtasib*) Censor of Morals of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to forbid without my authority; henceforth you will do so with my consent. Sheikh Alai would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia, Bihār Khān Sarwāni joined him with all his troops. Islām Shāh again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia, and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrines. Makhdumu-l Mulk said, "This man desires to rule the country, he wishes to attain the rank of *Mahdī*, and the *Mahdī* is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much injured." Islām Shāh, for the second time sent Sheikh Alai into Bihār. There Sheikh Alai fell ill. When they brought him before Islām Shāh he was too weak to speak. Islām Shāh whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the *Mahdī*, in order that he might be pardoned; but Sheikh Alai would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty, losing all hopes of persuading him, ordered him to be scourged, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third blow, in the year 956 A. H. (1549 A.D.). It is commonly reported that Sheikh Alai repeated a stanza in the presence of Islām Shāh, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions, meditate on this verse of Sheikh Auhadu-d din Kirmani:

"I have one soul and a thousand bodies,
But both soul and bodies belong entirely to me.
It is strange I have made myself another."[1]

"The doctrine of the expected *Mahdī*, is based on certain alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a *mujaddid*, or restorer of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Badakhshān, beyond Afghānistān, and to have spread from there

1. E. & D., op. cit., IV, pp. 502-4.

over Persia and India. The doctrine was closely connected with the completion of the first thousand years of the Muslim era, so that in the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally, the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mīr Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpūr, in the latter part of the 15th century A. D.

"The *Mahdī* movements have been characterized by features that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great oratorical power as preachers, and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly, they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they undertook to be reformers of Islām, being mujaddids."[1]

(B) THREE KINGS

Mubāriz, after the murder of his nephew, ascended the throne of Sher Shāh and assumed the title of Mahmūd Shāh Ādil. But his character soon changed his self-styled epithet of '*Ādil* (the just), into first, *Adali* (the foolish), and then into *Andhali* (blind). Elphinstone remarks, "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices."[2] One illustration from Ferishta may be here cited :—'Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Tughlak, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors.'[3] When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and *jāgīrs* of his nobles, and bestowed them on

1. Mahmūd Shāh Adali.

1. Titus, *Indian Islām*, pp. 106-9.
2. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 460.
3. Briggs, II, p. 144.

his favourites;[1] 'among whom, one Hemū, a Hindū shopkeeper, whom his predecessor, Salīm Shāh, had made superintendent of the markets, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the meantime, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his harem. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghān chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased.'[2]

2. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr.

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and princes tried to feather each his own nest. Tāj Khān Kirāni, for instance, openly declared, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at Court, that he was determined to push his own fortune". His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go in his pursuit towards Chunār. Taking this opportunity, Ibrāhīm Khān, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, 'raised a considerable army, and getting possession of the city of Delhi ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Āgrā, and reduced the circumjacent provinces... Mahmūd Shāh Adali, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunār, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrāhīm Khān retained possession of the western territory.'[3]

3. Sikandar Shāh Sūr.

Ibrāhīm Khān no sooner ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Punjāb in the person of the Prince Ahmad Khān, another nephew of the late Sher Shāh, whose sister was married to Mahmūd Shāh Adali. Ahmad Khān, having procured the aid of Haibat Khān and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Salīm Shāh, assumed the

1. Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 461.
2. Briggs, op. cit.
3. Ibid., pp. 146-47.

title of Sikandar Shāh, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horse towards Āgrā, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrāhīm Khān opposed him with 70,000 horse, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sambhal, while Sikandar Khān took possession both of Delhi and Āgrā. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Humāyūn advanced into the Punjāb to recover his dominion, with what consequence we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Siwālik mountains, from whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Bengal, where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.[1]

(c) FAILURE OF THE SŪR DYNASTY

A last flicker of hope had been roused among the Afghāns, when Sikandar, having ascended the throne at Āgrā, held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect :—" I esteem myself as one of you : having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Bahlōl raised the tribe of Lodī to glory and reputation ; Sher Shāh rendered the tribe of Sūr illustrious ; and now Humāyūn the Mughal, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom ; but if you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghāns, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghān chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord : " We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Shāh, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for the *Korān*, all swore both to observe allegiance to

1. Ibid., p. 153.

Sikandar, and to maintain unanimity among themselves.' But, in a few days, Ferishta tells us, 'the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty.'[1]

The other members of the Sūr family did not fare better than Sikandar. When he was fighting against the Mughals, the other Sūrs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Ibrāhīm Khān marched to Kālpī, while at the same time Mahmūd Shāh Adali detached his vazīr Hemū, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunār, with a view to recover the western Empire. Hemū attacked Ibrāhīm Shāh at Kālpī, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghāzī Khān) at Bayāna, pursued by Hemū who besieged him in that city for three months. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sūr—led his army against Adali and obliged Hemū to return hastily. Emboldened by this Ibrāhīm pursued him to Āgrā ; but being again defeated once more retired to Bayāna. After some adventures in Bundelkhand, which had become independent under Bāz Bahādur, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahomed Shāh Sūr of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhand, but being pursued by Hemū was soon slain. 'Mahmūd Shāh Adali, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Āgrā, returned to Chunār, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Humāyūn ; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemū, with 50,000 horse, and 500 elephants towards Āgrā, not daring to leave Chunār himself, on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghāns.'[2] The rest of the

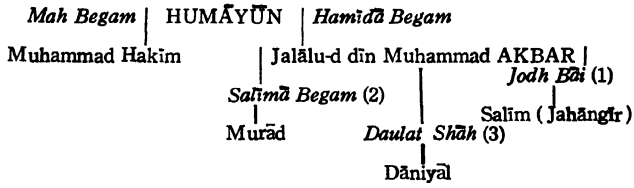
1. Brigga, II, p. 153.
2. Ibid., pp. 148-51.

story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar. After the defeat and death of Hemū, Mahmūd Shāh's fortunes declined rapidly. Khizr Khān, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Adali, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

This sudden and sharp denouement of the promising and glorious epoch, opened by the dramatic successes of Sher Shāh, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and devastating famine. Badāunī gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare :—'At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Āgrā, Bayāna, and Delhi, so that one seer of grain (*jwāri*) rose to 2½ *tankas*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindūs perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny *acacia* upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khashm-i-izad* : "wrath of God." The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities.'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 490-91.

GENEALOGY



Note—Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

AUTHORITIES

A PRIMARY : (i) The *Āīn-i Akbarī*, by Abu-l Fazl Allami—translated from the original Persian ; vol. i, Calcutta, 1873, by H. Blochmann, contains biographies of officials, compiled from various sources ; vol. ii, 1891, and vol. iii, 1894, by H. S. Jarrett (include 'The Happy Sayings of His Majesty'). The whole is invaluable for the account of Akbar's administrative system.

(ii) *The Akbar-Nāma* or 'History of Akbar,' by Abu-l Fazl, translated from the Persian, by Henry Beveridge. It comes down to the early part of 1602, or the end of the 46th year of Akbar's reign. It was brought to an abrupt close by the murder of its author in that year. "The historical matter in Abul Fazl's book," observes V. A. Smith, "is buried in a mass of tedious rhetoric, and the author, an unblushing flatterer of his hero, sometimes conceals, or even deliberately perverts, the truth (*e. g.*, the dating of Akbar's birth with the story of his naming ; and the account of the capitulation of Asīrgarh). Nevertheless, the *Akbar-Nāma*, notwithstanding its grave and obvious faults, must be treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's reign. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of the rival books by Nizāmu-d dīn and Badāunī, and it brings the story on to a later date than they do."

(iii) The *Tārīkh-i Badāunī* or *Muntakhabu-t Tawārīkh* (tr., E. & D., op. cit., V. pp. 428-549) has already been noticed. Smith says, "Badāunī's interesting work contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after

Jahāngīr's accession. The book being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunnī,.....gives information.... which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors." However, it is needless to add, it must be used with great caution.

(iv) The *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, (also called *Tārīkh-i Nizāmī*) has also been already noticed. It comes down only to the 39th year of Akbar's reign, A. D. 1593-4 (A. H. 1002). The author, Khwājā Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad was the Chief Bakshī under Akbar, and died at Lāhore in Oct. 1594. " The book," says Smith, " is a dry, colourless chronicle of external events... It omits all mention of many matters of importance, and needs to be cautiously read...The book was much used by Ferishta and later compilers, and in its jejune way is a particularly good specimen of Muslim chronicle-writing."

(v) *Ferishta*, already noticed. He was also called Muhammad Kāsim Hindū Shāh, and was born about A.D. 1570. Smith considers Briggs' the best translation (*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, 1829)— Calcutta ed. 1908, vol. ii, pp. 181-282. ' Briggs represents his original with freedom, but in the main, as far as I have seen, with truth.' (Jarrett). Ferishta based his work on earlier books like the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, on tradition, and on personal experience. " He is generally considered the best of the Indian compilers....His account of Akbar's reign has little independent value although, so far as the later years are concerned, he wrote as a contemporary who had taken a small personal share in the Emperor's transactions in the Deccan." (Smith).

(vi) *Various other works*, extracts from which are to be found in translation in E. & D., op. cit., vols. V and VI, may be only briefly noticed here. They are—

1. The *Wikaya, or Hālat-i Asad Beg*, an interesting and candid account of the later years of Akbar's reign, by an official who had been long in Abu-l Fazl's service.—E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 150-74.

2. The *Zubdatu-t Tawārīkh*, by Sheikh Nuru-l Hakk—includes the only distinct notice given by any Muhammadan historian of the terrible famine which desolated N. India for three or four years from A. D. 1595 to 1598.—Ibid. pp. 189-94.

3. The *Tārīkh-i Alfi*, compiled by Maulānā Ahmad and others, by Akbar's order issued in 1582 (A. H. 990)—includes description of the sieges of Chitor and Rantambhor.—Ibid., V., pp. 157-76.

4. The *Akbar-Nāma*, by Sheikh Illāhādād Faizī Sirhindī—contains the official version of the fall of Asīrgarh.—Ibid., VI., pp. 116-46.

5. The *Tārīkh-i Salātīn-i Afghāna*, written about 1595, by Ahmad Yādgār, is a good authority for the battle of Pānīpat (1556) and the connected events up to the death of Hemū.—Ibid., V, pp. 58-66.

6. The *Wākiāt*, by Abu-l Faizī, the elder brother of Abu-l Fazl—contains a letter concerning negotiations with the Deccan states.—Ibid., VI, pp. 147-49.

7. The *Tuzak-i Jahāngīrī* or *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr etc.—Ibid., pp. 256-452.

8. The *Ma'asiri Jahāngīrī*, by Khwājā Kamgar Ghairat Khān, a contemporary official—contains the proceedings of Jahāngīr previous to his accession.—Ibid., pp. 441-44.

Jesuit Sources

It is not possible here to give even a mere catalogue of all the Jesuit authorities, which are to be found in many European languages, some published, many awaiting publication. The few that are named below are those most frequently cited, and considered indispensable for a study of particularly Jesuit relations with the Great Mughal. For a more detailed account of these sources, the reader is directed to V. A. Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Bibliography, pp. 466-71; and Sir Edward Maclagan's more recent (1932) work *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Ch. I, pp. 5-19.

(i) The earliest printed authority for the Missions, Smith points out, with the exception of the *Annuæ Literæ* for 1582-3 in the British Museum, is the very rare little tract in Italian by John Baptist Peruschi. It was printed at Rome in 1597, and later French, German, and Latin translations also appeared.

(ii) The chief of the Jesuit histories, bearing on the subject of the Missions, Maclagan says, is that by Father Guzman, (written in Spanish) based on (a) published works ; (b) letters from the Fathers ; and (c) personal enquiries. It brings the story up to 1599. It was first published in 1601, " This history constitutes an excellent authority." (Maclagan.)

(iii) Father Guerreiro's Portuguese work " is for practical purposes a continuation of Guzman's history, and is, like that work, an authority of high importance." It covers the period from 1600 to 1608, and was published in five volumes. " The book is a rare one, but copies of all five volumes are in the British Museum." (Ibid.)

(iv) " All writers on the subject of the Jesuit Mission," says Smith, " must rely chiefly on the great work by Father Pierre du Jarric. . . . Du Jarric is a thoroughly conscientious and accurate writer who reproduces faithfully the substance of the original letters of which considerable portions remain unpublished." The original French edition published in 1611 brings the narrative down to 1600. Its third part, which is very valuable, was published in 1614. It contains " the true account of the fall of Asīrgarh, hitherto unnoticed by modern historians, with one partial exception, and presents the most authentic existing narrative of the Emperor's last days, and fixes the date of his death as October 27, new style, or October 17th, old style." (Smith).

(v) " One of the most useful Jesuit publications, and one slightly more accessible than most of the others, is the compilation by Father Daniel Bartoli, S.J., originally printed in 1663. It gives a long list of early authorities on the life of Aquaviva. It does not deal with the later Missions. It is

based on the writings of Monserrate, Peruschi, and others and is well written." *(Ibid.)*

Other Europeans

(i) "The only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, and to have recorded his impressions to any considerable length is Ralph Fitch, who left England in 1583 and returned in 1591....Fitch proceeded to Bengal, Burma, and other lands, which he described in meagre notes." His account is found in '*Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India, etc.*' (Unwin, London, 1899).

(ii) For other travellers and writers, who really refer to times following the death of Akbar, and contain no first-hand impressions of the Emperor, see Smith, op. cit., Bibliography, pp. 471-76. He deals with Purchas, Terry, Roe, De Laet, Herbert, Manrique, Mandelslo, Bernier, and Manucci.

B. Secondary : (i) *The Emperor Akbar*, by Annette Beveridge is a translation of the German '*Kaisar Akbar*' by Von Noer ; but with additions, corrections, and notes (Calcutta, Thacker, 1890). It is the only considerable modern work, says Smith, devoted solely to Akbar's reign, and in spite of its many defects is of value.

(ii) *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur Meherjee Rānā*, by the late Dr. J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1903) is a fully documented discussion of Akbar's relations with the Parsees.

(iii) *The Army of the Indian Mughals, Its Organisation and Administration*, by William Irvine (Luzac, 1903). It "is an extremely careful although dry presentation of the subject, based on close study of a large number of Persian works, printed and manuscript. Irvine's book gives all the essential information about the army of Akbar, and is indispensable for a right understanding of the *mansabdār* system." (Smith).

(iv) *Akbar and the Jesuits*, by C. H. Payne (1916) contains a translation of Du Jarric with valuable notes, and covers the period down to the death of Akbar, 1605.

(v) *Mughal Administration*, by Jadunath Sarkar (Calcutta, 2nd ed., 1924).

(vi) *Akbar*, by Col. G. B. Malleson (Oxford, 1908).

(vii) *Akbar the Great Mogul*, by V. A. Smith (Oxford, 1917).

(viii) *Akbar*, by Lawrence Binyon (Peter Davies, London, 1932)—though not an authority is an interesting work, more sympathetic and fair to its subject than many another.

(ix) *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir Edward Maclagan (Burns Oates, London, 1932) is the most recent and exhaustive study of the subject it deals with.

Note.—For other sources like literature, art, numismatics, etc., see Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, pp. 481-86. Also ib. pp. 1-7, for a more succinct and appreciative statement of all the sources.

(x) *Mahārāṇā Pratāp* by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M.A., (Lahore).

(xi) *Tārīkh-i-Ilāhī* by V. S. Bendrey (Poona, 1933).

CHAPTER V

RESTORATION OF EMPIRE

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets."—SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN.

"The competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated."—V. A. SMITH.

1. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1556-1605)

(a) BIRTH AND ACCESSION

i. We have already taken note of the following statement by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad regarding the birth of Akbar :—

'Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Humāyūn), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 (15th, October 1542).[1] Tardī Bég Khān conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guid-

1. V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date : "The child having been born on the night of the full moon (*Shaban* 14, A.H. 949), equivalent to Thursday, November 23, 1542, the happy father conferred on the son the name or title Badru-d dīn, meaning 'the Full Moon of Religion', coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Akbar, signifying 'very great'." (*Akbar*, p. 14.) He also makes the following observation with regard to the place of Akbar's birth : "*Umar-kot*, the fort of Umar of Omar a chief of the Sumra tribe. The place, situated in 25 "21 'N. and 69" 46' E., is now a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, the head-quarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English

ance,...gave to the child the name of Jalālu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar.'

Humāyūn, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Jauhar, his personal attendant) to have broken a pod of musk (the only precious thing he could get in his exile in the desert on a china plate, and ' distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : " This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment."[1]

ii. We have also noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahār, when Humāyūn left for Persia in quest of fortune, how he was picked up by his uncle Askarī, and brought up for about a year by Sultān Begam ' who treated him with great tenderness ' ; and how, in the course of Humāyūn's fight with Kāmrān, the little Prince was threatened to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kābul fort.

iii. The next we heard of Prince Akbar was after the death of his uncle Hindāl, when Rāzia Sultānā, Hindāl's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar was put in charge of Hindāl's command and the government of Ghaznī.

iv. Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Hindūstān, in which the great victory at Sirhind was ascribed to the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. ' Under his (Humāyūn's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.'

v. After this victory at Sirhind, Sultān Sikandar Sūr fled to the Siwālik mountains. Mīr Abdul Ma'ali who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Sikandar ' daily

authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindī word *amar*, meaning ' immortal ' a frequent element in Hindū names." (Ibid. p. 13 n. 2).

1. Ibid. p. 15.

grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khān in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atālik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operation.'[1]

vi. When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Humāyūn. 'Shaikh Juli was sent to the Punjāb to summon Prince Akbar....Shaikh Juli ....obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kalānor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness; and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khān, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd *Rabi'u-s sani* he ascended the throne of Empire at Kalānor.'[2] Further on, the same writer (Nizāmud-dīn Ahmad) tells us, 'Bairam Khān, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalānor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of *Rabi'u-s sani* 963 H., (Feb. 14, 1556) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindūstān.'[3] The proclamation of his succession had been made at Delhi three days earlier on February 11; and three days after the enthronement at Kalānor a 'coronation *darbār*' was held, of which Ahmad Yādgār gives the following description :—

'Bairam Khān gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-tent, adorned with embroidered satin, like the

1. E. & D., op cit., V, p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 241.
3. Ibid., p. 247. "The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kalānor (Gurdāspūr Dist.). The throne, a plain brick structure, 18 ft. long 3 ft. high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists....The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-chain fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdū has been affixed." The ancient kings of Lāhore used to be enthroned at Kalānor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000.—(Smith, op. cit., p. 30).

flowerbeds of a garden in the early Spring, of Paradise itself. He spread carpets of various colours, and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mīrzā to sit on it; after which the *darbār* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatai tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Bairam Khān said, "This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign.'"[1]

(b) POLITICAL SITUATION

"When he went through the ceremony at Kalānor," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khān merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjāb; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Pādshāh in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[2]

Among the successors of Sher Shāh, Sikandar Sūr had yet to be subdued; Mahmūd Shāh Adalī was still alive, and his Hindū general, Hemū, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries, mostly under the Afghāns. The Rājput clans of Rājasthān, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Bābur, were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shāh at Kālinjar. Mālwā and

1. E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 64. Yādgār actually places this incident three days before the battle of Pānīpat; but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Bairam Khān's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the *darbār* as above stated.—(see his *Akbar*, p. 31.) Note also that the Ilāhī era or beginning of Akbar's reign dates from *Rabi* ii, 27, (March 11) *i.e.* 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next *nauroz* or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being counted part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Mar. 11, 1556).—Ibid., n.)

2. Ibid.

Gujarāt had thrown off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humāyūn. Gondwana and Central India were in a state of disorderly independence. The Deccan states of Khāndesh, Ahmednagar, Berār, Bīdar, Golkonda, and Bījāpūr, were in the toils of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea, and on the west coast, the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjāb and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

i. 'Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign,' says Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, 'was the rebellion of Shāh Abu-l Ma'ali.... The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions.[1] The Khan-khānan (Bairam Khān) arrested him, and was about to execute him ; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyid before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawān Kal-gaz (kotwāl) and sent him to Lāhore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,' but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayāna.[2]

ii. Nizāmu-d dīn further states, 'So long as Sikandar Afghān (Sūr) was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghāns near the Siwālik mountains, and gained victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.' Even after this defeat, Sikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, 'being reduced to great extremities (as the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* adds), sent his son Abdur Rahaman from Mānkot in the Siwālik hills to Akbar

1. E.g., he failed to answer the summons to the nobles at the time of the *darbār* above refered to.—see Smith, op. cit., p. 31.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 248.

Bādshāh, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the few rarities he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender.'[1]

iii. 'When Humāyūn marched to Hindūstān, he (had) consigned the government of Kābul and Gaznī to Munīm Khān one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atālik*) of his son, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm. The city of Kandahār and its dependent territories were the *jāgīr* of Bairam Khān (*Khān-khānan*). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshān was consigned to Mīrzā Suleimān ....But when the intelligence of Humāyūn's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kābul and laid siege to it. Munīm Khān wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor ....when the news of the siege of Kābul arrived, an imperative *farmān* was issued,....and Mīrzā Suleimān, seing that he could effect nothing by hostile means,....informed Munīm Khān that, if his name were recited in the *khutbā*, he would take his departure. Munīm Khān knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mīrzā Suleimān should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zatl-i alkob*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mīrzā Suleimān was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshān.[2]

1. Ibid., IV, p. 508. The final surrender of Sikandar at Mānkot did not take place until May 1557, *i.e.*, about six months after the battle of Pānīpat (Nov. 1556); the fief that was bestowed on him by Akbar comprised the Districts of Kharīd and Bihār. Mānkot (now in the Jammū territory of the Kāshmīr State) was the fort built by Salīm Sūr as a bulwark against the Gakkars.—Smith, op. cit., p. 40; Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 496 n. 4.

2. E. D., op. cit., V, pp. 249-50.

iv. 'Tardī Bég Khān, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humāyūn's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died caused the *khutbā* to be read in Delhī in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwāja Sultān Alī, *wazīr* and *mīr-munshī*, who was also *mīr-i arz* and *mīr-i mal* kept under control the affairs of Delhī, and of Mewāt and other *pargaṇas* which had but lately been brought under royal authority.'[1] But in spite of all these good services, Tardī Bég had soon to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The circumstances were the advance of Hemū upon Delhī, and the defeat and flight of Tardī Bég from the capital. The exact nature of the Khān's delinquency is the subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahmūd Shāh Adalī despatched Hemū towards the Punjāb upon hearing of the death of Humāyūn. 'That general having scored a victory at Gwālior, laid siege to Āgrā, and having reduced it, proceeded to Delhī. Tardī Bég Khān, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Hemū....charged Tardī Bég Khān with such impetuousity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhī also surrendered. Tardī Bég Khān fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy....Bairam Khān....caused Tardī Bég Khān to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhī, where he might have defended himself....Bairam Khān remarked that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work (Ferishta) had understood, from the best informed men of the times, that, had Tardī Bég Khān not been executed by way of example, such was the con-

1. Ibid., pp. 248-49.

dition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shāh would have been acted over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghatāi officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobād and Kaikos, now found it necessary to confirm to the orders of Bairam Khān, and to submit quietly to his authority.'[1]

V. A. Smith observes, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial was necessary and substantially just.[2] It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardī Bég from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life."[3]

(c) Second Battle of Pānīpat

'Hemū, who had now assumed the title of Rājā Vikramjīt, in Delhī, having attacked Shādī Khān and other Afghān chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert.' So writes Ferishta.[4] The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who, at the time of the capitulation of Delhī, was at Jalandhar, 'finding all his dominions, except the

1. Briggs, II. pp. 186-187.
2. *Oxford History of India*, p. 343.
3. *Akbar*, p. 36.
4. Briggs, II, p. 187. According to Ahmad Yādgār, when Hemū entered Delhī, he 'raised the Imperial canopy over him, and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhī territory and the neighbouring *parganas* under his control; and in order to console the King (Adalī Shāh), he sent an account of the victory in these words: "Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall; but I hear that Humāyūn's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhī. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Delhī." Adalī Shāh was comforted by these deceitful assertions.' (E. and D., op. cit., V, p. 62.)

Punjāb, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bairam Khān the title of Khān Bābā (signifying 'father,' here meaning regent or protector),.... and also required of Bairam Khān to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humāyūn, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this, a council being called by Bairam Khān, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely muster 20,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kābul. Bairam Khān not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khān, decided the question.[1]

The Battle.

Hemū began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of *Muharram*, 964 H. (November 5, 1556) in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Mughals attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khān Zamān commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghān ranks into confusion. Hemū mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horse, in the very heart of the Mughal army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his *howdā* from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again,....he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line....At length..he was surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear.

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 185-86.

Execution of Hemū.

'When Hemū was brought into the presence, Bairam Khān recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of *Ghāzī*, while Bairam Khān, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemū from his body.'[1]

(d) Post-Pānīpat Events up to 1560

The principal events that happened after the execution of Hemū may be enumerated here for the sake of clearness thus :—

(i) The occupation of Delhī and Āgrā ;
(ii) The capture of Mewāt, and the execution of Hemū's father ;
(iii) The acquisition of Ajmir ;
(iv) The surrender of Gwālior ;
(v) The annexation of Jaunpūr ;
(vi) Attacks on Rantambhor and Mālwā.

1. This is Ferishta's account ; Briggs, II, pp. 188-89. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Ahmad Yādgār says, 'The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, 65-6. Smith accepts this version, and observes : "Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khān, who had a right to expect obedience ; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story,....seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers,....At the time of the battle of Pānīpat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his mature manhood."—*Akbar*, p. 39. Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, who was Akbar's Chief Bakshī, however definitely says, 'Bairam Khān-khānan then put Hemū to death with his own hand.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253. For a fuller discussion, see "The death of Hemū", *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, p. 527. Also "The Death of Hemū" by Sukumar Ray, in *Dacca U. Studies*, I. 1, Nov. 1935.

Elphinstone rightly points out, "The real restoration of the House of Tīmūr may be dated from this period :—it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Bairam Khān, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."[1] At the end of this period we find the great Khān fallen from his high estate, almost suddenly if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fickleness of human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Akbar was a three-fold one : (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown ; (2) to establish his authority over his chiefs ; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course of so many revolutions.

"In the first years of Akbar's reign, his territory was confined to the Punjāb and the country round Delhī and Āgrā. In the third year he acquired Ajmir without a battle ; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwālior ; and, not long before Bairam's fall he had driven the Afghāns out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaunpūr."[2]

The Muslim historians follow a merely chronological order, without using discretion even as regards the relative importance of events. We have therefore to cull out the most significant facts from this jumble, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, the *Akbar-Nāma*, and the *Tārīkh-i Firishta*:

1. Occupation of Delhī and Āgrā.

'Next day (after the execution of Hemū) the army marched from Pānīpat, and without halting anywhere, went straight to Delhī. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month.[3] From here two important expeditions were

1. *History of India*, p. 496.
2. Ibid., p. 500.
3. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 253.

led : (a) against Mewāt, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Hemū, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewāt'; (b) against Sikandar Afghān (Sūr), whose reduction has already been described above. The first was led by Pīr Muhammad Sarwāni. 'He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.' The *Akbar-Nāma* gives other details, and says that Hemū's father was given the choice between conversion and death; when the old man refused to apostatize, 'Pīr Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'[1] Mewāt was conferred as a *jāgīr* upon Pīr Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Bairam Khān.[2] On their way back from Alwar or Mewāt, 'Haji Khān took possession of Ajmir and Nagor and all those parts....Muhammad Kāsim Khān was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmir.'[3]

The expedition against Sikandar, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariam Makāni and other royal ladies returned from Kābul, 'the Emperor left Bairam Khān in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1558, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhī. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khān-khānān, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwān-khānā*, and transact business under the direction and commands of His Majesty....After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked in a boat to Āgrā, where he arrived on the 17th *Muharram*, 966 H. (30th Oct., 1558), in the third year of the Ilāhī.[4] At the time Āgrā was a town of comparatively small importance.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 21.
2. Smith, *Akbar*, p. 40.
3. E. & D., loc. cit., pp. 21-22.
4. Ibid., V, pp. 256-57.

2. Gwālior and Jaunpūr.

"*In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1558-60) the gradual consolidation of* Akbar's *dominion in Hindūstān was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwālior in Central India, and the annexation of the Jaunpūr province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Rantambhor in Rājputāna failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Mālwā were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal fitness to rule, and the consequent fall of Bairam Khān, the Protector."*[1]

'The fort of Gwālior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rājās*. After the time of Salīm Khān (Islām Shāh) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulāms*, by Sultān Mahmūd Adalī. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Āgrā, Habīb Alī Sultān, Maksūd Alī Kor, and Kīya Khān were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered.' This brief notice of Nīzamu-d dīn is supplemented with some more details by the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, which adds : 'Akbar when he took up his residence at Āgrā, gave the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Gwālior as a *jāgīr* to Kīya Khān. After a time the Khān collected an army and invested Gwālior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. (So he cleverly sold the fort to Rām Shāh of the old ruling family of Gwālior.) Kīya Khān, the *jāgīrdār* attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Rām Shāh was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Rāṇā of Udaipūr.'[2] Gwālior was captured in the third year of Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559, Khān Zamān was

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 42.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 259 and 167-8.

sent to reduce Jaunpūr, the capital of the Sharkīya kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghāns. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country (and Benāres, ac. to *Tārīkh-i Alfī*) to the Imperial dominions.'[1]

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sūr dynasty of Sher Shāh. The end of Sikandar Sūr has already been referred to. Mahmūd Shāh Adalī, who had established himself at Chunār and despatched Hemū to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* : 'As for Adalī, at the time of Hemū's death he was at Chunār, and at that juncture the son of Mahmūd Khān, by name Khizr Khān, ruler of Bengal, who had assumed the name of Sultān Bahādur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father; and Adalī proceeded into Bihār to meet him as far as Mungīr...The sun had not yet risen when Sultān Bahādur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adalī, and sounded the kettle-drums of war. Adalī had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Sūrajgarh, about one *kos* more or less from Mungīr, and about 12 *kos* from Patna, and there Adalī was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 968 H. (1560 A.D.), after a reign of eight years.'[2]

3. Rantambhor and Mālwā.

'In this year (1559) Habīb Alī Khān was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khān Afghān this fort was under the charge of Hājī Khān, one of his *ghulāms*, and this Hājī Khān had now sold the fort to Rāi Sūrjan, a relation of Rāi Udai Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habīb Alī with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood; the *amīrs* then departed to their *jāgīrs*.

1. Ibid., pp. 259-60.

2. His son, assuming the name of Sher Shāh, made an ineffectual attempt to capture Jaunpūr from Khān Zamān, and, as the *Tārīkh-i Dāudī* records, 'The son of Adalī adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.'—E. & D., IV, pp. 508-9.

'At this time, while the Court was at Āgrā, Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Zamān, marched to effect the conquest of Mālwā, which had formerly belonged to the Khiljī monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Bāz Bahādur, son of Sūja Khān Afghān. He had reached the town of Siri, when the agitation arose about Bairam Khān, and under the orders of the Khān he returned.'[1]

(e) The Fall of Bairam Khan

Early in 1560, Akbar decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of Imperial affairs,' says Nizāmu-d dīn, 'was under the direction of Bairam Khān ; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.'[2] The *Akbar-Nāma,* on the other hand, states : 'Bairam's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by the flattery.' Abu-l Fazl also accuses him of conspiracy—'At length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers.'[3] Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Bairam Khān, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Kāsim Mīrzā, the son of the late Kāmrān Mīrzā, that Akbar became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'[4]

Misunderstanding once generated, fed upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perverted in order to widen the breach. "The Persian histories narrate the circumstances of

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 260.
2. Ibid., p. 261.
3. Ibid., VI, pp. 23-4.
4. Briggs, II, pp. 196-97.

Bairam Khān's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith; but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered on his eighteenth year (A.D. 1560) and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. Those natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another had grievances against the Protector.[1] His appointment of Shaikh Gadai as *Sadr-i-Sudur* excited the sectarian animosity of all the Sunnīs at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khān showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own Shia sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tardī Bég,[2] and on several occasions Bairam Khān, presuming too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused too, of making indiscreet remarks. Moreover, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no privy purse, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khān, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khān must yield."[3] Matters soon reached a crisis.

1. The principal centre of all this intrigue at the Court was; Māham Anaga, who was Akbar's *atkā* or nurse from his cradle. When he grew up, she was head of his harem. According to Abu-l Fazl, she was the governing spirit and real minister for a time.—see E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 261-64.

2. Tardī Bég and Bairam Khān were old rivals under Humāyūn; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairam. —Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 497 n.

3. Smith, op. cit., pp. 42-3.

"The advisers of Bairam Khān were divided in opinion. Shaikh Gadai, the *Sadr-i Sudur*, and certain other counsellors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But, Bairam Khān, after some hesitation, honourably refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meantime, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."[1]

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khān the following missive, through his tutor Mīr Abdu-l Latīf :—

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *Jāgīr* out of the *parganas* of Hindūstān will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."[2]

Nizāmu-d dīn narrates the sequel well : 'When Mīr Abdu-l Latif communicated this message to Khān-khānān, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mīr, he left Mewāt for Nagor....Upon reaching Nagor, he sent his banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kulī Bég.....The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor.....

'Pīr Muhammad Khān Sarwāni, whom the Khān-khānān had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,[3] had waited in Gujarāt for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khān-khānān, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title *Nāsiru-l Mulk*, as well as with a banner and kettle-drums.

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 44.
2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 264.
3. For details of the circumstances under which Pīr Muhammad was dismissed by Bairam Khān see Ibid., pp. 257-58.

He was then sent with a force to hasten Khān-khānān's departure for Mecca (or to use Badāunī's phrase, 'to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay,') and accordingly marched after him....

When Bairam Khān learnt that Pīr Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, 'this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khān-khānān, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Punjāb.....On the Emperor being informed of Khān-khānān's advance, he despatched.....a body of nobles to the Punjāb.....so that he was obliged to fight....A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides, and Khān-khānān being defeated, fled towards the Siwālic hills....The Emperor then himself marched to the Punjāb....A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultān Hussain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khān-khānān, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khān instantly sent one of his followers, Jamāl Khān, to the Emperor with this message: "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

'When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khān-khānān should be brought into his presence. When the Khān-khānān approached the royal presence, all the *amīrs* and *khāns* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour....The Emperor received him with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places...Khān-khānān, with his people took the road to Gujarāt....[1]

Bairam Khān could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Pātan by an Afghān whose father had been killed at the battle of Machiwāra. 'Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased,' says Nizāmu-d dīn. Bairam Khān's body was picked up by

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 264-69.

some *fakīrs* who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmedābād. His little son, Abdurrahīm, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become *Khān-khānān* and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

"The story of the transactions leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khān," observes Smith, "leaves an unpleasant taste....Both Humāyūn and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khān, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khān were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way un-obstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Māham Anaga was responsible, as her panegyrist Abu-l Fazal affirms."[1]

(f) "THE PARDĀ REGIME" (1600-1604)

"Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khān," says Smith, "only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature."[2] Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the 'veil' even to a considerable extent; but Smith's insinuation, is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's "essentially noble nature" asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in overthrowing a giant like Bairam Khān, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with "petticoat government of the worst kind."

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 47-8.
2. Ibid., p. 48.

We must now turn to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Bairam Khān (1600-1604). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

1. The Conquest of Mālwā.

The condition of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 23"30' and 24"30'; and long. 74"30' and 78"10') of Mālwā was "such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospects of success." Shuja'at or Shujāwal Khān, who practically ruled it independently under Adalī Shāh Sūr, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1556). 'He was succeeded by his son Bāz Bahādur,' says the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, 'and when the Afghāns were scattered over Hindūstān by the conquering Chaghatais, Bāz Bahādur established himself as permanent ruler of Mālwā. When Bahādur Khān (Khān Zamān's brother) marched against him, the affairs of Bairam Khān came to crisis, and the campaign in Mālwā was stayed.[1]

'Bāz Bahādur was,' according to Nizāmu-d dīn, 'the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindī song. He spent much of his time in the society of musicians and singers... It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Bāz Bahādur had given himself up to sensuality, and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress.' 'The honour of the Imperial throne required,' continues the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, 'that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security' (ever the plea of aggressive Imperialism!).

'So Adham Khān (Māham Anaga's son), Pīr Muhammad Khān (Bairam Khān's enemy), and some other *amīrs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They actually marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of *Sārangpūr* (now in the Dewās State, Central India Agency), Bāz Bahādur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city.... Adham Khān sent forward an advance force to the entrenchments which Bāz Bahādur had thrown up

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 168-69.

around his army. Bāz Bahādur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghān nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight (1561) towards Khāndesh and Burhānpūr (Faizī). Rūp-matī, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry,[1] several other wives and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Bāz Bahādur's wounded Rūp-matī with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khān summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

'Adham Khān wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sādik Khān, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Mālwā in person. On the 21st *Sha'bān*, 968 H., (April 27, 1561) the Emperor left Āgrā, and marched towards Mālwā....Adham Khān now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,[2] who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Āgrā.[3] At that place Pīr Muhammad Khān Sarwāni and other nobles who had *jāgīrs* in Mālwā, waited upon the Emperor. They

1. The amours of Bāz Bahādur and Rūp-matī, 'renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm,' are celebrated in many a song and picture.

2. Abu-l Fazl says that Adham Khān was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Māham Anaga to warn her son. He also describes how reluctant Adham Khān was to give up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Bāz Bahādur. (*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 178.)

3. Akbar arrived in Āgrā on June 4, 1561, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Akbar, who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season."—(Smith, op. cit, p. 52.)

were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their *jāgīrs*.'

Akbar was not fully reconciled to Adham Khān. It was only the intercession of the latter's mother, Māham Anaga, that had mollified him for the time being. In November 1561, Shamsu-d dīn Muhammad Khān Atga, who came from Kābul, was entrusted with the management, as minister, of all affairs political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khān was recalled from Mālwā. Māham Anaga was opposed to Atga Khān's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find Akbar fast slipping out of her control. But at the same time, it is strange that Pīr Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khān in the charge of Mālwā; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of excesses in Mālwā[1]; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misappropriation and contumacious spirit.

Pīr Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khān, assembled the forces of Mālwā and marched to subdue the countries of Asīr and Burhānpūr. He laid siege to Bījāgarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ('He next proceeded against Sultānpūr, and annexed it to the Imperial territories'—*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 212). He then marched against Asīr, a well-known place in Khāndesh. Crossing the river Narbada, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Burhānpūr. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The

1. 'On the day of the victory,' according to Badāunī, 'the two captains remaining on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river.' Pīr Muhammad cracked brutal jests, and when remonstrance was offered, replied :—'In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them?'

governors of Asīr and Burhānpūr, and Bāz Bahādur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Mālwā, now concerted together, and assisted by all the *zamīndārs* of the country they assembled a force with which they assailed Pīr Muhammad Khān (as his men ' were pursuing their straggling march homewards laden with spoil'—*Akbar-Nāma*, ii. p. 293). Unable to resist, Pīr Muhammad fled towards Māndū, and when he came to the Narbada. . . . he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds, says the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*. (Badāunī writes : ' By way of water he went to fire and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business'—vol. ii, p. 51). ' The other nobles, on reaching Mālwā, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Bāz Bahādur pursued them, and brought the whole of Mālwā once more into his power. The *amīrs* who had abandoned Mālwā, and had come to Court without orders were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

' Abdulla Khān Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Mālwā, and several other Khāns were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.) Abdulla and his auxiliaries entered Mālwā, and Bāz Bahādur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight—to the hills of Kambalmir' (*Alfī*). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Bāz Bahādur found protection for some time with Rāṇā Udai Singh, one of the chief Rājās of Mārwār, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarāt, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Badāunī, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release he died ; according to Faizī, he was granted a *mansab* of 2,000.) Abdulla Khān remained at Māndū and the other *amīrs* returned to their *jāgīrs*'.

In July 1564, Abdulla Khān showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to March against him in person.

Abdulla Khān was soon driven to the confines of Gujarāt, whence he made his way to Jaunpūr and died there during the rebellion of Khān Zamān, in 1565. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the new moon of *Zi-l hijja*, 791 H., reached Māndū. The *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mīr Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farmān* was sent to Mīan Mubārak Shāh directing him to send any one of his daughters who he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor....When Mubārak Shāh received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so.....In *Muharram*, 972 H. (August 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Māndū....Karrā Bahādur Khān was appointed governor of Māndū.....Proceeding by way of Mārwār and Gwālior, the Emperor reached Āgrā on the 3rd *Rabī'u-l awal*. In the course of this year, the Emperor had twins born to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain ; but they lived only a month.'

2. Khān Zamān's Contumacy.

We have noted how, after the death of Adalī, the eastern province of Jaunpūr was brought under the Empire, and Khān Zamān was appointed its governor. An attempt by Adalī's son to recover the province, we also saw, ended in failure. In July 1561, 'various actions of Khān Zamān (Alī Kulī Khān) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpūr, on a progress of hunting and pleasure... When the Court reached Karrā, Alī Kulī Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān came up by forced marches from their *jāgīr* of Jaunpūr, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognised, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their

jāgīrs. On the 17th Zi-l hijja, of the sixth year of the Ilāhī, corresponding with 968 H., (August 1561) the Court reached Āgrā.

'On the 8th *Jumada-l awwal, 969 H., (January 1562) the* Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l Auliya Khwāja Muinu-d dīn Chishtī (at Ajmir). When he reached the town of Sambhar, Rājā Bihārī Mal (Kachwaha), one of the chief Rājās of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwān Dās, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.[1] From thence he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city.

3. First Rājput Marriage and Alliance.

'Mīrzā Sharafu-d dīn Hussain, who held a *jāgīr* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *amīrs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mairtha, about 20 *kos* from Ajmir, which was held by Jai Mal, the commandant of Rāi Maldeo. His Majesty then started for Āgrā, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and a night. (The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* gives the more probable time of *three* days.).... When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Deodās, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rājputs, and passed in front of the royal army...Many of the royal sol-

4. Capture of Mairtha.

1. Bihārī or Bihār Mal or Bhārmal was the Rājā of Amber (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahāngīr, and came to be known as Maryām-Zamānī. This marriage, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that mediæval India produced." Rājā Mān Singh was Bhārmal's grandson.

diers fell, and nearly 200 Rājputs were slain... The fort of Mairtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.'

5. The Brave Rāṇī Durgāvatī of Gondwana.

The *Tārīkh-i Alfī* gives the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1654), concerning the conquest of *Garha* in the Jubbulpore District :—

'Khwāja Abdu-l Majīd, who had received the title of Āsaf Khān,[1] was appointed governor of Karrā, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindūstān since the rise of the faith of Islām. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rāṇī* (*Durgāvatī*), and all the dogs (!) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Āsaf Khān had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the *Rāṇī*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Rāṇī* came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Rāṇī*, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Āsaf Khān gained the victory, and stopped the advance at the tāluq of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the *Rāṇī* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Āsaf Khān sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.'[2]

1. This was Āsaf Khān I; later in the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography see Blochmann, *Āīn.*, i, pp. 366-69.

2. E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 169. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.

Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fort of Chauragarh is now in the Narsingpur District. When it fell into Āsaf Khān's hands, its treasures contained, besides those mentioned above, 'coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.' "The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold *ashrāfis* of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī."

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Bīr Nārāyan. Although the Rājā had now attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Rāṇī was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Rājā, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Abul Fazl remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Bāz Bahādur and the Miāhs, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rājās of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble," observes Smith, "was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder."[1] Āsaf Khān intoxicated with success, in the manner of Adham Khān in Mālwā, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Akbar, in this

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

instance, for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and deferred the settlement of accounts.

We might close this period (1560-64) with an account of two incidents which throw more light upon Akbar's independent character, and assertion of individuality, than any reflections of his critics who spin excessively over the malign influences of the 'monstrous regiment of women' and the 'petticoat government' over the youthful Emperor.

6. (i) Adham Khān and (ii) Khwāja Muāzzam.

'A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1562)', writes Nizāmu-d dīn 'Adham Khān Kokaltash, son of Māham Anaga, could not endure to see the elevation of his compeers. In the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, Munīm Khān Khān-khānān, and several other nobles, and murdered Khān-i Āzam (Shāmsu-d dīn Muhammad Atgā), then Prime-Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then, trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the *harem*. His Majesty rushed out of the *harem*, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet for his crime..... All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment....His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Māham Anaga; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.'

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer records: 'Khwāja Muāzzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor... This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humāyūn,.... His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him....After his banishment the Khwāja stayed for a while in Gujarāt, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khān then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace of Bairam

Khān, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwāja, and gave him some jāgīr. But the Khwāja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one : There was a woman named Fatima, attached to the *harem* of the late Emperor, and the Khwāja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwāja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khān *Mīr-i Faraghat* and Rustum Khān to give the Khwāja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwāja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwālior, where he died in confinement. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane. (*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 276).

What Smith observes with regard to the latter incident, is equally true of both. He says, "The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a palace clique. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, *but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was conceived on principles distasteful to her.*"[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 67-8.

(g) Rebellions : East and West

The principal rebellions of this period were two : That of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar's half-brother, at Kābul ; and that of Khān Zamān at Jaunpūr. They were interconnected in so far as the one sympathised with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

The Kābul Revolt.

The first attempt of Mīrzā Suleimān of Badakhshān on Kābul has already been described. 'When Munīm Khān (Mīrzā Mahammad Hakīm's guardian) left Kābul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khān Akhta-bégī was left there as governor, but on Munīm Khān being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kābul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghanī Khān, in his place....After a time, Mah Chochak Begam (Hakīm's mother) and the people of Kābul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghanī....Sometime afterwards Ghanī Bég went out one day for a stroll in the melon-gardens, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, in concert with Shāh Wali Atka...., to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghanī Khān. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghanī Khān understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands.....When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Munīm Khān governor of Kābul and guardian (*atālik*) of the young Prince Mīrzā Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and taking the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalālābād, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Munīm Khān, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kābul.....'

After some time, Abul Ma'ali, who had evidently escaped from Bayāna and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mīrzā Sharafu-d dīn, the jāgīrdār of Nagor and Ajmir, rebelled and made towards Kābul. 'The Imperial forces invested Ajmir, ...and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels.....When Abdul Ma'ali . . . found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kābul. When he approached Kābul, he wrote

a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abul Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakīm.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they had received from Mah Chochak Begam..,persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Muhammad Hakīm, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government.....Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm sent a person to Mīrzā Suleimān, calling upon him for assistance.....The Mīrzā, hearing of the state of affairs,...marched against Kābul...Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began.....Three days later, he sent Abul Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th *Ramzān*, 970 H. (April 1564).

'Mīrzā Suleimān now sent to Badakhshān for his daughter, and married her to Muhammad Hakīm. After giving *jāgīrs* in the Kābul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Umaid Alī, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshān.

'Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshānīs, drove them out of Kābul. Mīrzā Suleimān then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion....Hakīm fled to Peshāwar, and appealed for Akbar's help.....when the statement of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jāgīrdārs* of the Punjāb.....to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm.....Mīrzā Suleimān on the approach of the royal forces fled to Badakhshān....

Mīrzā Suleimān, for a fourth time invaded Kābul. Mīrzā Hakīm once more sought refuge in flight, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor this time appointed Farīdun Khān, maternal uncle of the Mīrzā and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. 'He now sent Khush-khabar Khān, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindūstān, and a horse and saddle, to the Mīrzā; and he wrote a *farmān*, in which he said that if the Mīrzā required assistance, he would send the *amīrs* of the Punjāb to support him.

When Khush-khabar Khān approached the camp, the Mīrzā hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farmān*. After the arrival of Khush-khabar Khān, Farīdun laboured to instigate the Mīrzā to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lāhore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mīrzā to seize Khush-khabar Khān. But although the Mīrzā had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabar Khān; so he invited the Khān to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultān Alī, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khān, brother of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, who was in Kābul, helped to excite the hostile spirit and added their voices to Farīdun's.

'Won over by their persuasions, the Mīrzā broke into open revolt, and marched against Lāhore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Punjāb,....hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lāhore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mīrzā's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lāhore, the Mīrzā advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the *amīrs* of the Punjāb repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mīrzā, feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

Khān Zamān's Rebellion.

We have already mentioned the contumacious conduct of this nobleman and his brother, Bahādur Khān, and their submission at the Emperor's approach, in August 1561. They again rebelled early in 1565. In may, Akbar was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed the Jumnā. In December, 1565, Khān Zamān gave an undertaking not to cross the Ganges, and Akbar came back to Āgrā in March 1566. Meantime Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm invaded the Punjāb, under the circumstances described above. "He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindūstān, and Khān Zamān went so far as to recite the *khutbā*, or prayer for the King, in his name."[1] Akbar set forth against his brother in November 1566; but when he learnt of his defeat and flight, he returned to Lāhore where he heard of the rebellion of the Mīrzās (February 1567). The Mīrzās, having first broken out at Sambhal, near Morādābād, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Mālwā. In May 1567, Akbar had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 77.

once more to march against Khān Zamān, who had broken his plighted word, to suppress him finally. The details of these events are thus set forth by Nizāmu-d dīn in the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* :

'In consequence of the severe proceedings against Abdulla Khān Uzbeg, which have been narrated above (viz., his expulsion from Mālwā on account of his rebellious attitude), an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbegs.' The disaffected nobles, among whom was Ibrāhīm Khān the uncle of Khān Zamān, 'resolved to consult Alī Kulī Khān (Khān Zamān), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country.....After consultation...they determined to rebel.....Ibrāhīm Khān and Sikandar Khān went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khān Zamān and his brother went to Karrā Mānikpūr, and there began their revolt.

'Āsaf Khān and Majnūn Khān (who was the *jāgīrdār* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to confront the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the *amīrs* reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Munīm Khān Khān-khānān to march in advance with a strong force, and cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of *Shawwal* he crossed over the Jumnā, and marched to chastise the rebels..... On Friday, the 12th *Zi-l hijja*, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpūr. Orders were given to Āsaf Khān and other nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where Alī Kulī Khān and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances.....

'Between Khān-khānān (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Khān Zamān there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khān Zamān should wait upon Khān-khānān to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and war-like operations were suspended.....After a long discussion it was determined that Khān Zamān should send his mother, Alī Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offence. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khān and his brother and Sikandar Khān were to go to Court..... Ibrāhīm Khān, with uncovered head, and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khān-khānān entreated forgiveness.....and he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon

the faults of such useful servants.....The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khān-khānān, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful."..... .

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunār, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpūr to Benāres, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened.....(Akbar, who had agreed to restore the *jāgīrs* of the recalcitrant nobles, stipulated : "So long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakīls* there, and *farmāns* for their *jāgīrs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chunār, Khān Zamān crossed the river, and went to Muhammadābād, one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghāzīpūr and Jaunpūr. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of Alī Kulī Khān's, and he said reproachfully to Khān-khānān, "No sooner than I left this place than Alī Kulī Khān broke the conditions of his pardon." Khān-khānān looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

'Orders were given to Ashraf Khān *Mīr Bakshī* to go to Jaunpūr, and make prisoner the mother of Alī Kulī Khān, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpūr. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of....The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against Alī Kulī Khān.....The forces under the Emperor occupied the bank of the river Sarwar (Saru), and after searching all the jungles they found that Khān Zamān had gone off to the Siwālik hills. News now arrived that Bahādur Khān had gone to Jaunpūr, and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khān prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp. Upon learning this the Emperor gave up the chase of Khān Zamān, and turned towards Jaunpūr..... where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built ; and the nobles also were to build suitable houses and places suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as Alī Kulī Khān and his brother should remain in this world, Jaunpūr should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

'When Alī Kulī heard of this he left the Siwālik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Court with a message. Khān-khānān ..... once more made intercession for Khān Zamān; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences... Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 11th year of the reign, 973 H. (12th March, 1566).

Āsaf Khān's Surrender.

'The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of Alī Kulī Khān and other rebels, Madhī Kāsim Khān, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Āsaf Khān. (During the campaign against Khān Zamān, he had suddenly absconded, being afraid lest he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth from Chauragarh). Before Madhī Kāsim Khān arrived, Āsaf Khān quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on pilgrimage. Madhī Kāsim Khān on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Āsaf Khān, who then wrote letters to Khān Zamān, proposing to go and join him. Khān Zamān wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. Āsaf Khān, deceived by this, went to Jaunpūr; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khān Zamān, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some adventure he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lāhore in pursuit of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, and received pardon for his offences.)

Revolt of the Mīrzās.

'During the stay at Lāhore (also, a letter arrived from Āgrā, from Munīm Khān-khānān, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and Ulugh Mīrzā, by name Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, and Shāh Mīrzā, who held *jāgīrs* in the *sarkār* of Sambhal,[1] had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khān-khānān, had marched as far as Delhī to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Māndū.

1. These Mīrzās were Akbar's distant cousins, whose forebears had received favour at the hands of both Bābur and Humāyūn. To every one of them Akbar gave suitable *jāgīrs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amīrs*. They were constantly in attendance

Khān Zamān's Final Suppression.

'A command was given that Āsaf Khān, along with Majnūn Khān (who had once previously resisted Khān Zamān), should go to Karrā-Mānikpūr, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories. Intelligence now arrived that Alī Kulī Khān, Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān had again broken their engagements and risen in rebellion (and caused the *khutbā* to be read in the name of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm—*Akbar Nāma*, ii, 359). Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakīl* Mīrzā Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khān Baki Khān, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mīr Muhammad Khān and all the Ātkas, on the 12th *Ramzān*, 974 H., (22nd March, 1567), he started on his return to Āgrā.

'Upon arriving at Āgrā, the Emperor was informed that Khān Zamān was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj....Nineteen days afterwards, the Emperor left Khān-khānān in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd *Shawwal*, 974 H. marched towards Jaunpūr. When he reached the *pargaṇa* of Saket, Alī Kulī Khān decamped to his brother, who was in Mānikpūr..... when he reached the *pargaṇa* of Rāi Bareilly, he learnt that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kālpī (*Akbar-Nāma* says 'Gwālior'). He then directed his camp to proceed to the fort of Karrā, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Mānikpūr. (There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 366). There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Āsaf Khān and Majnun Khān, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that Alī Kulī Khān had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and licentiousness, and were heedless of everything else. The war-like demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnūn Khān, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

'On Sunday, the 1st *Zi-l hijja*, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Āsaf Khān and all the Atkas were on the right; Majnūn Khān and other

upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpūr campaign, they repaired to their *jāgīrs*, and remained in Sambhal. But when His Majesty went to Lāhore, to repress the attempt of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, they broke out in rebellion.' (E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 315-16.)

amīrs were on the left.....The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor.....As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Balsunder) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the lines of Alī Kulī Khān. There was among them an elephant named Hirānand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana; but Hirānand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Alī Kulī Khān received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged, in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and Alī Kulī Khān also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him when Alī Kulī Khān cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahādur placed Bahādur Khān behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amīrs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of Alī Kulī (Khān Zamān) was also brought. The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi and Prayāg, now known as Illāhābād, on the 1st *Zi-l hijja*, 974 H.

'He then proceeded to Benāres. Every follower of Alī Kulī Khān who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benāres he went to Jaunpūr, and remained three days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the Karrā Mānikpūr fortress he rested there and sent word to Munīm Khān. The Khān-khānān, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jāgīrs* of Alī Kulī Khān and Bahādur Khān in Jaunpūr, Benāres, the fort of Chunār and Zamāniya, as far as the ferry of Chausa. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season in *Zi-l hijja*, 974 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in *Muharram*, 975, arrived at Āgrā.'

(h) Conquest of Rājputāna

"In September 1567 Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor, which deserves narration in exceptional

detail," observes Smith.[1] The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated : the Rāṇā had given shelter to Bāz Bahādur after his flight from Mālwā; he had assisted the rebellious Mīrzās ; he had not come forward, like the ruler of Amber (Bihār Mal), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as Ishwari Prasad points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the Rājputs, no social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation...The conquest of Mewār was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of the whole of Hindūstān."[2] "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court.'"[3] Amber had already come into the Imperial net ; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Rantambhor, Kālinjar, Jesalmir, Bikānir, and Jodhpūr.

It is well to recollect here also that Rāṇā Sanga, lion in the field of battle, had died about the same time as his vanquisher Bābur, in 1530 ; that his successor in vain had called upon Humāyūn for succour when Chitor was being attacked by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, in 1534 ; and that proud and hoary Chitor had lain prostrate and impotent before the adventurous Afghān, Sher Shāh in 1544. "It was the ill fate of Mewār to be cursed with a craven prince (Udai Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever swayed her sceptre. 'Udai Singh,' Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all.' The historian of the Rājputs justly

1. *Akbar*, p. 81.
2. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 363, 364-5.
3. Smith, loc. cit., p. 82.

exclaims that 'well had it been for Mewār had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of the princes.'"

1. The Siege of Chitor.

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of Alī Kulī Khān and other rebels,' writes Nizāmu-d dīn, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor.' On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mīrzās, who had fled from Sambhal and taken refuge in these parts. 'He therefore appointed Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān and other *amīrs* to *jāgīrs in Māndū*, and charged them with that duty. When the *amīrs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mīrzās, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarāt. . . So the *amīrs* obtained possession of Māndū without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rāṇā Udai Singh left 7,000 or 8,000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rājput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mīrzā Sharāfu-d dīn Hussain, in the fort of Mairtha, as before related. The Rāṇā himself, with all his relatives and dependants, took refuge in the hills and jungles,—and soon built for himself a new capital at Udaipūr.

'The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amīrs*. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Āsaf Khān was sent to Rāmpūr (about 50 miles south-east of Chitor), a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kulī Khān was sent with a detachment towards Udaipūr and Kombalmir (34 miles north-west of Udaipūr), which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Rāṇā. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rāṇā, he returned to the Imperial camp.

'When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats*,[2] and the digging of mines. About 5000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were

1. Ibid., pp. 85-6.

2. 'A sabat is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*)

collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the fort. While the *sabat* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gun-powder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was affected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamālu-d dīn and a great number of the Emperor's attendants were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

'After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khān was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th *Sha'ban*, 975, the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died on the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the

is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i-bādshāhī*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 326.

fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place and burnt them.[1] This proceeding in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *jauhar*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. Adil Muhammad Kandahārī.....and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rājputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds. After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Āsaf Khān was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital, on Tuesday, the 25th *Sha'ban*.[2]

1. Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of Jai Mal was the fall of Patta, a lad of 16 summers; but he was married, and 'lest any "soft compunctions visiting for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa," his mother armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds, the Rājputs became reckless of life.' Patta fell fighting, being crushed to death by an elephant. At the time Akbar saw him 'there was a breath of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died.' Akbar nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic sacrifices by erecting in his palace-garden fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to heal the wounds of the Rajput heart," says Smith, "was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta, the defenders of Chitor."—*Akbar*, pp. 93-6.

2. 'A curious incident in this siege was this : A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm.'—Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, *Tabakāt-i Akbarī*, (E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 328).

'When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'inu-d dīn Chishtī, which is at Ajmir. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th *Ramzan*, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached Āgrā in March, 1568.)

2. Rantambhor.

'After a stay of some months at Āgrā, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor,[1] renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindūstān. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor....When the *amīrs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mīrzās, who had escaped from Gujarāt, and laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Mālwā. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khān with the *amīrs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mīrzās.

The two forces united according to the order.....The army had now grown very large. When the Mīrzās were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Māndū.....All marched together in pursuit of the Mīrzās, who fled before them from Māndū to the banks of the Narbadā. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned.....The Mīrzās then fled to Gujarāt...The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place.....

'The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (22nd Feb. 1569) towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Rāi Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had come to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kulī Khān, who had received the title of Khān-Jahān into the fort to give assurances to Rāi

1. San. *Raṇastambhapura* is now in the SE corner of the Jaipūr State, a few miles from the Būndī border, and about 140 miles NE from Chitor.

Surjan. He did so and brought the Rāi to wait upon the Emperor when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.[1]

3. Kālinjar.

'This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultāns had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khān Afghān (Sher Shāh) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the inter-regnum of the Afghāns, Rājā Rām Chandar had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli Khān...The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jāgīrs* in the neighbourhood of Kālinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Rājā Rām Chandar was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnūn Khān, one of the *jāgīrdārs* of the quarter, and a friendly *farmān* was sent to Rājā Rām Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of *Safar*, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.[2]

1. According to other accounts, Rājā Bhagwāndās of Amber and Mān Singh used their influence to 'make Surjan Hara (Chauhan) faithless to his pledge—"to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor"...The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of 52 districts, whose revenues were to be appropriated without enquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King.' (Smith, op. cit., pp. 98-9.)

2. Abu-l Fazl's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner :—'When the report of the capture of Chitor and Rantambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty ones, every one whose eyes had been in a measure touched by the collirium of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the ground of submission. Rājā Rāmchand, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy cortege at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the fort to the Imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight were approved of, and his agents were

'When the Emperor was staying at Nagor, Chander Sen, son of Rāi Maldeo, came to pay his allegiance and make his offerings. Rājā Kalyāṇ Mal, the Rājā of Bikānir, also came with his son, Rāi Singh, to wait upon His Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyāṇ Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farīdu-d dīn Masūd Ganj-i Shakar. Rāi Kalyāṇ Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikānir; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion.'

4. Jodpūr and Bikānir.

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rājputāna. A still more arduous war remained to be waged against the intrepid Rāṇā Pratāp, who had 'the courage never to submit or yield.' But there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1569 to July 1576, before the 'sword of Islām' again struck the Hindū with his own hand. Meantime it is worthwhile taking note of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whatever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had stormed and taken Mairtha, "the second city in Mārwār"; Rājā Bhārmal of Amber had "anticipated the King, enrolled himself and his son Bhagwāndās amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife, and held his country as a fief of the Empire." More had been achieved since. The proud Rāṇā had been driven to seek refuge in the hills; Chitor had been taken so also Rantambhor and Kālinjar. Jodhpūr and Bikānir too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterises these events with the following observation :—

Results of the Rājput Campaigns.

received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Majnūn Khān Kakshāl. By this felicity of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (*Akbar-Nāma*, ii, p. 499.)

"Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rājput independence; to this his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to guild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarised by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed.....He was long ranked with Shābudīn, Allāudīn, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim; like these he constructed a *Mumba* (pulpit) for the *Korān* from the altars of Eklinga; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained."[1]

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Rājputs: (1) those like Amber that easily submitted, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honourable settlement with the conqueror, like Rantambhor; and (3) those that refused to be assimilated, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent fight, like the Rāṇās of Mewār. The first two by their submission showed a spirit of compromise and assimilation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was bending the whole might of his genius; the last, by its eternal hatred, unconquerable pride, and courage never to submit or yield, contributed its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Hārās is noteworthy for its dignified statesmanship:—

The *Annals of Būndī* record—'A treaty was drawn up on the spot, and mediated by the Prince of Amber (Jaipūr), which

1. Tod, *Rājasthān*, i, p. 338.

presents a good picture of Hindū feeling. They were (1) that the chiefs of Būndī should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rājput, of sending a *dola* (bride) to the royal *harem*; (2) exemption from the *jizya* or poll-tax; (3) that the chiefs of Būndī should not be compelled to cross the Attock; (4) that the vassals of Būndī should be exempted from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mina bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of *Nauroz* (New Year's Day); (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Diwān-i-ām*, or "Hall of Audience" completely armed; (6) that their sacred edifices should be respected; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindū leader; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dāgh* (a flower branded on the forehead); (9) that they should be allowed to beat their *nakkaras*, or kettle-drums, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lāl Darwāzā or Red Gate; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sijda*) on entering the presence; and (11) that Būndī should be to the Hārās what Delhī was to the King, who should guarantee them from any change of capital.'[1]

But, as noted above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, *viz.*, the destruction of Chitor which was "sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rājput soul. The place became accursed, and to this day no successor of Udai Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rājput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brāhmanical cords' (*janeo* or *zanar*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ *mans* of

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 99.

about eight pounds each. ['To eternise the memory of this disaster the numerals 74½ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rājasthān it is the strongest of seals, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number.'] The wrath of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Āgrā. The *nakkaras,* or huge kettledrums, eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberations of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes,' as well as the massive candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother,' who had girt Bāppā Rāwal with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away. .....The recreant Rāṇā Udai Singh (who had fled to the Arāvallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaipūr) died at Gogūndā in the Arāvalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rāṇā Pratāp Singh (about whom later), waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mewār. But Chitor remained desolate."[1]

(i) Conquest of Gujarāt

The rich province of Gujarāt had been won and lost by Humāyūn, and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its reconquest. "The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarāt the richest kingdom in India. Ahmadābād, the capital, was justly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of salt, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities." The confusion into which Gujarāt fell soon after the death of Bahādur Shāh has already been hinted at. 'In the Court of the Emperor,'

1. Ibid., pp. 90-2. Read "Chitor and Its Sieges" by R. R. Haladar in *Indian Antiquary,* August 1930.

writes Nizāmu-d dīn, 'conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarāt, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities.[1] Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarāt.'

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July, 1572, and 'proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir.' He also visited the tombs of some of the saints, 'and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts.' Then he sent Mīrzā Muhammad Khān Atkā, 'better known by the title of Khān-i kalān,' with 10,000 horse in advance. The Emperor himself marched *via* Nagor, Mirath, and Sirohi, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Jodhpūr, and keep the road to Gujarāt open, so that none of the Rāṇās might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rāi Singh Bikāniri, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmāns* were (also) written to the *amīrs* and *jāgīrdārs* of that province, directing them to render Rāi Singh every assistance he might require.....

'The Emperor .... arrived in Pātan, and rested there for a week. The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khān Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindūstān. At this halt Rājā Mān Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghāns. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadābād. Sher Khān Fulādī had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadābād, which was held by Itimād Khān ('The slave and prime minister of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī,' originally a Hindū slave—Badāunī, ii, p. 141 ; *Āīn.*, ii, p. 385) ; but when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The

1. Ahmadābād.

1. "The country was at that time without a settled government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Muzaffar Shāh III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the interposition of a power capable of enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princelings named Itimād Khān to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Smith, op. cit., p. 110.)

Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Pātan, when Sultān Muzaffar, son of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī, whom Itimād Khān had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor...The next day, Itimād Khān, the ruler of Ahmadābād,.....and other *amīrs* and chiefs of Gujarāt, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and make their offerings. Itimād Khān presented the keys of Ahmadābād, and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshī* (Abyssinian), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th *Rajab*, pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadābād (Sābarmatī). The *khutbā* was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.

2. Cambay.

'Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and Muhammad Husain Mīrzā held Broach, Barodā, and Surat in defiance of the Emperor. So he resolved to free the country of Gujarāt from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd *Sha'ban*, he started from the river of Ahmadābād, and marched towards Cambay. Itimād Khān and other Gujarātī *amīrs* were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadābād for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarāt, fled...from Ahmadābād to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarāt, Itimād Khān was given into the custody of Shāhbaz Khān Kambū. On the 6th the Emperor reached Cambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Cambay on the 12th, he reached Barodā on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarāt, he appointed Mīrzā Azīz Muhammad Kokaltash, the *Khān-i āzam*, to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadābād.' Here it is necessary to note that while at Cambay, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and thus made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was fraught with great consequences in the future.

3. Battle of Sarnal.

'After the departure of Āzam Khān, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat which was the home and stronghold of the Mīrzās. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Barha, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Kunwar Mān Singh, and several

others to overpower Husain Mīrzā, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th Sha'ban, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrāhīm Khān Mīrzā, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance had murdered Rustum Khān Rūmī ('who was desirous of returning to his allegiance'—*Akbar-Nāma*), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

'Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled.....The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves.....Kunwar Mān Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over....Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhūpat, son of Rājā Bihār Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Rājā. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Rājā Bhagwān Dās hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

'The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā was disheartened and took to flight.....The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jāgīrs*.....On Wednesday, the 18th *Sha'ban*...the Emperor rejoined his camp at Barodā. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Rājā Bhagwān Dās, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.

4. Surat.

'The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujarātī, who received the title of Khudāwand Khān, built this fortress on the

sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tāpī, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 947 H., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musalmans. When Khudāwand was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it but could not succeed in their object.....On the two sides of the fort which faces the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were 20 yards wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards.... It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with cramps of iron, having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *choukhandi* which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of this fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudāwand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structure.....

'When the Emperor returned from Sarnal to Barodā, he renewed his design of conquering Surat.....The Emperor sent Rājā Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Barodā.... and encamped at a distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th *Ramzān*. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among the *amīrs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

'The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed.....Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of to-day or to-morrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress. The wretched disloyal Ham-zabān and all the people in the fort sent out Maulāna Nizāmu-d dīn Lāri, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter....His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition.....Lāri returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded. A royal order was

then issued for Kāsim Alī Khān.....to proceed into the fortress with the Maulāna, to give assurances to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks to be sent in to seize upon all property, live-stock and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor.....In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zabān and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 23rd *Shawwal*, in the year 980 H., (the siege having lasted one month and seventeen days).—26th Feb., 1573.

5. Pātan.

'While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā to Hindūstān, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrāhīm fled to the neighbourhood of Pātan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrāhīm should go into Hindūstān and create disturbances, while the other two Mīrzās laid siege to Pātan; their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadābād, to repress these two outbreaks.....

'They invested Pātan. Saiyid Ahmad Khān Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders....to repress this rebellious attempt. The nobles accordingly joined Āzam Khān and marched to Pātan...The Mīrzās fell upon the advance and defeated it.....When Āzam Khān saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhārī, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight....When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but a few in array, Āzam Khān....formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side...Muhammad Husain Mīrzā fled to the Dakhin. This victory was won on the 18th *Ramzān*, 980.'

In March, 1573, 'the Emperor arrived at Ahmadābād and there he entrusted the government of Gujarāt to Khān-i āzam (Mīrzā Kokā). On the 10th *Zi-hijja*, the *Id-zuha*, he commenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muzaffar Khān (late King of Gujarāt) received the Imperial bounty: The *sarkārs* of Sārang-

pūr and Ujjain in Mālwā were taken from the Rāṇī and granted to him, with fifty lacs of tankās in jāgīr.... At one stage from Ajmir, the Emperor received the communication from Said Khān, the governor of Multān, to inform him of the death of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā.....On the 12th Muharram 981, in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwājā Muinu-d dīn Chishtī, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances.

6. Rebellion in Gujarāt.

'When the Emperor returned from Gujarāt, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaigns were sent to strengthen Āzam Khān. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time; and Āzam Khān himself wrote for reinforcements.

'The rebels, having assembled round Ikhtiyāru-l got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad Husain Mīrzā left the Dakhin with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kaliji Khān, who was *jāgīrdār* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege; so Husain Mīrzā gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Cambay. (On his way he got possession of Broach. Hasan Khān Karkarah, the *Shikkdār*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadābād..... At length the Mīrzā was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk. Āzam Khān, who had marched against Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result.....

'Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujarātīs, Hubshīs, Afghāns, and Rājputs—around Ahmadābād. The Rājā of Idar also kept up a connexion with them.....Khān-i āzam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarāt, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families..... In the early morning of Sunday, 24th *Rabī' u-l akhir*, 981, the Emperor with his companions and attendants mounted swift she-camels and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda (about 70 miles W. by S. from Āgrā) without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and rode on.....On Tues-

day, he reached the tomb of Chishtī at Ajmir (100 *kos;* "228 miles," —*Thornton*), where he went through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor.....

'Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bhilsān towards Ahmadābād. A messenger was sent to apprise Khān-i āzam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd *Jumada awwal,* he reached Kari, a town 20 *kos* from Ahmadābād. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort.....Āsaf Khān was sent to Khān-i āzam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. *Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fathpūr to the outskirts of Ahmadābād, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.*'

Battle of Ahmadābād.

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, amazed and alarmed, rushed to their horses.....The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the forces came up and took them in the flank . . . Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled.....Muhammad Husain Mīrzā had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put his horse at a thornhedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops, threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner.....Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed. (Sept. 2, 1573).

'Gada Alī Badakhshī and a servant of the Khān-i kalān now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mīrzā a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Rājā Bīrbal[1] asked

1. His original name was Brahma Dās, and he was, according to Badāunī, 'a bard who was distinguished above all his compeers

him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty"; and he spoke the truth.' Both Husain Mīrzā and Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2,000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadābād, and occupied the royal abode which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations....His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Ikhtiyāru-l Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Āgrā and Fathpūr.'

7. Final settlement of Gujarāt.

This sharp action broke the back of the rebellion in Gujarāt. Having accomplished this, he appointed Kutub-d dīn Muhammad Khān and Naurang Khān to Broach and Champānīr, to uproot the power of Shāh Mīrzā yet remaining to be subdued. Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Mahram, and several others were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rāṇā Udai Singh had abandoned. The government of Pātan was again confided to Khān-i kalān. Khwājā Ghiyāsu-d dīn Alī Bakshī, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Āsaf Khān (II), and he was appointed *dīwān* and *bakshī* of Gujarāt. So he remained behind with Khān-i āzam, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left Ahmadābād on Sunday, 16th *Jumada-l awwal*; "he was back in Fathpūr-Sīkrī within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, *Akbar's second Gujarāt expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record.* The

for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindī verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rāi, chief of poets.'....Later, 'the Emperor, having given to Kab Rāi the title of Rājā Bīrbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.'—E. & D., op. cit., V, p. 356.

victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573."[1]

'The revenues of Gujarāt had not been paid up satisfactorily,' says Nizāmu-d dīn; 'so the Rājā (Todar Mal) was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.' This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, "effected the measurement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The province, as reorganised, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Rājā Todar Mal was continued by another revenue expert, Shihābu-d dīn Ahmad Khān, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He rearranged the *sarkārs* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarāt remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmadābād was definitely taken by the Mahrāttas..... *Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarāt.*"[2]

(j) Conquest of Bihār and Bengal

Bihār and Bengal had been overrun by the Mughals, but not wholly subdued. Humāyūn had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Afghāns. The Sūrs had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. 'Suleimān Kirānī, one of the *amīrs* of Salīm Shāh, and ruler of Bengal and Bihār, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H.[3] His eldest son Bāyazīd

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 120
2. Ibid., pp. 120-21.
3. The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 980 (1572), as in Badāunī, ii. 166, not 981 (1573) as above. Suleimān's

succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amīrs* ('In consequence of his evil conduct.'—*Badāunī, ii, p. 173*), and the younger son raised to the throne.

'The Emperor was informed that Dāūd had stepped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patnā, which Khān Zamān built when he was ruler of Jaunpūr,[1] A *farmān* was immediately sent to Khān-khānān, directing him to chastise Dāūd, and to conquer the country of Bihār.

1. Fall of Patnā and Hājīpūr.

'At that time Dāūd was at Hājīpūr, and his chief noble, Lodī, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtās, and set up a claim to independence. Khān-khānān Munīm Khān marched with the Imperial forces against Patnā and Hājīpūr. Lodī, knowing the destruction of the Afghāns to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Dāūd, made a sort of peace with Khān-khānān. The old friendship and respect which Khān-khānān had for the late Suleimān Kirānī led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of *rupees* in money and one *lac* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalāl Khān Krorī, he entered into a peace with Dāūd.

'But Dāūd was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khān and Sridhar Hindū Bengālī, and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodī his *Amiru-l umara* (prime minister), and put him in confinement under the charge of Srīdhar Bengālī. When in prison, Lodī sent for Katlu and Srīdhar, and sent Dāūd this message: "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act upon my counsel, for it will be for your good: After I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesitation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be

death seems to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and (he was) highly respected by all his contemporaries.'—Ibid., p. 124.

1. Dāūd found himself in possession of an immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 140,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—Ibid.

too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time." But the power of Dāūd and of all the Afghāns was on the wane : it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Dāūd resolved to put Lodī out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction... So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Dāūd became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodī had concluded, he banished all care.

'When the death of Lodī was reported to Khān-khānān, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti and marched against Patnā and Hājīpūr... The Emperor, when he heard of this, determined personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Fathpūr, he sent off his camp and elephants by land, under the command of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Rizwī, one of his chief *amīrs*. He placed Āgrā in charge of Shāhbu-d dīn Ahmad Khān Naishapurī, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of *Safar*, 982 H. (15th June, 1574). The boats carried all his equipments and establishments, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen-utensils, stud, etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amīrs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats.....Every day he left the boat and went hunting on shore ('In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussions upon science, and poetry, etc.,—Badāunī, ii, p. 176). Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops.....On the 28th he reached Kori, a dependency of Jaunpūr, at the confluence of the Gūmtī and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was waited upon by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, who had brought down the army by land.

'On the 2nd *Rabiu-s sani* he reached a village near Jaunpūr. Here a despatch arrived from Khān-khānān, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th the boats fell down the Gūmtī to the Ganges, and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla..... Khān-khānān and the other *amīrs* advanced two *kos* from Patnā to meet the Emperor, who on the 16th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the tents of Khān-khānān. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were

made. On the 17th Akbar held a council of war....He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Hājīpūr (which stood opposite Patnā, with the Ganges, about two *kos* in width, flowing between them—*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 73), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patnā. The Khāns greatly applauded this scheme.....Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fath Khān Barha, commander of Hājīpūr, and many Afghāns were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fath Khān Barha and the heads of other Afghāns were thrown into boats, and sent to Dāūd, that he might see with his own eyes, what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Dāūd's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight....Srīdhar Bengālī, who was Dāūd's great supporter, and to whom he had given the title of Rājā Bikramjit, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him.....

'Late at night, when the flight of Dāūd was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light, Khān-khānān having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patnā, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "*Mulk-i Suleimān zi Dāūd raft*" (983).

Smith here reflects, 'The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengal prince. He had reckoned on Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the *Dasarā* festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the *shāstras* and the seasons."[1]

2. Garhi and Tanda Captured.

'The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khānān in command of the army, while he himself dashed off in pursuit of Gujar Khān (Dāūd's minister)..... When he reached the Pūnpūn (river near Patnā), he swam over on horseback, and the *amīrs* and soldiers followed his example.....

1. Ibid., p. 128.

Then he gave orders for every man and officer to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward..... The Emperor stayed at Daryāpūr six days. He appointed Khān-khānān to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horse. He increased his military allowances 25 or 30 per cent., he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Āgrā, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khān-khānān and other *amīrs*.....

'The Emperor remained at Jaunpūr thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpūr, Benāres, the fort of Chunār, and sundry other *mahāls* and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the managment of them to Mīrzā Mirak Rizwī and Shaikh Ibrāhīm Sikr.

'When Dāūd fled from Patnā, he went to Garhi. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khān-khānān marched against Tanda, and arrived near Garhi. (He had already made himself master of Sūrajgarh, Mongīr, and Bhagalpūr. *Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 84) As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghāns fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhi without striking a blow. This intelligence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khān-khānān and the other *amīrs*. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th *Jumada-s sani*, at the town of Iskandarpūr, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tanda. After taking possession of the fort of Garhi, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tanda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal. Khān-khānān's explorers at first reported that Dāūd intended to make a stand there, and had made his dispositions. Khān-khānān thereupon summoned his *amīrs*, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces and advanced upon Tanda. When Dāūd's spies carried him the intelligence of Khān-khānān's advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patnā, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus on the 4th *Jumada-s sani*, the capital of Tanda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people..... The Emperor arrived at Fathpūr on the last day of *Ramzān* (January 18, 1575—after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning).

3. Dāūd's Defeat at Tukaroi.

'*After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Dāūd, Khān-khānān sent Rājā Todar Mal with some other amīrs towards Orissa, in pursuit of Dāūd*..... Rājā Todar Mal reached Madaran (in the Hūglī District, between Burdwān and Midnāpūr), was informed by his scouts that Dāūd was engaged collecting men in Dīn-kasarī, and that his forces were daily increasing.' Todar Mal informed Khān-khānān of this and got reinforcements. 'Upon their arrival all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowalpara, ten *kos* from Dīn-kasarī, with all speed. When Dāūd heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Dārpūr.....Rājā Todar Mal halted and sent swift messengers to inform Khān-khānān of the position of affairs. Khān-khānān then left Tanda to march against Dāūd, and he formed a junction with Rājā Todar Mal. Dāūd had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghāns entrenched their camp. On the 20th *Zi-l kada*, 982, the armies met (3rd March, 1575) at Tukaroi, now in the Balasore District (between Midnāpūr and Jalesar). After the array was formed, the Afghāns advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack. Khān-khānān ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarb-zan*) and light guns (*zanburak*) which were mounted on *arabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghān attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghāns who were in the advance.....An arrow struck Gujar Khān (Dāūd's general) and brought him down. When the Afghāns saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled; but many of them were cut down in the flight. Rājā Todar Mal and others who were upon the right now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khān and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents of the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Dāūd. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them..... the death of Gujar Khān came to the knowledge of Dāūd. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khān-khānān encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword.'

Peace with Dāūd.

Dāūd fled to Cuttack, in Orissa, but was pursued by Rājā Todar Mal and others. 'Dāūd had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khān, his main-stay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khān-khānān with

this message: "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal, sufficient for my support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." The *amīrs* communicated this to Khān-khānān, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Dāūd himself should come out to meet Khān-khānān, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths. (The Rājā Todar Mal, who well understood the position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet, to prevent the armistice, met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 108).

'Dāūd protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khān-khānān brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Dāūd, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have therefore requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khān-khānān started on his return. On the 10th *Safar*, 983, he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khān-khānān, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

4. Final defeat and death of Dāūd.

'When Khān-khānān, with his mind at ease about Dāūd, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur, which in old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur.

'In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave

(az Gaur ba gor), and bade farewell to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Every day deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khān-khānān, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days in the month of *Safar*, 983, he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khān in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khān-khānān had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khān-jahān, who had been supreme governor of the Punjāb, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *amiru-l umara*, commended the *raiyats* and the people to his care, bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government.

'While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Dāūd Afghān had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khān-khānān, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The Imperial forces in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hājīpūr and Patnā. All this commotion had arisen because Khān-jahān had taken time in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lāhore....The Khān took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3000 men whom Dāūd had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly 1500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.'

On July 22nd, 1576, when Akbar was at Fathpūr, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khān-jahān, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Dāūd had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khān-jahān marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwājā Abdullā, one of the Imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghān entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order

to Mazaffar Khān, the governor of Patnā and Bihār, to assemble all the troops in his province, and march to the assistance of Khān-jahān.....He sent by *dāk-chauki* five *lacs* of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Āgrā, for the use of the army ....The Emperor himself set off from Fathpūr, but at five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by Abdullā Khān, whom he had sent as a messenger to Khān-jahān, and who now returned to cast the head of Dāūd at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Rejoiced at the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Tārīkh-i Dāūdī* closes with the following observations :— 'Dāūd Shāh Kirānī was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khān-jahān, seeing Dāūd in this condition, asked him if he called himself a Musalman, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kurān* and before God. Dāūd answered that he had made the peace with Munīm Khān personally ; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to renew it. Khān-jahān ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King.. ....*From that period the dominion of Hindūstān departed from the tribe of Afghāns, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shāh's supremacy over the whole country.*' "The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576)," writes Smith, "perished along with Dāūd, 'the dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing.' "[1]

(k) RĀṆĀ PRATĀP'S GLORIOUS RESISTANCE : 1572-97

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Rājputāna was almost complete but for the flight of Rāṇā Udai Singh of Mewār, who sought refuge in the Aravallis where he

1. Ibid., p. 146. "Bengal chiefs' struggle for independence in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr," by N. K. Bhattasali, in *Bengal, Past and Present*, "Mughal Pathān conflict in Bengal" by Sir J. N. Sarkar, in Jan. to Mar. 1928 ; and *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, XLII, 1-2, 1935.

founded his new capital of Udaipūr. "Four years had Udai Singh survived the loss of Chitore," writes Tod, "when he expired at Gogunda, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."[1] "Pratāp succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispirited by reverses; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitore, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him[2].....The wily Mughal arrayed against Pratāp his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Mārwār, Amber, Bikānir, and even, Būndī, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother Sāgorjī, deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratāp, who vowed, in the words of the bard, 'to make his mother's milk resplendent'; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the Empire; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling heir Amar (his son), amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bāppā Rāwal should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable; and he

1. Tod, op. cit., i, p. 343.

2. "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its sovereign was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth....Even in 1576 the amount of his horded riches must have been stupendous, and none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewār against the glittering host of rich Hindūstān."—Smith, op. cit., p. 148.

spurned every overture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1572-97) live in every valley; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rājput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors.[1] To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance which had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears.....To commemorate the desolation of Chitore, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her loveliness', Pratāp interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp until the insignia of her glory should be redeemed[2]....with the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pratāp remodelled his government, adapting it to the exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kombalmir (or Kumb-

1. *Cf.* Smith :—"The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for the gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. *The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor.*"—Ibid., p. 254.

2. "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *patras* or leaves, their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakaras*, which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewār still survives; the beard is yet untouched by the shears; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory: for though his descendant eats off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straw under the other."—Tod, op. cit., i, p. 347.

halgarh, situated on a mountain, near the western border of Mewār, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipūr city), now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses; and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewār, he followed the system of his ancestors, and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Arāvalli chain west, to the eastern tableland, was '*be chiragh*,' without a lamp....."

Battle of Haldīghāt or Gogūndā.

Nizāmu-d dīn, whose account we have mostly followed for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief description of this glorious fight for independence: 'Rāṇā Kīkā (as he calls Rāṇā Pratāp) was chief among the Rājās of Hindūstān. After the conquest of Chitore, he built a town called Kokanda (Gogūndā), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hindūwārā. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Mān Singh drew near to Kokanda, Rāṇā Kīkā called all the Rājās of Hindūstān to his aid, and came out of Ghātī Haldeo (Haldīghāt) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Mān Singh, in agreement with his *amīrs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battle-field. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rājputs in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[1]

1. The historian Badāunī had enthusiatically joined this campaign, because, as he put it, "I have a presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person." He said to Āsaf Khān, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rājputs on either side, to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rājputs?" He answered, "Oh whichever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to Islām." He records with great satisfaction: "My hand prospered in the matter, and I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels...," and that day through the generalship of Mān Singh, the meaning of this line of Mullā Shir became known:—"*A Hindū strikes, but the sword is Islām's.*"

Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rājputs of the enemy's army were sent to perdition. The enemy lost Rāmeshwar Gwāliarī and his son, and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rāṇā Kīkā fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rājputs, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Mān Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rāṇā Kīkā, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Rāṇā Kīkā fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Mān Singh and his *amīrs* with robes and horses.'[1]

"On the 7th of *Sawun*, S. 1632 (July, 1576 A. D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewār irrigated the pass of Haldīghāt." Pratāp retired to the remote fastness of Chaund, and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewār, excepting Chitor, Ajmir, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rājputāna, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Punjāb. In 1597 Pratāp died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty."[2]

"The last moments of Pratāp," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthagenian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence..... *Thus closed the life of a Rājput whose memory is even now idolized by every Sisodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May*

1. E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 398-99.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 153.

that day never arrive! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain." He also adds, "There is not a pass in the alpine Arāvalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratāp,—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldīghāt is the Thermopylæ of Mewār; the field of Deweir her Marathon."[1]

The end of the struggle with the Rājputs is thus briefly described by Dr. Ishwari Prasad : "Rāṇā Pratāp was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1597. He reorganised the institutions of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1599 Akbar sent Prince Salīm and Rājā Mān Singh to invade Mewār. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Rājā aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the imperialists. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Rājā Mān Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Usmān Khān in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Mewār, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."[2]

(1) The Crisis of 1581 :

"The year 1581," observes Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his power be not taken into account."[3] When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as the Tāptī river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from complex causes. In addition to the unquenchable discontent among the Afghāns whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other

1. Tod, op. cit., i, pp. 345-63.
2. *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 380.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 190.

reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time, Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Hakīm, was ever watchful for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Bihār, Gujarāt, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

Bengal and Bihār.

We have noted already that, after the death of Munīm Khān, Khān-jahān was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December 1578, and was succeeded by Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, in March 1579. Nizāmu-d dīn records, 'Muzaffar Khān, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amīrs* of their *jāgīrs*, he demanded the *dāgh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

'Bābā Khān Kakshāl, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jāgīr* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dāgh*, and received no attention. The *pargaṇa* of Jalesar, which was the *jāgīr* of Khaldi Khān, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jāgīr* of Shāh Jamālu-d dīn Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khān, and to recover this Muzaffar Khān put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

'At this time a *farmān* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khān to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, named Roshan Bég, who had left Kābul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Bég was among the Kakshāls, and Muzaffar Khān issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Bābā Khān Kakshāl. The soldiers who were present, and especially Bābā Khān and the Kakshāls, trembled together and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khān in

several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khān collected boats, and sent Hakīm Abu-l Fath and Patar Dās (the former a drunkard, and the latter a Hindū clerk), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

'When the disaffection of the Kakshāls was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farmān* to Muzaffar Khān, in which he said that the Kakshāls had long been servants of the throne, and it was not right to hurt them; and they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jāgīrs* was to be settled. The *farmān* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khān was in face of the insurgents.

'Upon the arrival of the *farmān*, Bābā Khān and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khān, asking him to send Rizwi Khān and Patar Dās to arrange terms with them.....But, when they arrived, Bābā Khān put them in confinement, and so stirred the fire of warfare.

'Coincident with this, it so happened that Mullā Tayib Purshottam *Bakshī*, and the revenue officials of Bihār, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jāgīrs* of Muhammad Māsum Kābulī, Arab Bahādur, and all the *amīrs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Māsum Kābulī and the others resolved to rebel, and kill Mullā Tayib and Rāi Purshottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purshottam rallied some loyal subjects, and crossed the river Jausā with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Arab Bahādur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

'Upon the intelligence of Māsum's rebellion reaching Bābā Khān, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshāls confronted Muzaffar Khān, Māsum marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi....and the revolt gathered strength. The Kakshāls then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khān ....Muzaffar Khān then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakīm Abul Fath, Khwājā Shamsu-d dīn and others prisoners, and began to pillage.....The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khān out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihār fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor some time before this had taken Mīrzā Sharāfu-d dīn Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khān (to be kept in

custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

'Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Rājā Todar Mal...and other *amīrs* to repress it. *Farmāns* were sent to Muhammad Māsum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpūr, and...the *jāgīrdārs* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

'But Muhammad Māsum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Rājā Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporised with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.

'When the Imperial army reached Mongīr, the Khakshāls, and Mirzā Sharāfu-d dīn Husain with 30,000 horse, and 500 elephants, and with war-boats and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Rājā Todar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventures composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongīr, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Every day combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army.....For four months the royal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamīndārs* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Bābā Khān Kakshāl fell sick and died.....Māsum, not being able to maintain his ground, withdrew to Bihār. Arab Bahādur made rapid march to Patnā, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight....Todar Mal and the other *amīrs* marched to Bihār,....and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Māsum ran away to Bengal in sorry flight. Now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops.' After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken, and Bengal and Bihār were restored to Imperial allegiance.

Akbar appointed his foster-brother, Mīrzā Azīz Kokah, governor of Bengal, under the title of *Khān-i āzam*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Shāh Mansūr, the Diwān or Finance Minister, who had been responsible for dra-

stic measures (like cutting down the allowances of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent.) was temporarily removed from office. "Mullā Muhammad Yazdī, the Kāzī of Jaunpūr, who had dared to give the ruling, that rebellion (against an innovating ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Kāzī of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullās suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another (Badāunī, ii, p. 285.) .... Akbar exhibited his usual politic clemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes abused his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct."[1]

2. Mīrzā Hakīm's Rebellion.

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious danger threatening from the north-west. His brother, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, was once more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kābul," as Smith points out, "resulting in the occupation of Delhī and Āgrā, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."[2]

Nizāmu-d dīn's account of this north-western campaign is as follows :—

'In the beginning of this year (989 H. or 1581 A.D.) intelligence arrived that Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Māsum Kābulī and Māsum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Farīdun, had set out from Kābul with the object of conquering Hindūstān. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Mān Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, attacked him and killed him.

1. Ibid., pp. 187-88.
2. Ibid., pp. 186-87.

On hearing of this, the Mīrzā crossed the river, and encamped in the *parganna* of Saiyidpūr. The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Punjab.

'When Kunwar Mān Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, one to Hakīmu-l Mulk, one to Khwājā Shāh Mansūr (Akbar's trusted *Diwān*) and one to Muhammad Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr*; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Mān Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

'After the Emperor marched from Delhī, Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm advanced to Lāhore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdī Kāsim Khān. Kunwar Mān Singh, Said Khān, and Rājā Bhagwān Dās had gone into the fortress. On the Emperor's reaching Pānīpat, Malik Sani Kābul, *diwān* of Mīrzā Hakīm, deserted the Mirzā and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwājā Shāh Mansūr.... The Emperor was already suspicious of Mansūr, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansūr, and showed him the Mīrzā's letter. Mansūr asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

'The Emperor proceeded to Shāhbād, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters..... On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Sharāf Bég had written one of them to Khwājā Mansūr, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mīrzā Hakīm's *diwān* Malik Sani, to Khwājā Mansūr. Many of the *amīrs* and officers of the State were on bad terms with the Khwājā, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

'Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Punjāb, had passed the river of Lāhore, and gone to Kābul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalānor, and from thence to New Rohtās. There he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the Indus.... He ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sindsāgar, and he called it Attak Banāras. Boats were scarce; so he ordered the *amīrs* to produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the *amīrs*. Kunwar Mān Singh....and others were sent over the river towards Peshāwar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor

sent Prince Murād along with others to effect the conquest of Kābul.

'At this time envoys from Mīrzā Hakīm came to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Hājī Habību-lla along with them to Kābul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court....But when Prince Murād came to within seven *kos* of Kābul, Mīrzā Hakīm issued forth and attacked him; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kābul.....On Friday, 10th *Rajab* (9th August, 1581), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens.... The Mīrzā (Muhammad Hakīm) having made a promise and a vow of fidelity, and executed an engagement....His Majesty then turned towards Hindūstan, after conferring Kābul upon Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm.[1].....He arrived at Lāhore on the last day of *Ramzān*.

'He again entrusted the government of the Punjāb to Said Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, and Kunwar Mān Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fathpūr....On the 25th *Shawwal* he arrived at Delhi (1st December, 1581).

'When the Emperor had been engaged in the Kābul campaign, Bahādur Alī, son of Saiyid Badakshī, entered the country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahādur Shāh (and according to Badāunī, caused the *khutbā* to be read and coins to be struck in his name); but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khān-i āzam. Māsum Khān Farankhudi (who had fled to the Siwāliks) being in distress, begged pardon for his offences, through Khān-i āzam, and in consequence of the Khān's intercession he was pardoned.'

"The success of the Kābul expedition," observes Smith, "gave him (Akbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."[2]

1. Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Kābul province to his brother directly. But the Mīrzā had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Monserrate is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Kābul to his sister,...when she came to see him...She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mīrzā to resume the government." (*Akbar*, p. 200.)

2. Ibid., p. 202.

3. The Gujarāt Rebellion.

Nizāmu-d dīn's account of the rebellion in Gujarāt is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest attaches to the narrative, except in the fact that the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nut-shell :—

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kābul, the province of Gujarāt was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shāh, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junāgarh in Kāthiāwār until 1583, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Itimed Khān was appointed viceroy in 1583 he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *bakshī*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1583, Muzaffar took Ahmadābād, and assumed the title and state of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kutbu-d dīn, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bharoch. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahābād to the capital in January 1585. He had meantime appointed Mīrzā Khān (Abdurrahīm, Bairam Khān's son), better known by his later title of *Khān-khānān*, to the government of Gujarāt. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadābād in January 1584, and again at Nādot or Nāndod in Rājpipla. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (Kacch), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizāmu-d dīn inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages[1] and ravaging two *parganas*. He was then recalled.

1. "We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kataria, two places well known in Cutch. We realised an enormous booty, and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we recrossed the Rann.....After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi which belonged

Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kāthiāwār and Cutch until 1591-92, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or at any rate was reported to have done so. Abdurrahīm got his title of *Khān-khānān* for his defeat of Muzaffar.[1]

(m) Settlement of the Frontiers :

Akbar, having successfully passed through the crisis above described, undertook campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by a settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kābul, Kāshmīr, Kandahār, Sindh, and Orissa, and the subjugation of the Balochī and Yusufzaī, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshān, are all illustrative of this. Having once secured these, he led his last aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the southern kingdoms of the Deccan.

1. Annexation of Kābul.

The death of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kābul with Akbar's dominions. 'The Mīrzā,' says Nizāmu-d dīn, 'was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mīrzā had often been presumptuous and aggressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amīrs* and armies to maintain him in Kābul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th *Shaban*, 993 (July, 1585). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved ; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kābul to the sons of Mīrzā. But

to Khangar....After returning to Ahmedābād, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attacked and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolīs and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check....In the year 996 the Emperor gave Gujarāt to Āzam Khān, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lāhore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.' (*Nizāmu-d dīn*, E. & D., op. cit., V, pp. 445-7.)

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 208.

the nobles urged that the Mīrzā's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling; and that the Uzbek army which had already taken Badakhshān was on the look out for Kābul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Punjāb, and he began his march on the 10th of *Ramzān*.....

'The Emperor travelled by successive stages without making any halts to Delhī. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of the saints and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *Id*. On the 19th *Shawwal* he reached the bank of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Mān Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshāwar, and that Shāh Bég, the officer of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, had fled to Kābul. ....On the 28th he (Akbar) reached and crossed the Beyāh. Here he received a despatch from Mān Singh, reporting that the people of Kābul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule....Moreover, Farīdun Khān, the uncle of the late Mīrzā, when Kunwar Mān Singh entered Kābul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Mān Singh left his own sons in Kābul in the charge of Shamsu-d dīn Khāfī, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kābul to meet the emperor....They were received with princely generosity (at Rāwalpindī). Each of the chief attendants received five or six thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and *jāgīrs* were also granted....His Majesty placed Kunwar Mān Singh in command, and gave him Kābul in *jāgīr*.

'When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Mahram, and other well-known *amīrs*, with about 5,000 horse, to effect the conquest of Kāshmīr. On the same day Ismāil Kulī Khān and Rāi Singh were sent against the Balūchīs. Next day Zain Khān Koka was sent with a force against the Afghāns of Swāt and Bājaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th *Muharram*, 994.

Reduction of the Afghāns, etc.

'In former times a Hindūstānī soldier had come among the Afghāns, and set up an heretical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pīr Roshanāī*. He was dead, but his son Jalāla, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kābul. He was kindly received; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to take flight, and go off to the Afghāns. There he raised disturbances; and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the roads between

Hindūstān and Kābul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanāis*, His Majesty placed Kunwar Mān Singh in command and gave him Kābul in *jāgīr*.

'When intelligence arrived of Zain Khān having entered the country of Swāt, and of his having encountered this sect of Afghāns, who were as numerous as ants and locusts, on the 2nd *Safar*, 994 H. Sayid Khān Gakhar, Rājā Bīrbal and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakīm Abu-l Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined Zain Khān began to plunder and ravage the Afghāns, and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Rājā Bīrbal that the Afghāns meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack designed. Rājā Bīrbal, without making any communication to Zain Khān, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghāns. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path, and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 8,000 men were killed, and Rājā Bīrbal, who fled for his life was slain.... On the 5th *Rabī'u-l awwal*, Zain Khān Koka and Hakīm Abu-l Fath were defeated and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

'This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor.[1] He dismissed these commanders, and sent Rājā Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Rājā entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghāns to great straits. Rājā Mān Singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaiber Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Rājā obtained a great victory (1586).

Conquest of Kāshmīr.

'When Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Shāh Kulī Khān Mahram, and others who had been sent against Kāshmīr, reached the pass of Bhuliyas, on the confines of Kāshmīr, Yūsuf Khān, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces

1. Akbar in particular grieved very much over the death of his jovial companion, Rājā Bīrbal, and is said to have been so much moved that he gave up food and drink for two days. Badāunī says: 'He never experienced such grief at the death of any *amīr* as he did at that of Bīrbal.'

remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on, and supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amīrs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls, and by the mint, to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yūsuf —Badāunī, ii. p. 352.) Yūsuf was delighted with the terms, and came to visit the *amīrs*, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace, and the *amīrs* were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances....'

Then 'Muhammad Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr*....was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kāshmīr. After seven marches they entered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Yākub, the son of Yūsuf Khān, (who 'had been thrown into prison, and was treated as dead by his son.—Badāunī, ii, p. 353) considering himself ruler of Kāshmīr, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kāshmīrīs. The chiefs of Kāshmīr were distressed with the rule of Yākub, and several deserted from him and joined Kāsim Khān. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srīnagar, which is the capital of the country. Yākub deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kāshmīr. The Imperial army then entered Kāshmīr without opposition, and Yākub, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srīnagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

'The Emperor, being informed of the contest, sent letters of thanks to Kāsim Khān and the other *amīrs*, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yākub raised a force and fought with Kāsim, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills full of trees and defiles beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kāsim Khān, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.' Badāunī adds that he was eventually sent into Bihār to Rājā Mān Singh, to join his father; and both Yūsuf and Yākub there died in confinement, worn out with troubles and chagrin.[1]

1. Badāunī, ii, p. 353; Abu-l Fazl, on the other hand says, 'Yūsuf was released from prison, and received a *jāgīr*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received.' (*Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 549.)

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Kāshmīr and Kābul and attended to the transfer of several of the important officers. 'The government of Kābul was given to Zain Khān Kokā, and Rājā Mān Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Bihār and Bengal was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Kāshmīr was given to Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Rizwī, and Kāsim Khān *Mīr-bahr* was recalled. Sadik Khān was sent to Swāt and Bājaur against the Yūsufazāis, and the *jāgīrs* of Mān Singh at Siālkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Ismāil Kulī Khān was recalled from Swāt and Bājaur, and sent to Gujarāt, to replace Kalij Khān, who was summoned to Court....Kalij Khān arrived from Gujarāt, and was appointed to assist Rājā Todar Mal in Revenue and Civil administration.'

When the Emperor was at Kābul, 'intelligence reached him that Rājā Todar Mal *wakīlu-s saltanat*, and *mushrif-i diwān* and Rājā Bhagwān Dās *amīru-l umara*, had died at Lāhore. On the 8th *Muharram*, 998, the Emperor started on his return to Hindūstān, leaving the government of Kābul in the hands of Muhammad Kāsim *Mīr-bahr*....He gave the government of Gujarāt to Mīrzā Azīz Muhammad Kokaltāsh *Āzam Khān*, who held the government of Mālwā. He recalled me, Nizāmu-d dīn Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khān-khānān he gave Jaunpūr instead of the *jāgīr* which he had held in Gujarāt.

Sindh and the Balochīs.

'The city of Lāhore had been for some years the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jānī Beg, of Thatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enroll himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khān-khānān was now appointed governor of Multān and Bhakkar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sindh and the Balochīs. In the month of *Rabī'u-s sani* (1590) he was sent on his enterprise, along with a number of nobles whose names are too numerous to mention. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery.....

'Khān-khānān had besieged Jānī Bég for two months. Every day there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindhīs had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Khān-khānān had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun, near Thatta. But he sent a portion of his force to invest Sīhwān. Jānī Bég, assuming the Sīhwān force to be weak in numbers, marched against it... But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. The Rājā Todar

Mal's son, Dharu, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jānī Bég flew towards the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khān-khānān upon his side, and the Sīhwān force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting every day. At length Jānī Bég's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed every day by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jānī Bég was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khān-khānān remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sīhwān, for that time. The fort of Sīhwān was surrendered, and Jānī Bég gave his daughter in marriage to Mīrzā Iraj, son of Khān-khānān. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs*, (three-masted ships).

'The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kāshmīr. He then continued his journey to Kāshmīr,....taking me with him in attendance.....It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Kāshmīr, he observed: "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st *Rabi'u-l awwal* he reached the fort of Rohtās, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lāhore, and on the 6th *Rabi'u-s sani* he arrived there (1592).

'Intelligence here reached him that Rājā Mān Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Kutlu Afghān, who, since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country, which lies beyond Bengal, to the Imperial dominions.' The new province was attached to the *Sūbā* of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Empire until 1751, when the Marāthās conquered it from Alivardi Khān.

Annexation of Orissa.

'The year 1595 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mīr Māsum, the historian, who wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Sīwī to the south-east of Quetta which was held by the Parni Afghāns. The tribesmen who mustered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result

Balochistān and Kandahār.

that all Balochistān, as far as the frontiers of the Kandahār province, and including Makrān, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre.

'A little later, in April, Kandahār itself came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed.....The Persian governor, Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shāh Bég, who had been in the service of his brother at Kābul. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahāngīr lost it. Shāhjahān regained it and held it from 1638 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire.' [1]

7. Badakhshān and the Uzbegs.

Akbar was ambitious to reconquer his ancestral dominions in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kābul, he was 'intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshān.' Later, 'Mīrzā Suleimān, with the assistance of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, had returned to Badakhshān, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdullā Khān Uzbeg.....Abdullā Khān of Badakhshān, when he was informed of Mīrzā Suleimān's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mīrzā Suleimān unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kābul, all Badakhshān came into the power of the Uzbegs.' Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdullā Khān with diplomacy. Nearly a *lac* and a half of rupees, equal to 37,000 *tumans* of Irāk, goods of Hindūstān, and curiosities were entrusted to Muhammad Alī *Khazānchī* for presentation to Abdullā Khān.' But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the rebel Uzbeg leaders, until the death, in 1598, of Abdullā Khān, when, relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the south.

(n) Conquest of the Deccan :

In August 1591, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan : 'Faizī, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, to Asīr and Burhānpūr ; Khwājā Amīnu-d dīn to Ahmadnagar ; Mīr Muhammad Amīn Mashūdī to Bījāpūr ; and Mīrzā Masūd to Golkonda.' But in 1593, 'the ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned, communicating that all the kings had refused

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 258.

to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.'[1] Only Rājā Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. "The chief importance of Rājā Alī Khān's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asīrgarh, commanding the main road to Deccan, and justly regarded as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia."[2] There was no unity among the Sultāns of the Deccan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Burhānu-l Mulk of Ahmadnagar died in 1594, and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm who was killed in battle by the Bijāpūrīs in 1595. 'The Ahmadnagar nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmadnagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince entreated the help of the Mughals in Gujarāt.

'Prince Murād, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south.' Abdurrahman, Khān-khānān, also marched to the south at the same time.

1. Siege of Ahmadnagar.

'Miān Manjū (the minister) having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Mughals, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmadnagar to defend it. He left Chānd Bībī, the daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh, to assume command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bijāpūr frontier. The Prince Murād and Khān-khānān, instead of coming as allies now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. In November 1595, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chānd Bībī, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bijāpūr, and Kutub Shāh of Golkonda, for

1. *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 265, 269.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 247.

aid. At the end of three months,.....Chānd Bībī, appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet, before daylight, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcases. Meanwhile, a report prevailed that the general of Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh was on his march, in conjunction with Kutb Shāhī troops, at the head of an army of 70,000 horse, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Khān-khānān thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

'It was stipulated by Chānd Bībī, that Akbar should retain Berār, while Ahmadnagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Bahādur Shāh, the grandson of Burhān Nizām Shāh II. These terms being ratified, the Prince Murād and Khān-khānān marched towards Berār, where they built the town of Shāhpūr, near Bālāpūr, and formed cantonments in that place (1596).

'After the departure of the Mughals, Chānd Bībī resigned her authority,.....and the nobles, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with 50,000 horse to the north, in order to expel the Mughals from Berār; while Khān-khānān leaving the Prince in Shāhpūr, moved with 20,000 horse accompanied by Rājā Alī Khān Fārukhī, to oppose them on the banks of the Godāvarī. On reaching the village of Sūpā, Khān-khānān halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the south bank....The Nizām Shāhī troops were on the right, the Kutb Shāhī on the left, and the Ādil Shāhīs in the centre.

2. Battle of Sūpā.

'On the side of the Mughals, Khān-khānān took post in the centre. Rājā Alī Khān of Khāndesh and Rājā Rām Chunder, at the head of a body of volunteers, began to attack. The onset of the Mughals was begun with much intrepidity; they broke the advance troops of the Deccanis.....However, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did much execution among the Rājputs and the Khāndesh troops; Rājā Alī Khān and Rājā Rām Chunder were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mughal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the enemy master of the field in that quarter.....But, Sohil Khān (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue and loss

of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependants, however, bore him off the ground; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khān-khānān master of the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Mughals returned to Shāhpūr.'

3. Emperor takes the field in Person.

'The private animosity that had long subsisted between the Prince Murād and the Khān-khānān, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, in the year 1006 H. (1597). Khān-khānān was recalled to the presence.....At this time Prince Murād Mīrzā, falling dangerously ill (of excessive drinking), died in 1007 H.....The King's grief at the death of his son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the meantime, the nobles of the Nizām Shāhī dominions gained some slight advantages over the Mughals ....Khān-khānān was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Dāniyāl, with orders to occupy the whole of the Nizām Shāhī territory. Akbar also, in the year 1008, (1599), marched in person to the south, leaving his dominions in the north under the charge of the Prince Royal, Muhammad Salīm Mīrzā.

'Meanwhile, Dāniyāl Mīrzā and the Khān-khānān entered the Deccan. Miran Bahādur Khān, son of Rājā Alī Khān, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Asīrgarh after the Mughal army had gone to the south. The Prince deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godāvarī, near Paithan, in order to conciliate him. But Akbar having reached Māndū directed the Mīrzā to proceed to Ahmadnagar, as he himself intended to besiege Asīrgarh. Dāniyāl and Khān-khānān accordingly marched with about 30,000 horse towards Ahmadnagar. The Deccanī officers flying before them, left the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation.' The city of Ahmadnagar easily fell into the hands of the Mughals, owing to its internal dissensions. Chānd Bībī the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1600, after 1500 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were committed to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Gwālior.

4. Capture of Asīrgarh.

'Akbar failed in inducing Miran Bahādur Khān to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Burhānpūr, and directed one of his generals to besiege Asīrgarh which lay only six *kos* from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became

very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison; and although Miran Bahādur Khān had still sufficient men for the defence of Asīr, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time also Ahmadnagar fell....In the beginning of the year 1009 H. (1600), Miran Bahādur Khān, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Asīr into the hands of Akbar, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmadnagar was also brought to Burhānpur. Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbar, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Dāniyāl Mīrzā. A Mughal noble was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Bījāpūr. Asīr, Burhānpūr, Ahmadnagar, and Berār, were now consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred upon Dāniyāl Mīrzā, under the management of Khān-kānān. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Āgrā, in the year 1011 H. (1602) assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other titles.'

(o) Death of Akbar :

The above narrative of the conquest of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferishta. The exact nature of the capitulation of Asīrgarh is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Asīrgarh," says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years."[1] The history of the remaining few years of Akbar's reign is thus briefly recorded by Ferishta :—

'In the course of the same year (1602), Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, was recalled from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orcha. In the month of *Safar*, 1013 (June, 1604), Mīr Jalālu-d dīn Husain, who had been deputed to Bījāpūr, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sultānā to Dāniyāl upon the banks of the Godāvarī near Paithan,[2] where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Mīr Jamālu-d dīn Husain proceeded to join the King at Āgrā. On the 1st of *Zehuj*, of the year 1013, the Prince Dāniyāl died, in the city of Burhānpūr, owing to excess of drinking. His death

1. Ibid., p. 287.
2. Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.

By Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, Bombay.

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and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of *Jumadu's-sani*, in the year 1014 H. (Oct. 13, 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due. The words "*The death of King Akbar*" contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death."[1]

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abu-l Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salīm's rebellion. The murder of his great companion, as well as the misdemeanor of Prince Salīm, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here :—

Prince Salīm, on the testimony of Badāunī, is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1591. 'In this year,' says Badāunī, 'the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic..... In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison.'[2] Commenting upon this, Smith observes, "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified; but it is certain that in 1600 Salīm had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."[3] In 1598, when Akbar left for the southern campaign, he left Salīm in charge of the capital. In 1600, when Usmān Khān, an Afghān chief rebelled in Bengal, Salīm was asked to proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Allahābād, appropriated the vast revenues of Bihār (amounting to no less than 30 *lacs* of rupees) and assigned *jāgīrs* to some of his supporters. It was this grave misconduct of Salīm that had made Akbar somehow finish the conquest of Asīrgarh and

1. Briggs, ii, 280. According to Smith, "He died soon after mid-night, early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 27, new style (Oct. 17, old style), or according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night."—Ibid. p. 324.

2. Badāunī, ii, p. 390.

3. Smith, loc. cit., p. 301.

hasten to the north. Akbar reached Āgrā in May 1601, and heard that Salīm was coming to the court with 30,000 horse; had, in fact, reached Etāwāh, only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Allahābād, and at the same time conferred on him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Early in 1602, Salīm required that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 70,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile, Salīm continued in royal style at Allahābād, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to endure all this, the Emperor communicated his son's insolence to Abu-l Fazl in the Deccan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin. Bīr Singh Bundela who had been hired for the purpose by Salīm. His head was sent to Allahābād, and "Salīm received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful insult." Salīm records this crime in the following terms :—

'Sheikh Abu-l Fazl, who excelled the Sheikhzādās of Hindūstān in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself outwardly with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me....It became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Bīr Singh Deo's country was exactly on the route and he was then a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop the sedition-monger and kill him he would receive every kindness from me.

'By God's grace, when Sheikh Abu-l Fazl was passing through Bīr Singh Deo's country, the Rājā blocked his road, and after a little contest scattered his men and killed him. He sent his head to me in Allhābād. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance of mind, to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away.'

Akbar became furious, and, distracted with grief, he declared : "If Salīm wanted to be the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abu-l Fazl." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Bīr Singh Deo. The murderer, though hotly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahāngīr. "The murder," says Smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking strong measures to coerce his rebellious son."[1]

About April 1603, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son through the intercession of Salīmā Begum (Bairam Khān's widow, daughter of Humāyūn's sister Gulbadan Begum, whom Akbar had married,—the mother of Murād). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly recognising him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salīm was ordered to march against Amar Singh (son of Rāṇā Pratāp), he went off to Allahābād and resumed his old and unfilial ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Mariyam Makānī in August 1604. In November, when Salīm came to the capital, Akbar severely reproached him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 24 hours (according to *Ma'asir-i Jahāngīr*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this, Salīm humbly accepted the government of the western provinces which had been held by his brother Dāniyāl but continued to live at Āgrā until Akbar's death in October 1605.[2]

Asad Bég records : 'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khān-i āzam (Azīz Kokā), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted the Rājā Mān Singh,

1. Ibid., p. 307.
2. Ibid. p. 319.

one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultān Khūsrū Emperor.[1] They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salīm), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respect at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the pen-knife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allāh upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.' When these designs were frustrated by other loyal nobles, who declared, " This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatāī Tatars, and shall never be ; " Rājā Mān Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Sultān Khūsrū with him to his own palace, and prepared boat, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mīr Murtazā Khān at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one (Salīm). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes, and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage ; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed his life.'[2]

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning ; but Smith writes, " On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may

1. The Khān-i āzam was Prince Khūsrū's father-in-law ; and Khūsrū's mother was the daughter of Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh's adopted father.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 169-72.

have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment." [1]

(p) AKBAR'S RELATIONS WITH THE EUROPEANS :

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close unison with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Akbar was very slight.

In 1561, "the Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached ; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places ; Bassein (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, p. 21); Damān, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country."[2]

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarāt campaign. In 1572, while at Cambay, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abu-l Fazl, 'whilst the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived ; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the besieged, and to get the fort into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great condescension, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European matters.' [3] A treaty was also entered into

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 326.
2. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 348.
3. *Akbar-Nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 42.

with Antonio Cabral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Ibādat-Khāna* (or the House of Worship), Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Vaz and Pater Diaz) in Bengal. Their reproof of Christian converts who wanted to defraud the Imperial treasury, by refusing to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pereira, the Vicar General at Sātgāon. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar consulted Pietro Tavares, the captain or commandant of the port of Hūglī ; but, says Smith, "Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various conundrums proposed to him." Nevertheless, Akbar made him a grant of land, some time between 1578-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Akbar at his Court ; "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

These failures only whetted Akbar's curiosity more. So he sent despatches to Goa, both of a secular and religious character. He sent Hājī Abdullā to bring from Goa European curios, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ 'like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers. Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

In September 1579, Akbar's embassy reached Goa with the following message :—

First Jesuit Mission from Goa.

'Order of Jalāl-u dīn the Great, King by God appointed, Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdullā, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires, to ask you

in my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them and let them bring the books of the Law. Know also that so far as I can I shall receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like, and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 10, 1579, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rudolf Aquaviva, Antony Monserrate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Persian by origin, a native of Ormuz and a convert from Islām, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Monserrate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a wise and observant man of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mughal Court ... Rudolf Aquaviva, the third member and leader of the Mission, was an Italian of high social status and of outstanding sanctity."[1]

The Mission started on November 17, 1579, and reached Fathpūr Sīkrī on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maclagan, "came to Akbar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its doings have received notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian Historians, Bādāonī and Abul Fazl; the former writing from the orthodox Muslim standpoint and the latter from Akbar's own eclecticism. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." Monserrate's *Relacam* (1582) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Akbar at the time of the Mission and the *Commentarious* (1590) which forms

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, p. 24.

the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were ambitious of converting the inhabitants of "Mogor." But, as Maclagan says, "in view of the unsolicited invitation addressed to Goa and the known proclivities of Akbar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the efforts of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal converts were not unknown in the Indies.....a near relation of Bijapur had been baptised at Goa shortly after Father Rudolf's arrival from Europe .....There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success." [1]

Akbar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offered large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accorded quarters in the palace...They were given food from the royal table; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him in Portuguese. In personal intercourse with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them,' says Monserrate, 'to remain uncovered in his presence; both at the solemn meetings of the grandees and in private interviews, when he would take them inside for private colloquy, he would tell them to sit near him. He would shake hands with them most familiarly and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to indulge with them in private conversation. More than once, in public, he walked a short distance with Rudolf, his arm round Rudolf's neck....' This familiarity encouraged the

1. Ibid., p. 27.

Fathers to speak to him seriously on faults in his regime or his conduct....' modestly however and not without first examining what mood he was in.' "[1]

The King, in short, allowed them every liberty, and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty,' says Badāunī, 'ordered Prince Murād to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abu-l Fazl to translate the Gospel.' During the Kābul campaign, Father Monserrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's camp, his forces, the towns through which he passed, his advance beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kābul : a document, as Maclagan points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King,' says Monserrate, 'listened ; but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith, he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fear to honour and kiss publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monserrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Rudolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful, remained at Fathpūr for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and designs of the Christians :—

"'First' he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore : he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto, though impediments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahari, a boy of thirteen

1. Ibid., p. 32.

years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language and therewith the things relating to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrate was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of heathens called Bottan (Tibetans) which is beyond Lāhore towards the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. They are white men, and Muhammadans do not live among them, wherefore hope that if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of Faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given much to contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our Faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our Faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation.(5) Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia ; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the continent of India ; seeing that all that had so far been done has been merely on the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Monserrate were not encouraging, and Father Rudolf was also finally recalled by the Provincial at Goa. In February 1583, he left Akbar carrying with him an appreciatory epistle to the following effect :—

'God is great. Farmān of Jalāu-d dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī...With regard to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about sending hence Father Rudolf,—since I like very much the Book of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father ; and, considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refuse him the permission ; but as Your Paternity asked it me by letter several times, I did so, and gave him the permission ; and as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more and more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudolph back to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay ; for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like them much. And to the Father I said many things by words of mouth,

for him to repeat them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will consider well. Done in the moon of the month of February 1583.'

Father Rudolph, however, met with an unexpected death and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N. S.), 1583, he was killed together with four companions by a fanatical mob of Hindūs at Cuncolim near Goa. In 1593 Rudolph was beatified by the Church, and is now known as the Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva. Akbar, when he heard of this untoward end of the Father, exclaimed 'Ah me, Father. Did I not tell you not to go away? But you would not listen to me.' He loved him, says Monserrate, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognised the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus ended the First Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar.[1]

Second Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1590, Akbar for a second time renewed his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a Greek sub-deacon named Leo Grimon to carry his message to the Provincial. "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *parwāna* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending....." To the Fathers of the Society, he wrote :—

"In the name of God. The exalted and invincible Akbar to those who are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and lead men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honours of earth : Fathers who walk by the true way ;

1. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

I would have your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammadans, save that of Jesus Christ which is from God and as such recognised and followed by many. Now, in that, I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers, I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese) several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so, your Reverences will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors,...and who by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live in greater honour and favour than any Father who has up to this been in this country and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask of you in this letter. Written at the commencement of the moon of June."[1]

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leioton (Leitanus) and Christopher di Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lāhore in 1591. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November 1591, mentions, 'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1591, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Murād and Dāniyāl) and grandson (Khūsrū) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so.....And *as the conversion*

1. Ibid., pp. 46-7.

of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and justly in the matter.'

But, as Smith observes, "No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1592.... The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat faint-hearted."[1] Thus closed the Second Mission like the First, in disappointment and failure.

Third Jesuit Mission from Goa.

In 1594 Akbar, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians to him. The message was conveyed by an Armenian Christian. But the Provincial, being very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "*good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character.*" So it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes were selected for the purpose. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence."[2] The first had seen much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "*working sometimes for the conversion of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese*".[3] In the end he too returned to Goa and died there in June 1617. The second, according to Maclagan, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mogor to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court."[4] He remained for many years

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 254-55.
2. Maclagan, op. cit., p. 50.
3. Ibid., p. 51.
4. Ibid.

at Lāhore as pastor of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later 'he departed hence to a better Mission.' Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughal, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lāhore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, sailing *via* Damān to Cambay. Thence they proceeded through the desert of Rājputāna, and after five months reached Lāhore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1605, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badāunī's account stops with 1595 and Abu-l Fazl's with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission, was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessors, this Mission was also well received at Lāhore. Father Pinheiro states in his letter of September 1595, "Both Emperor and Prince (Salīm) favoured us and treated us with much kindness and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit.' On the 20th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote, 'He (Akbar) received us publicly with great honour and kindness and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court....He has images of our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure in showing them to others, holding them in arms for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails ....He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, wherewith his servants handsomely adorned our chapel.....The Emperor

gave us leave to bring together as many as might so wish to the church of Christ.'

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the feudatory Princes and those of the Chief of Badakhshān. Two of these pupils asked to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lāhore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1597 while Akbar was in Kāshmīr and the Governor of the city attended in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Pinheiro in his house. At the following Christmas, Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a sacred Crib which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Akbar's example in their attention to the Fathers and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The heir apparent himself, Prince Salīm, became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.[1]

When Akbar went to Kāshmīr in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Goes. They stayed till November 1597. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many orphans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return, both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether two and a half years at the Court of Akbar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1598 the King of Spain wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and ordered that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. 'The fruit,' he wrote, 'which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest.' But the Fathers got exasperated with Akbar's attitude. Akbar explained to them courteously that, whereas

1. Ibid., p. 54.

former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Akbar during his southern campaign. When he found himself confronted with the difficult siege of Asīrgarh, Akbar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that *such action was contrary to the Christian faith.* Du Jarric, however, points out that *the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the Khāndesh forces against whom Akbar was fighting were in alliance with the Portuguese.*[1] This, therefore, enraged Akbar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Asīrgarh fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details. "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says Maclagan, "the main point of interest to the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven renegade Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were, at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and were by him reconverted to Christianity."[2] Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lāhore, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder ('which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favourites'). Akbar returned to Āgrā in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa, for the fourth time, but only for a secular purpose. In his letter dated 20 March, 1601, Akbar requested, not for priests, but for a political alliance, skilled craftsmen, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their

1. Ibid., pp. 57-8.
2. Ibid. 58.

ammunition to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordnance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Goes and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Mughal Court formed a sort of 'College' or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mīrza Azīz Kokā, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held to ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated by the intercession of the Fathers. 'My lord', said Xavier, 'you have liberated fifty captives, and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.'[1]

In spite of these cordialities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but more particularly on account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering at the Court of the Grand Mughal. Consequently, in 1605, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happenings is thus given by Guerreiro and du Jarric :—

'The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him in the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought and having commended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Captains, and in so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and decided to await another opportunity. They came away fully persuaded that he was making good progress....On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that.....His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace; but they could find no one who could make their arrival known to the King, or dare to speak to him of them; for already such matters were more in the hands of the great nobles than of the King him-

1. Ibid., p. 645.

self ; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual.' [1]

Akbar and the English.

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Oxford, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkanī, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,000 strophes of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants started with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbury, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbury. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgaum, Bījapūr, Golkondā, Masulīpatām, Burhānpūr, Māndū, and went to Āgrā *via* Mālwā and Rājputāna, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and swam oftentimes for our lives.' Fitch was the only member of this party to return to Europe ; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Fitch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Fathpūr Sīkrī and Āgrā :—"Āgrā," he writes, "is a very great citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falls into the gulfe of Bengālā. It hath a faire castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdin (Jalālu-d dīn) Echebar : the people for the most part call him the great Mogor.

1. Ibid., p. 62.

"From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. (Muhammadans and Hindūs).

"The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1,000 elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1,400 tame deers, 800 concubines; such store of Ounces (cheetah?), Tigers, Buffles (buffaloes kept for fighting), Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Dericcan.

"Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.[1] Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles (*kos?*—23 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles, which be drawen with two little Buls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in white Cabie, made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. None came into his house but his eunoches which keepe his women."[2]

The next Englishman to come to India was John Mildenhall or Midnall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter

1. The population of London in 1580 was 123,034, and 152,478 between 1593-5. The population of Fathpūr Sīkrī, according to Smith, may have been about 200,000 in 1585.—Smith, op. cit., p. 108, n 5.

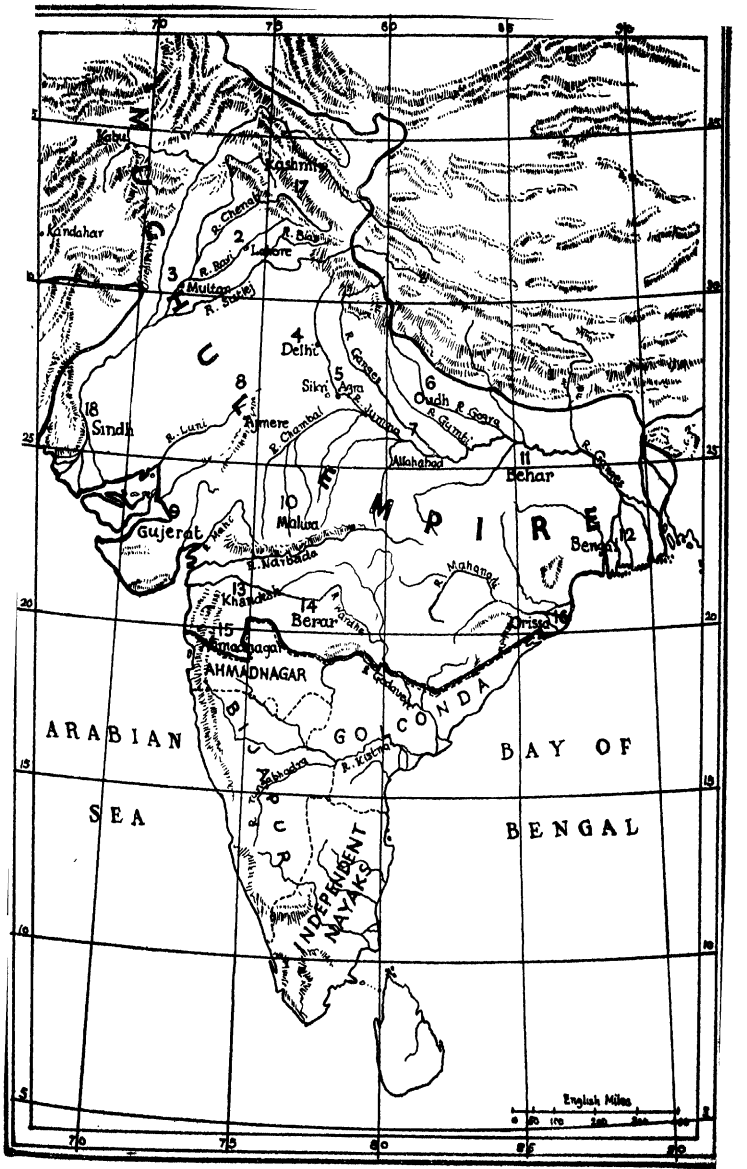
2. Ibid., pp. 108-9.

is extant. Mildenhall who was a merchant, sailed from London on February 12, 1599. He made his way to Lāhore, early in 1603, by the land route *via* Kandahār. He brought to the Emperor 29 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth £500, which put the Jesuits 'in an exceeding great rage.' They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time "the Jesuits bought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself."[1] When Akbar heard the case against the Jesuits, he granted a *farmān* to Mildenhall. "The discomfiture of the Jesuits," says Smith, "must have taken place in August or September 1605, after the reconciliation with Salīm and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September."[2]

Mildenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Hector*, call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's life-time were only pioneers unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the coasts of India and never cared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

1. Ibid., p. 293.
2. Ibid., p. 294.



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN 1605 A. D.

CHAPTER VI

REORGANISATION OF THE EMPIRE

'I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I call from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.'

Tennyson, AKBAR'S DREAM.

Those that take up the sword can have only one justification, *viz.*, seeking, not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of the people coming under their sway. Sher Shāh had tried to rule according to this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, so far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the enemy of his house had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aims of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'It is universally agreed that the noblest employments are the reformation of the manners of the people; the advancement of agriculture; the regulation of the officers; and the discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, joined with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity.' Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Moreland, has pointed out, was "severely practical." A chief or *rājā* who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his posi-

tion of authority. His administrative system nevertheless, favoured the direct relations between the State and the individual peasant, the assessment and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts."[1] It was in fact a centralised monarchy acting through a bureaucratic machinery ; all the strings of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments : Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. N. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :—

I. Central Government

'The chief Departments of the Mughal administration were :—

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Diwān*).
2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khān-i-sāmān*).
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Bakshī*).
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qāzī*).
5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*).
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasīb*).

'Inferior to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were :

7. The Artillery (under the *Mīr Ātish* or *Daroghā-i-toph-khānā*).
8. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Daroghā* of *Dāk-chaukī*).

'The innumerable *kārkhānās* (*i. e.*, factories and stores), each under a *daroghā* or superintendent, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khān-i-sāmān*.'

1. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 3 and 34.

1. *The Chancellor* : The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazīr* or *Vakīl*. He was the Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Mughals he exercised dictatorial authority, like the Mayors of the Palace in medieval France, or the Peshwās in India. He was always the *Diwān* as well, and in this capacity, the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Mughal Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition ; but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. 'Thus, in its origin the *Wazīr's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was abnormal and a mark of Imperial decadence.'[1]

2. *The Bakshī or Pay-Master* :—Almost all officers of any rank being enrolled, at least in theory, as military commanders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and passed by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mīr* or First *Bakshī* when he had under him three others, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Bakshīs*. Greater particulars of this Department will be considered later.

3. *The Khān-i-sāmān or High Steward* :—This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Manucci, "He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things."[2] All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also supervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (*e.g.*, food, tents, stores, etc.). Often *Wazīrs* were chosen from among the *Khān-i-sāmāns*.

4. *The Qāzī-ul quzāt or Chief Judge* :—This '*Qāzī* of the Imperial Camp', as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qāzīs* in various parts of the Empire.

1. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 22-3.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 26 n.

5. *The Sadr-us-sudūr or Chief Sadr* :—This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Supervisor of the Endowments of land made by the Emperor or Princes, for the support of pious men, scholars, and monks. 'It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinise applications for fresh grants.... The *Sadr* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperors set apart for charity in the month of *Ramzān* and other holy occasions,—amounting to 1½ lakhs of rupees in the reign of Aurangzeb, and at Court ceremonies.[1] Like the Chief *Qāzī*, he also made the appointments of the local *Sadr*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.'

6. *Muhtasīb or Censor of Public Morals* :—His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not indulge in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the censor ran—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of 'professional women' (*tawaif*, dancing-girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Qurānic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'[2]

II. Provincial Administration

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire,' observes Sarkar, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Nāzīm*, but popularly known as the *Sūbāhdār*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *fauzdār*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *zamīndār's* visits to the *Sūbāhdār*, and (iv) the tours of the *Sūbāhdār* himself. But in spite of all

1. Ibid., p. 28.
2. Ibid., pp. 30-1.

this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchāyat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

The duties of the principal provincial officers were as follows :—

1. *The Sūbāhdār* : His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the Imperial *farmāns* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instruction issued to a new ***sūbāhdār***, though they look like counsels of perfection, were :

'He ought to keep all classes of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the oppressors down....the *sūbāhdār* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion....and every month send two despatches to Court by *dāk-chauki* reporting the occurrences of the province.

'When you are appointed, you should engage a good *diwān*,—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grandee.—and a *munshi* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*wasīlah*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affair of the province on which you may write to His Majesty....

'*Encourage the ryots to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not screw everything out of them. Remember that the ryots are permanent* (i.e., the only permanent source of income to the State). Conciliate the *zamindārs* with presents; *it is cheaper to keep them in hand thus than to repress them with troops.*'[1]

2. *The Provincial Dīwān* : He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *sūbāhdār*.' The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Diwān* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *amīn*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Diwān* the occurrences of the *sūbāh*, with a state-

1. Ibid., pp. 57-61.

ment of the cash balance with him. 'The *Diwān* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*krorīs* and *tahsīldārs*) practical men who were likely to *induce the ryots to pay the government-dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement*' (*Manual*, 13-14). The *sanad* of appointment ran :

'Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the *fotadārs* and other sources, give receipts (*quaz-ul-wasul*) to their agents. *See that no official* (*āmil*) *exacts any forbidden cess* (*abwab*).

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (rough) papers the extortions and peculations of the *āmils* and recover for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. *Report bad or dishonest āmils to Government* (i.e. to the High *Diwān*) *so that better men may be appointed to replace them.*

"If any *āmil* has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by *easy instalments* at the rate of 5 per cent. every season. The *taqavi* loan given last year by Government should be realised in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment, Government will compel the *Diwān* and the *amin* to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Record Office according to the regulations."[1]

3. *The Faujdār* : The *faujdārs* were assistants of the *sūbāhdār* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *faujdār* was in charge of a division or district of the province. The following instructions were issued to them :—

'A *faujdār* should be brave and *polite* in dealing with his soldiers. He should enlist in his contingent of armed retainers only men of known bravery and good family.....

'Keep up your practice in the exercise of all weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so as to keep yourself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance.) Do justice to the oppressed. (*Manual*, 34-36).

1. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

'Destroy the forts of lawless men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue-payers. Assist and give (armed) support to the *gumāshtāhs* (agents) of the *jāgīrdārs* (in the case of military fiefs) and the *krorīs* (in the case of Crown-lands) at the time of collecting the revenue.

'Forbid the blacksmiths to manufacture matchlocks. Urge the *thānāhdārs* (men in command of the outposts or smaller areas within a *faujdārī*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from dispossessing the people from their rightful property and from levying any forbidden cess (*abwab*).'[1]

4. *The Kotwāl* : The *kotwāl* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *Ilāhī* era and the various festivals by the people ; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets ; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of vice, and even wasteful extravagance by private individuals, 'because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep census of the houses and inhabitants in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and foreigners coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc., etc. No wonder, therefore, Abu-l Fazl lays down—'The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute, and humane.'[1] His duties are thus described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* :—

'Through his watchfulness and night-patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with

1. Ibid., pp. 63-65.

whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny..... He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and *by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration.* Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as a guild-master, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft.....He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every *sūbāh* a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. *He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchase to be made outside the city.* The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more or less than 30 *dāms.* In the *gaz*.....he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and *restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the privacy of domestic life.* Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses ; and prohibit women from riding on horseback. *He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered,* and *forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled,* nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc., etc.[1]

5. *News Reporters* : There were four kinds of news-reporters : (i) the *wākāi-navīs ;* (ii) the *sawanih-nigar ;* (iii) the *khufia-navīs;* and (iv) the *harkarah.* The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all the towns ; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or

1. *Āin-i-Akbarī,* ii, pp. 41-3.

regularly, to make sure that the *wākāī-navises* sent correct news. The news letters were sent to the *daroghā-dākchaukī*, i.e., Superintendents of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them unopened to the *Wazīr* to be placed before the Emperor. 'These four classes of public intelligencers acted under the orders of this *Daroghā* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an irate governor would publicly insult or beat the local news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Daroghā* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.'[1] The arrangement was that '*wākāī* should be sent once a week, *sawānih* twice, and the *akhbār* of *harkarahs* once (? a month) and the despatches in cylinders (*nalo*) from the *nāzim* and the *diwān* twice every month, in addition to urgent matters (which are to be reported immediately).'[2]

6. *Revenue Collectors*: (i) The *Krorī* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*Āīn.* i, p. 13), and signified an officer in charge of a district which was expected to yield a revenue of one *Kror* of *Dām* (2½ lakhs of rupees). Later on the name was applied even to other collectors of state dues like the *krorīs* of *ganj* or collectors of markets. The *sanad* of appointment read :—

'Collect the revenue season by season as assessed by the *amīn*, and pay it to the *fotādār*. With the advice of the *faujdār* and *amīn*, carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *fotādār*. Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of income and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were :—

'The *krori* ought to entertain a body of militia (*sehbandi*) proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand *mahsul* (the state due in cash or kind) from places not yet capable of paying, lest their ryots should run away. *He should urge his subordinates not to realise anything in excess of the regulations*, lest he

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 71.
2. Ibid., p. 75.

should in the end be subject to *wasūlat* (examination of accounts with a view to detect peculation). He should be honest. (*Manual*, p. 66.)'[1]

(ii) *The Amīn and the Qānungo* : The *Amīn*, as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual *rayat* paying the same. According to the *Manual of the Duties of Officers*, 'The *amīn's* work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the *qānungoes* the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue assessment and area of the villages, ride to the villages in company with the *krorīs*, *chaudharīs*, *qānungoes* and *zamīndārs*, inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their (culturable) area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the *qānungo* with the real area, and if the two do not agree, call upon the *qānungo* to explain, and censure the headmen (in the case of shortage).....Then enquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivators of the village. If not, then grant *taqavī* (agricultural loans),....for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headmen for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *krorīs* that they would realise the loan with the first instalment of the next year.'

The *Qānungo* was the living dictionary of the *qānūn* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Manual* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc. .....Keep two copies of the records,—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your *gumāshtāh*) so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'[2]

1. Ibid., p. 86. Read *The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 109-110.

2. Ibid., pp. 87-9.

Fifteen Sūbāhs.

The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* relates, 'In the fortieth year of the Divine Era, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkārs* (divisions of a *Sūbāh* subdivided into 2737 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made..... His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Sūbāh* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahābād, Āgrā, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadābād, Bihār, Bengal, Delhī, Kābul, Lāhore, Multān, Mālwā : and when Berār, Khāndesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.' This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration, products, etc.

III. Akbar's Revenue System

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, inheritance, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Its total, according to the *Āīn.*, amounted to 363 *krors* of *dāms;* the land-revenue alone (from the 12 *sūbāhs* in 1579-80) was Rs. 90,744,000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570-71 Muzaffar Khān Turbatī and Rājā Todar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local *qānungoes,* and checked by ten officers at the head-quarters. "Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Mughal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials employed in determining the amount of the State demand."[1] In 1573, Todar Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarāt, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast.* "There is

Todar Mal's *Bandobast.*

1. Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India,* p. 198.

no name in medieval history", says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system."[1] Two years later, in 1575-6, with the exception of Bengal, Bihār, and Gujarāt a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 182 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *kror* of *tankās* (?) or Rs. 250,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *krorī*, described above. This artificial system was too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579-80. This resulted in the division of the Empire into the 12 *sūbāhs* already referred to, and the introduction of the ten-year's settlement. The history of these reforms is thus given in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* :—

'When Khwājāh Abdul Majīd Āsaf Khān was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the Empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khān and Rājā Todar Mal, in the 15th year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the *qānungoes*, and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qānungoes* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qānungoes* and lodged them in the Imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.

'When through the prudent management of the Sovereign the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning.

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 261.

mind fixed a settlement for ten years : the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement ; the *gaz*, the *tanab* and the *bhīgā*, were set and defined.[1] When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanab*, and the *bhīgā*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

'*Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Parauti* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chachār* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Banjar* is land uncultivated for five years and more.

'Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal dues. The revenue levied by Sher Khān, *which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment*, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money....

'His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. and two per cent. was divided between the *patwārī* and the *qānungo*.....Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindūstān were remitted by His Majesty as a thanks-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following :—

'The capitation tax, the port duties, the pilgrim tax, the tax on various classes of artificers, *Daroghā's* fees, *Tahasīldār's* fees, market duties, passports, fees on the sale and purchase of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth,.....in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindūstān include under the term *Sair Jihāt*, were remitted.

1. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, pp. 58-62.

'When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but two-fifths of the produce is taken: in the second three-fifths: in the third four-fifths; and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent. and one *dām* for each *bhīgā* are added."[1]

IV. The Army[2] and Fleet

We have stated above that the salaries of almost all important officers of the Empire were disbursed by the *Bakshī* or Pay-Master General of the Army. They were all enrolled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers; and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under them. "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sarkar, "we have officers invested with the title of *sipāh-sālār* or 'commander of troops,' it was only a mark of honour and they did not command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief."[3]

Abu-l Fazl thus describes the organisation of the Imperial army:

'His Majesty guides the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.[4] The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were (1) *Mansabdārs*, (2) *Ahadīs*, (3) *Dakhilīs*, and (4) the Infantry.

1. *Mansabdārs.* According to Abu-l Fazl, the Emperor appointed the *Mansabdārs* 'from the *Dabhāshī* (commander of ten) to the *Dah Hazārī* (commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above 5000, to his august sons (or nobles of the highest rank).....

1. Ibid., pp. 62-7.
2. Read "Monserrate on Akbar's Army" by Moreland, in the J. I. H., April 1936.
3. Sarkar, op. cit.,| p. 25.
4. *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, I, p. 231.

'The monthly grants made to the *Mansabdārs* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his *mansab*, was put into the First Class of his rank; if his contingent was one half and upwards of his fixed number, he was put into the Second Class; the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less. Their salaries were as follows :—

Rank : Commanders of—	Monthly Salary in Rupees.		
	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
10,000	60,000	— —	— —
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
1,000	8,200	8,100	8,000
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500
10	100	82½	75

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mansabdār*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mansabdārs* actually maintained the full complement indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 313; one of 1,000, Rs. 3015½; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,637.

The higher *Mansabdārs* were mostly Governors of *Sūbāhs*. They were at first called *Sipāhsālārs;* towards the end of Akbar's reign they were known as *Hakīms* and afterwards, *Sāhib Sūbāh* or *Sūbāhdār*, and still later merely *Sūbāh*. The other *Mansabdārs* held *jāgīrs* which after Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the *Mansabdārs* formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasuries. Badāunī states: 'Shāhbāz Khān, the *Mīr Bakshī*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dāgh o mahalli* (branding of animals), which had been the rule of Alāu-d dīn Khiljī and afterwards the law under Sher Shāh. It was settled that every *Amīr* should commence as a Commander of Twenty

(*bisti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard..... and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadi* or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses, and camels, in proportion to their *Mansab*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their new contingents complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazārī, Duhazārī* and even *Panjhazārī*, which is the highest *Mansab* (for other than Princes of the royal blood; Rājā Mān Singh, who held a *Mansab* of 7,000, was an exception); but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be put down.[1]

2. *Ahadīs.*—'There were many brave and worthy persons,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *mansab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Ahadīs*.

'For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadīs*, a separate *Diwān* and a pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Amīrs* is their chief.....Many *Ahadīs* have indeed more than Rs. 500 per mensem .....In the beginning when their rank was first established, some *Ahadīs* mustered eight horses; but now the limit is five..... *Ahadīs* are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the *Diwān* and the *Bakshī*, which is called now-a-days *Tahchihah*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be counter-signed by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps and pays the claim.....On joining the service, an *Ahadī* generally finds his own horse; but afterwards gets it from the Government. .....Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one half being reckoned as grant, and the other half

1. Ibid., pp. 236-47—Read Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, "Organization of public services in Mughal India (1526-1707)" in J. B. O. R. S., XXIII, 1937, pt. 2, pp. 1-54. Also "Rank in the Mogul State Service" by Moreland in J. R. A. S., Oct. 1936; "Zāt Rank in the Mughal Army" by Moreland, in J. I. H., Dec. 1936; and "Some Notes on Mughal Mansabs" by C. S. K. Rao Sahib, in ibid. April, 1937.

being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters; or, if the *Ahadī* be in debt, in eight instalments.'[1]

3. *Dakhilī.*—'A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Mansabdārs;* but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nimah suwārān,* or half troopers.

'The fourth part of *Dakhilī* troops are matchlock-bearers; the others carry bows.

'Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.'[2]

4. *Infantry.*—'They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

'The *First Class* gets 500 *dāms;* the *Second,* 400 *dāms;* the *Third,* 300 *dāms;* the *Fourth,* 240 *dāms* (Re. 1 = 40 *dāms.*)

'There are 12,000 Imperial matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchī,* an honest treasurer and an active *Darogāh.* A few *bandūgchīs* are selected for these offices; the others hold the following ranks :—

'Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal and are therefore appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these (non-commissioned) officers is of four grades, *First,* 300 *dāms; Second,* 280 *dāms; Third,* 270 *dāms; Fourth,* 260 *dāms.*

'Common *bandūgchīs* are divided into five classes, and each class into three sub-divisions. *First Class,* 250, 240 and 230 *dāms. Second Class,* 220, 210, 200 *dāms. Third Class,* 190, 180, and 170 *dāms. Fourth Class,* 160, 150, and 140 *dāms. Fifth Class,* 130, 120, and 110 *dāms.*'

Besides these regular troops there were a number of miscellaneous camp-followers like the runners, wrestlers, and *Pālkī-bearers.* About the last the *Āīn.* says, 'They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Pālkīs, singhāsans, chaudols,* and *dulis,* they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced

1. *Āīn-i Akbarī,* I, pp. 249-50.
2. Ibid., p. 254.

by any jolting.[1] There are many in this country, but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal..... The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *dāms*. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *dāms*.'[2]

Army Regulations.

'When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,[3] he ordered that upright *Bitikchīs* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race, were to be registered. A *Darogha* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations....

'His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay.'

Various signs were used for branding horses. 'At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right thigh.....The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses....Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest.....

'The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court and to partake of the liberty of His Majesty.

1. *Cf.* Gaily O gaily we glide and we sing.
   We bear her along like a pearl on a string.—
   Sarojini Naidu, *Palanquin-Bearers.*
2. *Āīn-i Akbari*, I, pp. 251-54.
3. 'They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed. These seven classes are *Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis,* and *Janglah* horses.'—Ibid, Āīn 2. *On the Animals of the Army,* pp. 233-36.

But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

'The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

'His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers...If His Majesty is prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse, or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.'[1]

The Arsenal.

'The order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the Country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes.'[2]

'Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the State; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans;* several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a King, and devotes to it much of his time. *Darogāhs* and clever clerks are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order.....

1. Ibid., pp. 255-58.
2. Ibid., p. 109.

'The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Sūbāh* has that kind which is fit for it for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements. His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches....

Amīrs and *Ahadīs* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *dāms*.

'Matchlocks are now made so strong, that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the results, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction: They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in the form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but, so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and pierce them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four of such pieces make one gun or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long....Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword....Several things are marked on every matchlock, *viz.*, the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number.....

'Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his practical knowledge, has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow.'[1]

The Fleet.

This department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

'*Firstly.*—The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use

1. Ibid., pp. 112-15.

in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's Empire, ships are numerous; but in Bengal, Kāshmīr, and T'hat'ha (Sindh) they are the pivot of all commerce... Along with the coast of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Ilāhābās and Lāhore and are then sent to the coast.

'*Secondly.*—To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind-hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen came from Malibār (Malabār).

'*Thirdly.*—An experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers... As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry-boat may carry; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and *sees that poor people are passed over gratis.* He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night unless in cases of necessity.

'*Fourthly.*—The remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of a whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes certain taxes in harbour places; but they never exceed 2½ per cent., which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

'The following sums are levied as river tolls:—For every boat Re. 1 per *kos*, at the rate of 1000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Re. 1 for every 2½ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10*d.* for crossing; a laden cart, 4*d.*; same, empty, 2*d.*; a laden camel, 1*d.*; empty camels, horses, cattle with

their things, 1½*d.*! same, empty, ½*d.* Other beasts of burden pay 1|16*d.*; which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1*d.* for crossing; but they are often taken gratis.

'The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

'Merchants are therefore well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.'[1]

V. The Imperial Mint

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abu-l Fazl, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details..... The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness. Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abu-l Fazl, viz., the *Darogāh* and the *Shirāfi*.[2] He also gives the description of the following coins :—

A. Gold Coins.

'I. The *S'hānsāh* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolāhs*, 9 *māshāhs*, and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *la'li Jalāli-muhurs*. On the field of one side is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the five arches in the border,—the great Sultan, the distinguished Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign! Struck at the capital Āgrā.' On the reverse is the *beautiful formula* (*Kalimāh*) and the following verse of the *Qorān*: "God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure; and round about are the names of the first four Calīfs."[3]

2. There is another gold coin, of the same name and shape, weighing 97 *tolāhs* and 8 *māshāhs*, in value equal to 100 *round muhurs*, at 11 *māshāhs*, each. It has the same impression as the preceding.

1. Ibid., pp. 279-82.
2. Ibid., pp. 16-18.
3. For alterations of these 'coin-legends' later in Akbar's reign see Ibid., pp. 27-8.

KEY TO COINS OF THE EMPIRE.*

1. BĀBUR:

Obv.—in circle the *kalimah*; margin, in segments, portions of

ابا بکر الصدیق

("Aba Bekr, the faithful servant")

عمر و الفاروق

("Umar, the discriminator between right and wrong")

عثمان ابو نورین

("Uṯhman, the father of two lights")

علی المرتضیٰ

("Ali, the pleasing to god")

Rev.—within flattened *miḥrābi* area,

ظهیر الدین محمد بابر بادشاه غازی ۹۳۶

above

السلطان الاعظم الخاقان المکرم

("The most great Sultān, the illustrious Emperor.")

below

خلد الله تعالیٰ ملکه و سلطنته

("May God Most High perpetuate the kingdom and sovereignty") and

ضرب لاهور

("Struck at Lahore.")

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* Prepared with the kind assistance of my colleague Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A., M.F.—AUTHOR.

2. HUMĀYŪN:

Obv.—in circle, the *kalimah.*

Rev.—خلد الله تعالیٰ ملکه . . . . . محمد همایون بادشاه غازی

("May God Most High perpetuate his kingdom . . . . . Muhammad Humāyūn Bādshāh Ghāzi.")

3. SHER SHĀH:

Obv.—in square, the *kalimah*; margins as on No. 1 *Rev.*, in square

شیرشاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه ۹۴۸

("Sultan Sher Shāh, may God Most High perpetuate his kingdom. 948 A.H.")

below in Nāgari: *Srī Sēr Sāhi* (an attempt at Sher Shāh's name) margins:—

السلطان العادل ابو المظفر

("The just Sultān, the father of the victorious".)

فرید لدین ضرب آگره

Farīd-uddīn. Struck at Āgrā.

4. AKBAR:

Obv.—in dotted border, the *kalimah.* Names of the four companions of the Prophet, and 981.

Rev.— خلد ملکه جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی ضرب بلدة آگره

("May God perpetuate his kingdom, Jalal-uddīn Muhammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzi. Struck at Āgrā town.")

5. JAHĀNGĪR :

Obv.—Jahāngīr, nimbate, seated cross legged on throne head to left, goblet in right hand.

Around

قضا بر سکهٔ زرکرد تصویر

شبیه حضرت شاه جهانگیر

"Destiny on coin of gold has drawn the portrait of His Majesty Shāh Jahāngīr.")

Rev.—sun in square compartment in centre ; to left

ضرب اجمیر ۱۰۲۳

"Struck at Ajmer 1023."

To right یا معین

("O thou fixed one")

and سنه ۹

("Year 9")

above and below

حروف جهانگیر و الله اکبر

ز روز ازل در عدد شد برابر

("The letters of Jahāngīr and *Allah-u-Akbar* are equal in value from the beginning of time.")

6. SHĀH JAHĀN :

6. *Obv.*—the *kalimah*, in 3 lines ;
below

ضرب احمدآباد سنه ۲ الهی ماه خورداد

("Struck at Ahmadābād in the month Khurdād of the *Ilāhi* year 2.")

Rev.— صاحب قران ثانی
شهاب الدین محمد
شاهجهان بادشاه غازی
سنه ۱۰۳۸

("The second Sāhib-i-Qirān, Shihab-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzi, year 1038.")

7. AURANGZEB:

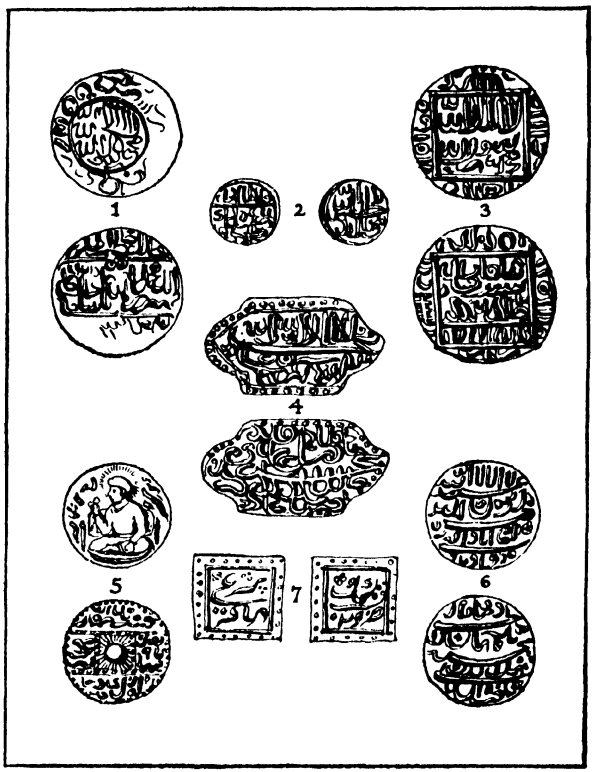
Obv.—

سکه زد بر جهان چو مهر منیر
شاه اورنگ زیب عالم گیر ۱۰۷۲

("Struck money through the world like the shining sun Shāh Aurangzeb Ālamgir.")

Rev.— ضرب تته سنه ۵ جلوس
میمنت مانوس

("Struck at Tatta in the 5th year of the accession associated with auspiciousness".)



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

COINS OF THE EMPIRE

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square.

4. The *A'tmāh* is the fourth part of the *s'hānsāh*, round and square.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *atmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-twenty-fifth of the *s'hānsāh*.

6. The *Chugul* (or *Jugal*), of a square form, in the fiftieth part of the *s'hānsāh*, in value equal to two *muhurs*.'

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Then the *Āīn*. states, 'As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to coin *La'li Jalālīs*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.' The first of these is 10th in Abu-l Fazl's list, and is said to be of the same weight and value as the *Ilāhī* (12 *māshāhs*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs* = Rs. 10). The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *jalālī*.

B. Silver Coins.

'1 The *Rupee* is round, and weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ *māshāhs*. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khān. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, one side "*Allāhu Akbar, jalla jallāluhu*," and on the other the date. *Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 dāms, yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.*

2. The *Jalālah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalālah*.

4. The *Charn* is a quarter *Jalālah*.

5. The *Pandan* is a fifth of the *Jalālah*.

6. The *Asht* in the eighth part of the *Jalālah*.

7. The *Dasa* is one-tenth of the *Jalālah*.

8. The *Kala* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalālah*.

9. The *Suki* is one-twentieth of the *Jalālah*.

'The same fractional parts are adopted for the [round] *Rupee*, which is however different in form.

C. Copper Coins.

1. The *Dām* weighs 5 *tankās*, *i.e.* 1 *tolāh*, 8 *māshāhs*, and 7 *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisāh*, and also *Bahlōlī*; now it is known under this name (*dām*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dām* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *jetal*. This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a *dām*.
3. The *Paulah* is a quarter *dām*.
4. The *Damri* is one-eighth of a *dām*.'

Note.—'In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined... in many parts of the Empire; now gold coins are struck at four places only, *viz.*, at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmedābād, and Kābul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at the places, and at—Ilāhābād, Āgrāh, Ujain, Surat, Dillī, Patnā, Kāshmīr, Lāhor, Multān, Tandāh. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmir, Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badāon, Banāras, Bhakkar, Bahrah, Pātan, Jaunpūr, Jalandhar, Hardwār, Hisār Fīrūzāh, Kālpī, Gwālior, Gorakhpūr, Kalānaur, Lakhnau, Māndū, Nagor, Sirhind, Siyālkot, Saronj, Saharānpūr, Sārangpūr, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantambhur.

'Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhurs*, *rupees*, and *dāms*.'[1]

Akbar's Treasures.

The Flemish writer De Laet (1593-1649) states: The wealth of this prince can be estimated: firstly, from the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey); secondly, from the fact that no one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him every day not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes.[2] Although De Laet really wrote this of Jahāngīr, his statement is equally well applicable to Akbar. Further on he observes, on the death of 'Achabar, grandfather of the prince now reigning [Shāh Jahān], his treasures were carefully counted, and were found to amount in all (including

1. For more particulars about Akbar's coinage see ibid., pp. 27-37.
2. J. S. Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, p. 107.

gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manners of household commodities to 34 crores, 82 lacks, and 26,386 rupees (i.e., to Rs. 348,226,386¾) : of this total Rs. 198,346,666¾ was in specie of all descriptions.'[1]

This treasure included, besides fine porcelain, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Guzerāt and Europe ; muslins from Bengāla, and woollen cloth from Europe, Persia, and Tartary ; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 6,463,731 in value,' etc., Prof. Banerjee, commenting upon this, writes, " The inventory of the treasure of Akbar is an unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Mandelslo (1638) and Manrique (1649) .... Total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was six times greater than the pre-war rate, say, in 1914. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of £240 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich. Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of £400,000 and huge number of farthingales ! "[2]

VI. Social and Religious Reforms[3]

With all his genius for practical achievement, Akbar was essentially an idealist and a dreamer. In addition to his conquests and administrative organisation described above, he also aimed at what Abu-l Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people.' Thus, while on the one hand, he *forbade infanticide, satī,* excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the invidious pilgrim-tax and *jiziya,* and tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people—Hindūs and Muslims—by setting an example of inter-communal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in

1. Ibid., pp. 107-9.
2. Ibid., pp. 111-12.
3. Read " Akbar's Religious Policy " by Sri Ram Sharma, in I. H. Q., XIII, 2, 3, 1937.

the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world : 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with the other....We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all* with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. *In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire*'.[1]

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Bartoli saw in it only Akbar's 'astute and knavish policy.' Even Vincent Smith speaks of "*The fit of religious frenzy* which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578," "a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infallibility decree in September of the latter year."[2] He further declares, "The Divine Faith was a *monument of Akbar's folly*, not of his wisdom . . . . The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, *a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy*."[3] In view of this unrestrained criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.[4]

Dīn-i Ilāhī.

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Dīn-i Ilāhī*, as the new faith was called was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism. Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits alone. Being

1. Ac. to Bartoli, cited by Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 211-12.
2. Ibid., p. 163.
3. Ibid., p. 222.
4. In support of the view upheld in the present volume the reader is strongly recommended to read the chapter on *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* in *The Mughal Empire* by Mr. S. M. Jaffar. The opposite view is maintained in C. H. I., IV, pp. 129-132.

keenly disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To cite Badāunī in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure, especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore, consider accounts of the *Dīn-i Ilāhī* given by two rival witnesses, Abu-l Fazl and Badāunī, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

'Whenever, from lucky circumstances,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their King on account of the high position which he occupies, and accept him to be their spiritual leader as well.....A King will therefore sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one ; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar) .....He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.'[1]

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India, people had not outgrown the belief : *cujus regio ejus religio*. England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fires', and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her chamber-maid !

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual no less than the temporal head of the State ; but

1. *Āin-i-Akbarī*, i. pp. 163-4.

he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. 'In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection,' says Abu-l Fazl, 'though he is the ornament of the world.....Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing . . .

'The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says *"Allāhu Akbar"*; and the other responds, *"Jalla Jalāluhu"*. The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively, and grateful remembrance.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

'Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birth-day, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

'His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves slain; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and bird-catchers.

'Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old, and barren women; nor with girls under the age of puberty.'[1]

Badāunī's Comments.

Badāunī was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations. He was the very antithesis of Abu-l Fazl. He looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islām. "His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*," says Blochmann, "is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbarnāma*, or the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* or the *Maāsiri Rahīmī*. It is especially of value for

1. Ibid., pp. 165-7.

the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time." [1]

'In this year (987-4.),' writes Badāunī, 'His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church; for he could not bear to be subordinate to any one. As he had heard that the Prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amīr Tīmūr, and Mīrzā Ulugh Bég, and several others, had themselves read the *Khutbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Mujtahid* of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumada-l awwal* 987, in the Jāmi Masjīd of Fathpūr, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khutbāh*.....These are the verses—

"The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm.
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar!"

'In the same year (987), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdum-ul mulk of Sheikh Abdunnabī.....of Cadr Jahān, the *Muftī* of the Empire, of Sheikh Mubārik, the deepest writer of the age, and Ghāzī Khān of Badakhshān, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences.....

THE DOCUMENT

"Whereas Hindūstān has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. *Now we, the principal Ulāmās, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law, and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the*

1. Ibid., p. 104 n 2.

edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, *first* of the verse of *Qorān* (Sur. IV, 62.) :

'Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,' and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition : *'Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imām i' Ādil ; whosoever obeys the Amīr, obeys Me ; and whoever rebels against him, rebels against me,'* and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultān i 'Ādil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Further we declare that the King of Islām, Amīr of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fath Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Padishāh Ghāzī*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, *for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient*, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, *we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.*

" Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, *provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qorān but also of real benefit for the nation ; and* further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

" This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and *the propagation of Islām, and is signed by us, the principal Ulāmās and lawyers ;* in the month of *Rajab* of the year 987 of the Hijrah."

Commenting on this, Badāunī writes, 'No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religious question was open ; *the superiority of intellect of the Imām was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imām became law.*[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 184-87.

The gravamen of Badāunī's charge against the innovators was their rejection of Islāmic revelation, and their intellectuality. 'The Emperor examined people,' he says, 'about the creation of the *Qorān*, elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the Imāms. He distinctly denied the existence of Jins, of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints ; he rejected the successive testimony of the witnesses of our Faith, the proof for the truths of the *Qorān* as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammadanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing.... To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & D. op. cit., VI, pp. 60-61.).

In the eyes of Badāunī this was unpardonable apostacy from the orthodox faith. From this moment onwards, he and the bigoted *mullās* began to execrate everything connected with the new faith ; they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against every one connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and foamed ; it raised the head of rebellion in 1581 and died away in futile discontent. We find it still simmering in the pages of the *Muntakhab-ut* :

'The poor (orthodox) Sheikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindū Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirées, and had no other place where to live, except mouseholes.....

'In this year (988) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty was the *Cāhib-i Zamān* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islām.....The *Shīahs* mentioned similar nonsense.....All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.'[1]

1. Ibid., p. 190.

'During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor property, life, honour, and religion. Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees; and whoever sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne.'[1]

Badāunī has here definitely begun to caricature. Badāunī was certainly not one of "all the courtiers" who had signed away their 'property, life, honour, and religion' to the Emperor; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (989-1004 H.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abu-l Fazl has added two. "With the exception of Bīr Bal, they are all Muhammadans; but to judge from Badāunī's remarks, the number of those that took the *Shact,* must have been much larger," says Blochmann.[2] According to Badāunī's own testimony, Rājās Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh declined to accept the new faith;[3] they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badāunī's mortification was further accentuated by the favours (or was it only fairness?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindūs: 'The real object of those who became disciples,' he writes, 'was to get into office; and *though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindūs,* of whom he could not get enough (?); *for the Hindūs, of course, are indispensable;* to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindūstānīs nor the Moghuls can point to such grand lords as the Hindūs have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came, and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them(?). For their honour

1. Ibid., p. 191.
2. Ibid., p. 209.
3. Ibid., pp. 198, 206.

and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (!).[1]

Badāunī stands self-condemned out of the words of his own mouth; in his opinion, not merely Akbar, but every one who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunnī creed was an apostate. His fulminations, therefore, against Akbar and Abu-l Fazl are worth nothing. They are the effusions of a fanatic rankling under the reforms introduced by Akbar 'with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of these reforms. Let us follow Badāunī's own account of them:

'His Majesty was now (990) convinced that the Millennium of the Islāmic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. *The Sheikhs and Ulāmās who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of Islām, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations.*'[2]

New Regulations.

1. The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should show the era of the Millennium (Ilāhī Era), and that a history of one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the Prophet.

2. 'Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus the *sijdāh* or prostration was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings; but instead of *sijdāh*, the word *zamīnbos* was used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, *if used for strengthening the body as recommended by doctors; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars.* For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop . . . . .

1. Ibid., p. 204.
2. Ibid., p. 191.

4. 'Similarly,.....the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaitānpurah*, or Devils-ville. A *Darogah* and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it....

5. 'Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with *Hindū libertines*, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindū princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids.

6. 'He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindū customs and *heresies* into the Court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindūs and their castes; he abstains from everything which they think is repugnant to their nature, and *looks upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him* (!). Hence this custom has become very general.....

7. 'The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the Cross,....and other childish play things of theirs, were daily in practice.

8. 'It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. *Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages were weakly*....[1] No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness; but in all other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife"....[2] If widows liked to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindūs.

9. 'A Hindū girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt'.[3] 'If a Hindū woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her; but she should not be forced.'[4]

1. Ibid., pp. 191-95; see also pp. 277-8.
2. *Cf.* Smith, *Akbar*, p. 256.
3. Blochmann, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, p. 205.
4. Ibid., p. 207; E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 68-9.

10. 'Hindūs who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. *No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked.* If a Hindū woman fall in love with a Muhammadan, and change her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Muhammadan woman marrying a Hindū —ac. to the *Dabistān.*[1]) People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer rooms, or idol temples, or fire temples.'[2]

All this, according to Badāunī constituted blasphemy and apostacy! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Badāunī as a witness "*of the highest value.*" "Badāūnī's interesting work," he says, "contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that emperor's life-time, and could not be published until after Jahāngīr's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunnī, *is of the highest value as a check on the turgid panegyric composed by the latitudinarian Abul Fazl.* It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but *agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.*"[3]

On the strength of the testimony of this 'hostile' and 'bigoted Sunnī witness,' Smith avers, "The general principle of toleration...., while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islām, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. *Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his fathers and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islām.*"[4]

Genesis of Akbar's Reforms.

The reforms described above were not the work of a single year; they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India as well as Europe. "The six-

1. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 210.
2. Ibid., p. 208.
3. Smith, op. cit., p. 461.
4. Ibid., p. 257.

teenth century," writes Prof. Sinha, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindū and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindū, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdī, to the Hindū with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God."[1]

Not only were the times stirring and propitious, but Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. While Bābur and Humāyūn were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took comparatively lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by their change of creed under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalising influences of his family and country. His tutor Abdul Latīf was 'a paragon of learning' and the guiding principle of his life was *'Sulh-i-kul'* or peace with all. Smith himself writes: "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy,' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.' (*Āīn.*, vol. iii, p. 386). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of

1. The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi," by Prof. H. N. Sinha, in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, Dec., 1930), pp. 306-29.

having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God....His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."[1]

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." 'On the completion of my twentieth year,' he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow' (*Āīn.*, vol. iii, p. 386). Commenting on this, Smith rightly observes, "It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it.....He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to the conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them.... *He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself*.....During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganisation of the finances were measures which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. *No minister would or could have carried them through.*"[2]

In 1563, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his

1. Smith, op. cit., pp. 130-31. Read C. H. I., IV, pp. 119-125.
2. Smith, loc. cit., pp. 62-3.

dominions, declaring it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous.' The following year, 1564, he also remitted the *jiziya*, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,[1] although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Abu-l Fazl's Influence.

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abu-l Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar, abolished the *jizya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim taxes at a still earlier date. *The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all differences in treatment between Muslims and Hindūs, were fixed as political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and zealous Muslim,* and long before his open breach with Islām, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *jiziya,* in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."[2]

In 1575 Akbar erected the *Ibādat-khānā,* or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions.[3] At first it was used only by Muslim Sheikhs, Saiyids, Ulāmā, and Amīrs. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But the petty wranglings of the Muslim

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 29-30. This tax was originally instituted by Khalīf Omar. In India, under Firōz Shāh Tughlak it was assessed in three grades, viz., 40, 20, 10 *tankās;* Brāhmans were charged 10 *tankās* and 50 *jitals.* It was reimposed by Aurangzīb in 1679.

2. Smith, op, cit., pp. 66-7.

3. See "Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious Discussions" by Rev. H. Heras in the J. B. B. R. A. S., III, 1 and 2 (1928). C. H. I. IV, pp. 113-114.

divines gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Let us follow Badāunī's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other fountains to slake his thirst :—

'For these discussions, which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Sayyaids, Shaikhs, Ulāmās, and grandees, by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places, and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side ; the Sayyaid on the west side ; the Ulāmās, to the south ; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries....., when all at once, one night, the vein of the neck of the Ulāmā of age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Badāunī), " In future report any of the Ulāmās that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Āsaf Khān, " *If I were to carry out this order, most of the Ulāmās would have to leave,*" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him.'[1]

" The differences between the two parties of the Ulāmā, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confirmed Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickerings."[2] He therefore now turned for enlightenment to Parsees, Jainas, Christians, and Hindūs. Or, in the words of Abu-l Fazl : ' The Shāhinshāh's Court became the home of the inquirers of the " seven climes," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect.'[3]

The Zoroastrians.

According to Smith, Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Pārsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his '*odd*, (?) detached manner.'[4] Dastūr Maherjee Rāṇā of Nausārī had the privilege of initiating Akbar into the mysteries of this

1. Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. p. 171 ; E. & D., op. cit. VI, pp. 59-60.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 162.
3. *Akbar-Nāma*, iii, p. 366.
4. Smith, op. cit., p. 162 ; read also ibid., p. 165 n 3.

religion in 1578-79. They had first met near Khankra Khari during Akbar's Gujarāt campaign in 1573. After his death in 1591 the famous Dastūr was succeeded by his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jāgīr* of 200 *bhīgās* of land (100 acres), which was later on increased by one half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when the lamps were lighted it became the practice for the whole Court to rise respectfully. According to Badāunī he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). 'His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.'[1]

The Jainas.

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Hirānanda Shāstrī,[2] "would show that Akbar learnt the *Sūrya-sahasra-nāma* from a Jaina teacher of his .....The list given by Abu'l Fazl names three Jaina *gurūs* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The *Hīravijaya kāvyam* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hīravijaya Sūrī on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagad-gurū* or the Preceptor of the World. The Ādīsvara temple on the holy hill of Śatruñjaya near Palitāna in Kāthiāwār has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowing what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action is abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Aśoka restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience to the doctrine of his Jaina teachers.' The colophon of the commentary on the *Kādambarī* would show that Akbar read the *Sūryasahasra-*

1. Blochmann, op. cit., p. 206.

2. "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, March, 1933), pp. 137-40. Also read "Jainism under Muslim Rule", by K. P. Jain, in the *New Indian Antiquary*, I, 8, pp. 519-20.

nāma with Bhānuchandra whom Hīravijaya Sūrī had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Siddhichandra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bhānuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Mughal."

The Christians.

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with Akbar's relations with the Jesuits from whom he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badāunī accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross 'and other childish playthings of theirs.' Smith says, "The contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce (?) the Muslim religion."[1] But if the Fathers expected to have in Akbar an Imperial convert to their religion, they were sorely miscalculating. Yet, we cannot agree with Smith when he declares, "Probably Akbar was *never perfectly sincere* when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that *he preferred it, on the whole, to any other religion,* but....His interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative Religion,' and was *prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an awakened conscience.*"[2] He is nearer the truth when he says, "He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindū, a Jain, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four."[3]

Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion.' In 1578 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Akbar suddenly returned from a great hunt on the Jhelum, for which he had

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 168.
2. Ibid., pp. 255-6.
3. Ibid., p. 165. Also read "Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahāngīr" by E. F. Allnutt, in I. H. Q., XII, 2 (1936), and C. H. I., IV, pp. 124-5.

made elaborate arrangements, when in the words of Abu-l Fazl, 'a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame; the attraction of the cognition of God cast its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Badāunī who writes, 'suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifest in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And every one attributed it to some cause or other; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned: 'Take care: for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise!'[1]

Smith in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical?):

"He (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the *fantastic freak* of filling the Anūptalāo tank in the palace at Fathpūr-Sīkrī with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is *tantalizing in its meagreness,* but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit.*" (!) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he confesses, "No man can tell exactly what happened.....when, like Dante, he was *'nel mezo del cammin di nostra vita,'* 'in the middle of life's path,' and, like the poet, saw a vision, *beholding things that cannot be uttered.*"

"Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sūfī friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—*He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, present perplexing problems.*[2]

1. Cited by Smith, op. cit., pp. 158-9.
2. Ibid., pp. 159-61.

The Hindūs.

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal idealism of the Hindūs who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the Rājputs, the most militant section of the Hindūs, has already been commented upon. He took to himself Hindū wives as symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He exalted Rājās Mān Singh, Bhagwān Dās, Bīr Bal, and Todar Mal to the highest ranks given to any noble in the realm. He adopted Hindū dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to tantalize and scandalise orthodox Muslims like Badāunī. To his utter chagrin he set Badāunī the task of translating into Persian the sacred books of the infidels like the *Mahābhārat*.[1] 'The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun.....to please the Hindūs.....His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether..... His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and *read* them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindūs worshipping *Gāyatrī*).... He also adopted several other practices connected with the Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindū mark on the forehead, and ordered the band to play at mid-night and at break of day.....Once a year also during a night, called *Śivrāt*, a great meeting was held of all *Jogīs* of the Empire, when the Emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogīs*, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men.... Cheating, thieving Brāhmins....told the Emperor that he was an incarnation (*avatār*), like Rām, Kishn, and other infidel Kings..... In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient

1. Read "Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Time" D. C. Bhattāchārya, in the I. H. Q. XIII, 1, 1937.

sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise in India, who would honour Brāhmins and cows, and govern the earth with justice. *They also wrote this nonsense on old-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.*'[1]

Some Estimates of Akbar

To enforce the view of Akbar herein presented, we might close this brief study of Akbar with a few well-known opinions and estimates of his character and achievements.

Jahāngīr's Memoirs : 'My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion : especially the Pandits and the learned of India, and *although he was illiterate,* so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that *no one knew him to be illiterate,* and he was so well-acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions, that his deficiency was not thought of.

'Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures and his buried wealth and past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding.

'He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day ; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to his life.'

Col. Malleson : " Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head....His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contem-

1. Blochmann, op. cit., pp. 200-1.

poraries were the most eminent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with these. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him.... The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

"When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognize in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." (*Akbar*, pp. 196, 199-200).

Stanley Lane-Poole: "The noblest king that ever ruled in India" (p. 288). "The true founder and organiser of the Empire" "Represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire." (p. 238) "Assimilation of the Hindū chiefs was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign".... "The remarkable points about this expansion.... were, *first*, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindū princes, and *secondly*, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government, for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenue did not suffer. Akbar allowed no oppression—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken mainly for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking, and peculation. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindūs, who at that time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders (pp. 259-60).

"There is no name in mediæval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruc-

tion of the revenue system." (p. 261). "Todar Mal's order (to keep all accounts in Persian), and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindūs to compete for the highest honours,—Mān Singh was the first commander of 7,000—explain two facts : *First,* that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindūs had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; *secondly,* that a new dialect could arise in India, the *Urdu,* which, without the Hindūs as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Medieval India,* pp. 265-66).

Edwardes and Garrett : "Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history ... During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty." (*Mughal Rule in India,* p. 53).

Vincent Smith : "The practical ability displayed by Akbar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries .....

'He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements." (*Akbar the Great Mogul,* pp. 352-3.)

Ishwari Prasad : "Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon Jesuit sources, dwells upon Akbar's artfulness and duplicity in state craft and speaks of his 'tortuous diplomacy and per-

fidious action ..... Dr. Smith forgets that Akbar's great contemporary Elizabeth lied shamelessly, and Green goes so far as to assert that in the profusion and recklessness of her lies she stood without a peer in Christendom. The vile methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain, and elsewhere are too well known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more human than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. *Accurate and impartial research by whomsoever conducted will reveal Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries.*"

(*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 436-7.)

Lawrence Binyon :—" His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organisation,—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles and practice worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government. (pp. 8-9)..... There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (*Akbar*, p. 23).

He also thinks Smith " curiously unfair to his hero." *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 415, reviewing Binyon's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of 'Akbar's religious attitude, on which our estimate of his character largely depends.'—" In this particular Mr. Binyon goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as liable from time

to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faith in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion within his call. Jain and Pārsi, Brāhman and Jesuit, each is heard with attention and respect; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brāhman is too subtle for his practical mind; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give; the Pārsi attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that ceremonial. *Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political seeking for a faith in which his people might be united have surely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Binyon does, to the man himself.*"

K. T. Shah : "Akbar was the greatest of the Mughals and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man of the inheritance of his birth, it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so thoroughly Indianised. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticise him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed,—in his life and outlook and achievements which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure."

(*The Splendour that was Ind*, p. 30.)

E. B. Havell : "Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed,

his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination.....He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious; but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of Islām into a higher plane than they had ever reached before.

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Dīn Ilāhī did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the slate all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Āryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other Empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realise the Āryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by British rulers of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill."

(*Āryan Rule in India*, pp. 536-7.)

Lord Tennyson: Last but not least, Tennyson's charming colloquy "Akbar's Dream" sums up the best of Akbar in a nut-shell. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit: "His tolerance of religions," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his abhorrence of religious persecution put our Tudors to shame.....and his legislation was remarkable for vigour, justice, and humanity."

Akbar to Abu-l Fazl:

[*Before the palace at Fathpur-Sikri at night.*]

"But come,
My noble friend, my faithful counsellor,
Sit by my side while thou art one with me,
I seem no longer like a lonely man
In the King's Garden, gathering here and there
From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown
To wreathe a crown not only for the King,
But in due time for every Musalmān,
Brāhmin, and Buddhist, Christian and Pārsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindūstān.
.....

Look how the living pulse of Allā beats
Thro' all His world. If every single star
Should shriek its claim: 'I only am in heaven,'
Why that were such sphere-music as the Greek
Had hardly dream'd of. There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade in all.
.....

I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I cull from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.
.....

The Christians own a Spiritual Head;
And following thy true counsel, by thine aid,
Myself am such in our Islām, *for no*
Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
My myriads into union under one;
To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office; and to spread the Divine Faith
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,
And fill the hollows between wave and wave;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemise old hates into the gold
Of Love, and make it current; and beat back
The menacing poison of intolerant priests,
Those cobras ever setting up their hoods—
One Allā! One Khalīfā!"

Read, "A Sidelight on Akbar's Genius," in *The Muslim University Journal*, Vol. III, 1 (1936).

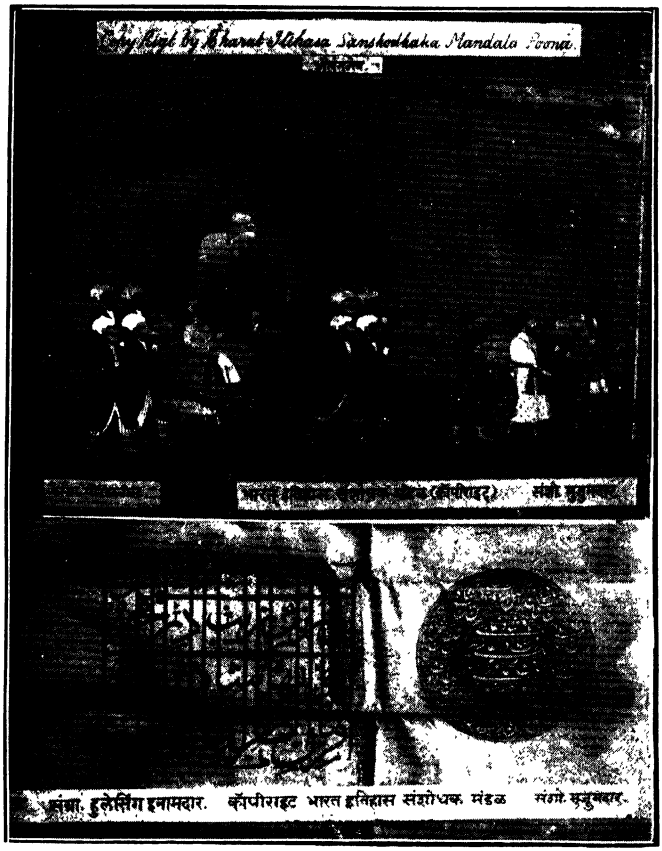
Sir Wolseley Haig : "The Age of Akbar has been described as an age of great rulers, and some hold that of his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and 'Abbās the Great of Persia, he was not the least. Some have written of him as though he were no less than what his enemies alleged he pretended to be. But with all his faults, and they were neither few nor venial, he was by far the greatest of all who ruled India during the era of the dominance of Islām in that land. A foreigner in blood, though he happened to have been born on Indian soil, he was the only one of the long line of rulers professing Islām who even conceived the idea of becoming the father of all his subjects, rather than the leader of a militant and dominant minority, alien in faith, and to a great extent in race, to the nations of India.....

"In spite of his illiteracy he was far from being unlearned, nor was his intellect uncultivated, for he delighted in listening to the reading of works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects, and of discussing afterwards what had been read, and his memory was such that he acquired through the ear a stock of learning as great as that which most of his associates could acquire through the eye. The Jesuits at his court were probably not biased in his favour, but one of them thus describes him :

'Indeed he was a great king ; for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love, and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile ; so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at mid-day, and at midnight, and despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions, which were of considerable duration, were never

curtailed. Towards his fellowmen he was kind and forbearing, averse from taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender, if just grounds for doing so could be shown.'

(*The Cambridge History of India,* IV, pp. 153-55).



AURANGZEB AND SEAL ON FARMĀN

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

A SYSTEMATIC STUDY INCLUDING
SOURCE MATERIAL

BY
S. R. SHARMA, M. A.

Revised Edition

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PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Though copies of it have not been in the market for more than an year now, I regret I could not meet the need earlier owing to other preoccupations. In the present edition references to other literature on various topics dealt with in the book have been brought up to date and improvements short of rewriting the text have been effected. It is therefore hoped that readers will find in this an even more helpful guide to the study of Moghul history than in its predecessor. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarising the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., while commending it observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method." Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "The principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C. S. S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the Historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by the author while teaching the subject he has spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of the more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to re-

present all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto " to know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded ; with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the foot-notes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

Willingdon College,
November, 1940.

S. R. SHARMA

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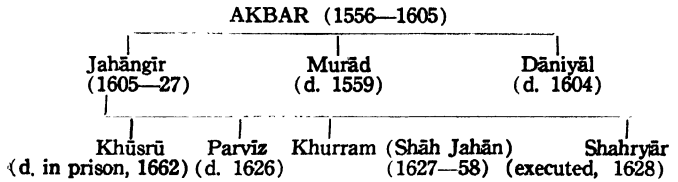
AKBAR (1556—1605)
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AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY :—I PERSIAN : (i) *Akbar-nāma* of Abu-l Fazl is the chief source of information regarding the birth, education, and early life of Jahāngīr. Its dates are particularly valuable. Extracts in Elliot and Dowson, vol. VI, pp. 21-102.

(ii) *Takmila-i Akbar-nāma* of Ināyatu-lla is a continuation of the above (1602-05). Extracts in ibid., pp. 103-15.

(iii) *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* of Nizāmu-d-dīn has already been noticed. It supplements Abu-l Fazl up to 1593-4 ; but its dates are to be accepted with caution. Extracts in ibid., vol. V, pp. 247-476.

(iv) *Wikaya-i Azad Beg* or *Hālāt-i Azad Beg* is valuable as the work of a servant of Abu-l Fazl who writes with intimate knowledge. Dowson points out that a note in Persian at the end of the MS. says, 'Towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign he was honoured with the title of *Peshrau Khān*. He died at the commencement of the reign of His Majesty Shāh Jahān, in the year 1041 H. Extract in ibid., vol. VI, pp. 150-74.

(v) *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī* or the Memoirs of Jahāngīr (also called *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī, Tārīkh-i Salīm Shāhī, Ikbāl-nāma, Jahāngīr-nāma,* etc.) is of considerable interest and value as the personal memoirs of the Emperor, mostly written by himself. It deals, however, with only the first eighteen years of his reign. Dowson speaks of it as a very rare work, almost unknown even in India itself. "It is a plain and apparently ingenuous record of all that its author deemed worthy of note.....taken as a whole, the work is very interesting, and assuming that Jahāngīr is mainly responsible for its authorship, it proves him to have been a man of no common ability. He records his weaknesses and confesses his faults with candour, and a perusal of this work would leave a favourable impression both of his character and talents." Extracts in ibid., pp. 284-391.

(vi) Four other sources may be briefly noticed together : (a) *Tatimma-i Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī* of Muhammad Hadī ; (b) *Iqbāl-nāma-i* J. of Mutamad Khān ; (c) *Ma'asir-i* J. of Kamgar

Khān ; and (d) *Intikhab-i* J. of (? Sheikh Abdu-l Wahab). All these are valuable as works written during the Mughal period, and as supplementing other sources. Extracts in ibid., pp. 392-452.

II EUROPEAN : (i) JESUIT.—The *Commentaries* of Fr. Monserrate ; and Du Jarric's *Thesaurus* (vol. III, Bk. i, chaps. 16-23). These two deal with Jahāngīr's early life down to end of 1609.

(ii) OTHER EUROPEAN.—(*a*) Purchas' *Pilgrimes* (1625) contains accounts of various travellers (Maclehose, 1905.) Of Hawkins' report, Dr. Beni Prasad remarks that it forms a first hand, and, on the whole, thoroughly reliable source of information ; but his observations on the administrative system and the condition of the people should be received with caution.

(*b*) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy* (Foster, Hakluyt—2 vols. 1899) contains vivid and picturesque descriptions ; but, like the above, to be received with care, especially when he writes of things beyond his personal observation.

(*c*) Terry's *Voyage* (Purchas vol. IX, pp. 1-54 of reprint of 1777) is a valuable supplement to Sir T. Roe's account.

(*d*) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History*—1625 (Hoyland and Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogal*, Taraporevalla, Bombay, 1928). "It is a complete gazetteer of Jahāngīr's India. Although it is a compilation, it is a faithful and reliable compilation" (Banerjee).

(*e*) Niccolas Manucci's *Storio do Mogor* (1653-1708)—Tr. by William Irvine (John Murray, London, 4 vols.) Vol. I contains an account of Prince Salīm (p. 131), Jahāngīr's reign (pp. 157-78), Nūr Jahān (pp. 161-4), and Bulāqī (pp. 178-81). "All this is based on gossip and is almost entirely worthless for historical purposes." (Beni Prasād).

B. SECONDARY : (i) Elphinstone's *History of India*—(6th ed. by E. B. Cowell, pp. 550-74). "In spite of its imperfections it still remains the best short account of Jahāngīr's reign in English." (Beni Prasad).

(ii) Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngīr*—2nd edition (The Indian Press, Allahabad, 1930)—is an exhaustive and critical

study from all sources. Pp. 441-77 give a detailed Bibliography. Says about European accounts in general, "Their unfamiliarity with the country and its politics, their ignorance of Persian, their prejudices and their credulity made it impossible for them rightly to interpret what they saw." (p. 455).

(iii) Maclagan's *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, ch. V, pp. 69-92, deals with the Jesuits as well as other Europeans at the court of Jahāngīr, 1605-27.

(iv) Rev. H. Heras. *Jahāngīr and the Portuguese*, a paper read at the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Lucknow in Dec. 1926. (Calcutta, 1927).

(v) Francis Gladwin's '*The Hist. of Jahāngīr*' ed. by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1930).

(vi) *Articles* : 'A description of Bengal in 1609 A.D.' (Tr. of a Persian account from the diary of Abdul Latif, a favourite retainer of Abul Hasan, a brother of Nūr Jahān) by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (*Bengal, Past & Present*, April-June 1928.)

'The Emperor Jahāngīr's 2nd Visit to Ahmadabad' by M. S. Commissariat (J. B. H. S., Sept. 1928).

'*Ma'asir-i-Jahāngīrī*' by Thakur Ram Singh, (*The Journal of Indian History* for Aug. 1928 & Aug. 1929.)

'Bengal under Jahāngīr' by Sri Ram Sharma (J. I. H. Vol. XI, 3 ; XIII, 3 ; and XIV, 1.)

N.B.—*A Bibliography of Mughal India (1526-1707 A.D.)* by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma (Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2, 1939) is an excellent guide for the period it covers.

CHAPTER VII

FRUITION OF THE EMPIRE

'No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor, which occasions inebriety; though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing.'—INSTITUTES OF JAHĀNGĪR.

'Nūr Jahān managed the whole affairs of the realm,.....and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the reading of the *khutba* in her name.'—TATIMMA-I WĀQIĀT-I JAHĀNGĪRĪ.

The reign of Jahāngīr (1605-27) saw the fruition of the Empire which Akbar had so gloriously rebuilt out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-fated father. The past half-a-century of remarkable reconstruction had established the Empire on secure foundations, which were not to be shaken at least for a century, in spite of numerous rebellions and wars of succession. More than anything else, Akbar's policy of conciliation and concord, begun with his marriage with the Amber princess, had in Dr. Beni Prasad's words, "symbolised the dawn of a new era in Indian politics; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."[1] Add to this, the legacy of peace and wealth that Akbar had bequeathed to his immediate successor, and we have a fairly complete picture of the favourable auspices under which Jahāngīr opened his prosperous career.

However, as the character of our history at each stage is but the reflex of the Emperor's own character, we find reflected in this period also the personal vices and virtues of Jahāngīr and his consort.

1. *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 2.

It is convenient to divide our study under the following heads : I. Early Career : A Résumé ; II. Accession and Outlook ; III. Wars of Conquest ; IV. Nūr Jahān and Reactions ; V. Jahāngīr and the Europeans ; and VI. Achievements and Failures of Jahāngīr.

I. EARLY CAREER : A RÉSUMÉ

The early career of Prince Salīm up to the death of Akbar, already traced under the previous reign, may be here briefly recounted :

(i) Birth.

Salīm was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1569, in the thirteenth year of Akbar's reign. Akbar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Salīm's mother was the Rajput princess (daughter of Rājā Bhār Mal of Amber) ; whom Akbar had married in January 1562. All previous children of the Emperor having died in their infancy, he had besought the blessings of the famous Sheikh Salīm Chishtī, after whom the new child was called Muhammad Sultān Salīm.[1] Of the other children, Prince Murād was born on June 7, the same year, and Prince Dāniyāl on September 9, 1572. Both died in their prime of youth owing to excessive drinking.[2]

(ii) Education.

Though Akbar was himself illiterate, he never neglected the education of his children. After their circumcision on October 22, 1573, the princes were placed under the guardianship of the best scholars and tutors of the age. The most notable of these, who moulded the character and intellect of Salīm at a very impressionable age (in 1582), was 'Abdur Rahīm Khān, the son of Bairam Khān. 'One of the first minds of the age', he was a 'master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi.....A vigorous prose-writer and a facile versifier, he perpetuated his name in

1. 'I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salīm or Sultān Salīm, but always Shaikhu Bābā.'—Jahāngīr.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 97, 114.

contemporary literature.' His translation of Bābur's *Memoirs* into Persian has already been mentioned. Under his able guardianship, Prince Salīm 'learnt Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hawkins and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mahābat Khān. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, paraded his skill in versification, and sowed his talk with poetic quotations.'[1] By nature as well as nurture Salīm possessed a strong and virile constitution, which however was later spoilt by excessive indulgence and drink.

(iii) Probation

According to the wise custom of the dynasty, the princes were early associated with high public duties in order to train them for higher responsibilities. But this practice was not without its dangers. Holding offices of the highest rank in the provinces, with practically unlimited resources at their command, often tickled their ambition beyond the bounds of loyalty, and evoked in them a keen desire for premature independence. Thus in the year of crisis, 1581, both Salīm and Murād were placed in command, though nominal, of large divisions of the army. Following this, Salīm was placed in similar charge of the departments of justice and public ceremonial.[2]

1. 'As I have a poetical disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometimes involuntarily, compose couplets and quatrains.'—Jahāngīr; Beni Prasad, op cit., pp. 22-23.

2. How, in the face of such examples, European writers often misrepresent Mughal history, is illustrated by the following passage in W. Crooke's *The N. W. Provinces of India*, pp. 102-3 :—

'His (Akbar's) immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Mussalman style—the recitation of the *Korān*, quibbles of theology, the dull verbiage of legal subtleties were their mental food. In early boyhood they lived amidst the vain gossip and squalid intrigues of vicious women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival queens forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The herd of knavish flatterers and adventurers, the palace gang, were averse to their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch; so he was often packed off to a distant province where the same influences opposed his training. The local viceroy acted as his leader, and took care to hoodwink him

(iv) Marriages.

At the age of fifteen Salīm was betrothed to his cousin, Mān Bāi, daughter of Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Amber. The marriage took place on February 13, 1585, the marriage portion being fixed at two crores of *tankas*. Both the Hindu and Muslim wedding ceremonies were observed. A daughter was born on April 26, 1586; she was samed Sultān-unnīsa Begam. Although she lived up to sixty years of age (d. 1646), she played no part in history. The second child, Prince Khūsrū, born on August 6, 1587, was destined for a more prominent though tragic rôle. Mān Bāi came to be called Shāh Begam after this. She committed suicide, in a fit of melancholia, in 1604, when, according to Inayatu-lla, Salīm 'remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss'.[1]

Meanwhile, Salīm's seraglio had grown considerably. In 1586 he had married Jagat Gosāin or Jodh Bāi, daughter of Udai Singh, and others. According to Father Xavier, in 1597 Prince Salīm had no less than twenty 'lawful wives'. His marriage with Mihr-unnīsa (Nūr Jahān) will be dealt with later. "Concubines raised the harem to the monstrous number of 300."[2] Prince Parvez was born of Sāhib-i-Jamāl on Oct. 2, 1589. Khurram (meaning Joyous; Shāh Jahān) was born on Jan. 5, 1592, of Jagat Gosāin (Jodh Bāi). Shahryār was born of a concubine in 1605.[3]

(v) Promotion.

Is 1577 Salīm was elevated to the rank of 10,000, while Murād and Dāniyāl held only ranks of 7,000 and 6,000 respectively. In 1585 they received other insignia, and promotion to 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 in order. But though during the next thirteen years Prince Salīm lived in close association with Akbar, "the prevailing

and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dissipation than to educate him in statecraft.'

"Such facile writing," says Beni Prasad, "compounded of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misconception of Mughal history."—*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 25-6 n. 63.

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 112.
2. Beni Prasad, loc. cit., pp 31-2.
3. Ibid., p. 33.

mist of political intrigue and chicane gradually clouded their relation, estranged their hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle."[1]

(vi) Revolt.

The story of Salīm's revolt has already been recounted in detail in its proper context. As early as 1591 he showed an indecent haste to succeed to his father's power and position. Badāūnī accuses him of poisoning Abkar; but, says Beni Prasad, "the suspicion was unjust, but the illness (of Akbar) was a serious one. As a vacancy of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salīm set his agents to watch the movements of his brother Murād."[2] The latter died of his own excesses on May 2, 1599.

When Abkar left for the south, Salīm was in charge of the north, and particularly commissioned to invade Mewār. But he misused this confidence and chose to rebel. His revolt kept the Empire in trepidity for five years, but it never seriously jeopardised the stability of the government. Akbar's personality and his brilliant successes had won him the enthusiastic admiration and affection of his subjects. His vast resources in men, money and materials, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a short time. But his paternal tenderness kept him from making short work with Salīm. The Prince, on his part, was also aware of the weakness of his position and shrank from carrying matters to extremes. He hesitated, and temporised, and occasionally even shook off the influence of his favourites and submitted to his father.

Nevertheless, in 1601, he had assumed independence, set up a mock Court at Allahabad, appropriated 30 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Bihar, and bestowed *jāgīrs* and titles on his supporters. He had gathered together a force of 30,000 men, with the only object of 'paying his respects to his father'! But Akbar's dignified self-assurance soon brought him to his senses and he was conciliated with the governorship of Bengal and Orissa. Here is Ināyatu-lla's testimony :—

1. Ibid., p. 36.
2. Ibid., p. 42.

'When the Emperor was at Akbarābād (Āgra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded so far as Etawa for the purpose; but here doubts were suggested to him by some ill-inclined persons, and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, than he wrote to the Prince, that "if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so *alone*, and dismiss his attendants to their *jāgīrs*; if, on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to Allahābād, there to reassure his heart, and repair to Court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The Prince, alarmed at this kind yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched *Mīr Sadr-i-Jahān*, who was the chief judiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring to the Mīr's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set towards Allahābād, and meanwhile an Imperial *farmān* was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Rājā Mān Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court.'[1]

Despite this, however, Salīm again lapsed into his rebellious ways. This occasioned the summoning of Abu-'l Fazl from the south, and his shameful assassination by the agent of the intractable Prince. Details thereof have already been given. This tragedy was enacted in August 1602.

(vii) Reconciliation.

Though Salīm deserved condign punishment, "the father and statesman in Akbar overcame the judge."[2] Dāniyāl was fast sinking into the grave on account of his own vices. Salīm's children were too young to supersede him. Besides Salīm was still the favourite of the harem. So, as *Ināyatu-lla* has recorded, 'The Sultānā Salīmā Begam, having interceded between His Majesty and the young Prince Salīm, reconciled the monarch to the wonted exercise of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salīm the pardon of Akbar's august mother.

1. *Takmila-i Akbar-nāma*, E. & D., VI, p. 105.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 55.

When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable matron proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to conciliate his illustrious son, advanced several steps to receive him..... After a short interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal diadem, which is the main source of ornament to the Court and sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty.'[1]

(viii) Plots to supersede Salīm.

In 1603, when he was asked for a second time to march on Mewar, Salīm again prevaricated and temporised. Finally, he made towards Allahabad under the pretext of collecting forces; and soon reverted to his incorrigible ways. There was evidently no end to Akbar's sorrows in his fast declining age. His great courtiers and friends had died one after another: Bīr Bal in 1586, followed closely by Todar Mal and Bhagwān Dās; Sheikh Mubārak (father of Abu-l Fazl and Faizī) in 1593; Faizī in 1595, Abu'-l Fazl in 1602. In this forlorn state, Akbar's mind was tortured by disappointment at the ungrateful and treasonable conduct of his heir-apparent. Naturally, the thoughts of the ambitious, under these circumstances, turned to Prince Khūsrū (Salīm's eldest son). He was the nephew of Rājā Mān Singh, and son-in-law of Mīrzā Azīz Koka—two of the most powerful grandees of the Empire. Khūsrū was seventeen years of age, handsome in appearance, agreeable in manners, and possessed an irreproachable character. He was only too glad to find such eminent champions. But it is impossible to say how far Akbar countenanced this plot to supersede his favourite son.

He made one last attempt (in Aug. 1604) to overawe him into submission, or compel him into final surrender. But the gods intervened. Inclement Nature impeded the progress of his arms, the imminent death of his aged mother, Maryam Makānī, necessitated his sudden retreat to Agra.

Prince Salīm was quick to apprehend the danger he was

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 108-9.

in. He found it expedient to follow his father to the capital, to share in the family bereavement. After the interchange of ceremonial graces, Akbar repremanded him severely and placed him in confinement under the care of physicians. Wine and evil company had deranged his mind, and hence he was deprived of both for a while. Salīm passed ten long days in humiliation and repentance. Close on the heels of these events came Akbar's last illness, and finally death on October 17, 1605.

(ix) Failure of Plot.

Of the conspiracy that surrounded Akbar's death-bed we we have already spoken. Only the main circumstances may be here recounted. In the end the plot to supersede Salīm was frustrated in the following wise, as described by Āzād Beg :—

'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khān-i Azam (Mīrzā Azīz Koka), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Rājā Mān Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultān Khūsrū Emperor. They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salīm), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects to Court. This conspiracy was revealed to Salīm by Mīr Zaiau-l Mulk Kazwīnī. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher, the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark.....

'When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light,.....they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation..... The Khān-i Azam and Rājā Mān Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Sultān Salīm is well-known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultān Khūsrū upon the throne."

'When this was said, Saiyid Khān, who was one of the great nobles, and connected with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salīm Shāh, we should place his son upon the throne! *This is contrary to laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be.*".....The assembly broke up, and each went his own way.

'Rājā Rām Dās Kachhwāha, with all his followers, immediately

went to guard the treasury, and Murtazā Khān left the fort, and retiring to his own residence, took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Barah and his own followers.....People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive (where Prince Salīm was), till at last, in the evening, the Khān-i Azam came in great shame and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his ill-conduct, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

'When Mān Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultān Khūsrū with him to his own place, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal.....Although the royal heart (of Salīm) was vexed at hearing this, yet he sent Mādhav Singh (Mān Singh's brother) to reassure and bring him back..... His Majesty (Jahāngīr) gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one .....The next day Rājā Mān Singh came to Court, and brought Sultān Khūsrū to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him to his bosom, kissed his face. When His Majesty had concluded that business, he passed some days in mourning and distributing alms, till at last the day arrived for him to ascend the throne.'[1]

II. ACCESSION AND OUTLOOK

(i) Accession.

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, Salīm mounted his father's throne in Agra Fort on Thursday, Oct. 24, 1605, when he had completed thirty-six years of his age.[2] The *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, however, says : 'On Thursday, the 8th Jumada-s Sani, 1014 *Hijra* (12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age.'[3]

He assumed the name and title of Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr Pādshāh Ghāzī, and in the words of Asad Bég, began to win the hearts of all the people and to rearrange the withered world. He honoured many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities ; for the consolation of the hearts of his people he suspended the Chain of Justice with golden bells, and removed the rust of oppression from the hearts of

1. *Wikāya*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 168-73.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 129, 131, 132 n. 6.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p.

his people.....In the first few days he repealed and gave up all transit duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on orphans' property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the sea or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindustan, and wherever the jurisdiction of the Emperor extended, no one could so much as name them.'[1]

(ii) Comment.

A word of comment is needed on the bestowal of some of the 'honourable titles and acceptable dignities' referred to above. Under the circumstances that heralded the new regime there were bound to be some *parvenus* who came to the fore only on account of indescriminate support of their patron. The most notorious example of this was the promotion of Bīr Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abu-l Fazl. He was raised to the 'dignity' of a commander of 3,000. On the other hand, Abdur Rahmān Khān, the son of the murdered victim, was worthily elevated though, in the first instance, only to the rank of 2,000. A third accession to the nobility worthy of mention is Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, a Persian adventurer who was destined to become famous as *Itimād-ud-daulah*, the father of Nūr Jahān. At present he was only a commander of 1,500. Khān-i Zamān Azīz Koka and Rājā Mān Singh suffered inevitable eclipse.

With regard to the Chain of Justice, there was nothing preposterous about it, despite its being called 'silly' by Jahāngīr's European critics. Dowson writes: "In allusion to the *silly chain of justice* which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Jumna..... It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade." However, he further points out that "The practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-tu; and Rājā Anangapāl had already done the same at Delhi."[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 173-4.
2. Ibid., p. 262n. Vincent Smith also calls it "a piece of silly make-believe."—*O. H.*, p. 375.

There is nothing more 'silly' in this than in the symbolic use of the mace to keep order in the British House of Commons, or the representation of the globe on the sceptres of kings, and the pair of scales etc. as emblems of justice.'[1]

(iii) The Twelve Institutes.

'I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common rule of practice throughout my dominions.

1. *Prohibition of cesses (Zakát)* : I forbade the levy of duties under the names of *tamghá* and *mír-bahrí*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jágírdárs* of every *suba* and *sarkár* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft.* In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of roads which were far from habitations, the *jágírdárs* of the neighbourhood were to build a *Sarai* or a mosque, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were near to *khálsa* lands, the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons* : *Firstly.* No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. *Secondly.* When any infidel or Musalman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property, and to expend it according to the law of Islám, in building mosques and *saráis*, in repairing broken bridges, and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors* : Wine, and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold; although I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the 38th year of my age, have regularly partaken of it.....

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting*

1. 'The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of Irak. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of Agra, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.' (*Wáqiát-i Jahángírí*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 284).

of the noses and ears of criminals : No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of ghasbi* : The officers of the *khālsa* lands and the *jāgīrdārs* are not to take the lands of the *raiyats* by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *khālsa* lands and the *jāgīrdārs* are not without permission to form connexions with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick* : Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days*: In imitation of my honoured father, I directed that every year from the 18th *Rabī'u-l a-wal*, my birth-day, no animals should be slaughtered for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, two days were to be exempted from slaughter : Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birth-day of my father.

9. *Respect paid to Sunday* : He (my father) used to hold Sunday blessed, and to pay it great respect, because it is dedicated to the great Luminary, and because it is the day on which the creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days in which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General confirmation of mansabs and jāgīrs* : I issued a general order that the *mansabs* and *jāgīrs* of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old *mansabs* according to the merit of each individual.....

11. *Confirmation of aima lands* : The *aima* and *madadma'ash* lands throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. Mīrān *Sadr-i-jahān*, who is of the purest race of Saiyids in Hindustan, and held the office of *Sadr* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind* : All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.'[1]

1. Ibid., pp. 284-87.

Sir Henry Elliot's comments[1] on these ordinances give a wholly distorted picture of Jahāngīr and the Mughals. The prospects of a reign so well begun were marred by the rebellion of the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Khūsrū.

(iv) Khūsrū's Revolt.

Khūsrū was a very popular figure. Terry describes him as 'a gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Suetonious writes of Titus, he was *amor et deliciae, &c.*, the very love and delight of them....He was a man who contented himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore he would never take any wife but herself, though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.'[2] "With all his personal charm, natural talents, fine education and blameless life," Beni Prasad writes, "he was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgment—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantages of high station and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy."[3]

On April 6, 1606, evening, he escaped from semi-confinement, under the pretext of visiting his grand-father Akbar's tomb; really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troops with the help of Mīrzā Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mīrzā Shāh Rukh).

Although the rebellious prince was only following in the footsteps of his father, the reflections of Jahāngīr on his recalcitrancy are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the change that authority brings over the character and outlook of persons. 'In the first year after my accession', he writes, 'Khūsrū, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head.....They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of

1. Ibid., pp. 493-516.
2. Cited by Smith, op. cit., p. 376.
3. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 139-40.

limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom He chooses, and it is not everyone that can becomingly wear the robes of royalty. The vain dreams of Khūsrū and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace."[1]

An alarm was raised, and the pursuit begun. 'I despatched Sheikh Farīd Bokhārī on the service, directing him to take all the *mansabdārs* and *ahadīs* he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day.....The news came in that Khūsrū was pressing forward to the Punjab, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Rājā Mān Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khūsrū's maternal uncle, and many thought that Khūsrū would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything.....

'My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbegs or Kazilbāshes, and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne.'[2]

There is little interest in the details of the struggle. It terminated within three weeks (April 6-27, 1606). The governor of Lahore refused to open the gates for the rebel Prince, who was captured while trying to cross the Chenab.

'Before the defeat of Khūsrū, an order had been issued to all the *jāgīrdārs*, road-keepers, and the ferrymen in the Punjab, informing them what had happened, and warning them to be careful.'[3]

'On the 3rd of *Muharram*, 1015 A. H., Khūsrū was brought into my presence in the garden of Mīrzā Kāmrān, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chengīz Khān.....I attributed my success gained in this expedition to Sheikh Farīd, and I dignified him with the title of *Murtazā Khān*. To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebels should be impaled thereon,

1. *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 291.
2. Ibid., pp. 292-98.
3. Ibid., p. 299.

and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The landholders between the Chenab and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *madad-ma'ash*.'[1]

Guru Arjun, the head of the Sikh community, was sentenced to death, as an accomplice of the rebel Prince, and his property including his hermitage was confiscated. His offence consisted in giving Rs. 5000 to Khūsrū, which the Guru justified on grounds of his *dharma* and gratitude for past kindnesses received from Akbar, 'and not because he was in opposition to thee.' Jahāngīr, in the first instance, had only fined him two lakhs of rupees, and ordered him to expunge from the *Granth Sāhib* passages opposed to the Hindus and the Musalmans. But to this Gurū Arjun replied : 'Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger. If thou ask for money, thou mayest take what I have ; but if thou ask for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a *Kauri* (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the *Granth Sāhib*, I cannot erase or alter an iota.....The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or Muhammadan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the hand-work of the Immortal God whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

Commenting on this Dr. Beni Prasad observes : "The melancholy transaction has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khālsa suffered from the Mughal Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimising the gravity of Jahāngīr's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political

1. Ibid., p. 301.

reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."[1] V. A. Smith also writes, " The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution."[2]

Khūsrū himself was blinded and imprisoned ; subsequently he partially recovered his sight, but not his liberty.[3] He was destined to be a pawn in the political game, ultimately to be disposed off under very tragic and suspicious circumstances.

III. WARS OF CONQUEST

The principal wars under Jahāngīr were those leading to the final subjugation of Mewār in 1614, the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1616, the capture of Kāngra in 1620, and the loss of Kandahar in 1622. There were also a few others re-

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 148-51.
2. Smith, op. cit., p. 376.
3. The blinding of Khūsrū was the result of another insurrection attempted in his favour. The plot was hatched when Jahāngīr had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him on one of his hunting expeditions and place Khūsrū on the throne. There were, however, too many conspirators and the whole plan was betrayed to Jahāngīr. The ring-leaders were caught and executed. The Prince was further victimised as a result of the excessive solicitude of his well-wishers. The *Intikhab-i-Jahāngīr-Shāhī* gives the following account of the blinding :—

'His Majesty ordered Prince Khūsrū to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra ; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the Prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakīm Sadra by name, undertook, to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to His Majesty, who showed the physician great favour, and honoured him with the title of *Masihu-z Zamān*.'—E. & D., op. cit., pp. 448-49.

Beni Prasad observes, " After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the *Intikhab-i Jahāngīrī* comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge."—*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 165-6 and n.

lating to minor conquests and insurrections which will be related in due course.

(1) Mewār.

"No community that ever existed can boast of a more romantic history, of more heroic exploits, of a prouder sense of honour and self respect than the Rajputs of medieval India..... As one glides through the Rajput tradition, the mind staggers at the heights of valour, devotion, and altruism to which humanity can soar. The Rajput spirit appears in its very quintessence in the chequered annals of Mewār..... Their (Shisodias) intimate knowledge of the crags and defiles, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious path ways, was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mewār might have run a different course.

"Through Mewār or close to her boundary passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Gangetic plains and the emporiums of trade on the Western coast. So long as Mewār was independent, the merchants of the Delhi Empire could not expect on these highways adequate security of person and property or freedom from vexatious tolls. That was one reason why the Mughal Emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mewār. There was, of course, the imperialistic motive which prompted the extinction of the last relics of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mughals it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians."[1]

We have already traced the history of the Rajputs under Akbar. It will not, however, be out of place here to recall to mind Col. Tod's oft quoted eulogium :

"Had Mewār possessed her Thucydides or her Xanophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand,' would have yielded more diversified incidents for the Historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign (of Pratāp) amid the many vicissitudes of Mewār. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Arāvelli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratāp—some brilliant victory and oftener some glorious defeat. Haldighāt is the Thermopylae of Mewār; the field of Dewir her Marathon."

1. Ibid, pp. 218-19.

But all this was to suffer eclipse in the present reign. On the banks of the Peshola, the dying Pratāp, like Hemilcar to Hannibal, had sworn his son and nobles 'by the throne of Bāppā Rāwul' to eternal enmity with the Mughal. Amar Singh, however, though undoubtedly great in many ways, was obliged to bow his proud head before Khurram.

First Expedition :

On his accession, Jahāngīr, as if to make amends for his own dereliction in his father's regime, immediately despatched an army of 20,000 horse against Mewār, under the command of Prince Parvīz and Asaf Khān (Jāffar Bég)—not to be confounded with the more famous brother of Nūr Jahān. The armies encountered each other at Dewir ; the engagement is one of the disputed battles in history. Both sides claimed the victory.[1] But, whatever be the truth, on account of the situation created by Khūsrū's rebellion, Parvīz and his forces were recalled to the capital : 'all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khūsrū,' writes Jahāngīr. 'I was obliged to pursue him to the Punjab, and the capital and interior of the country were denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parvīz, directing him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there ; so the campaign against the Rāṇā was suspended.'[2]

Second Expedition :

The second expedition was sent two years later (1608) under the promising command of Mahābat Khān. The entire force consisted this time of 12,000 horse, 500 *tehadis*, 2,000 musketeers, 60 elephants, 80 pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants. Twenty lakhs of rupees were allotted for expenses. Yet, while the Mughals won sporadic victories, they failed to make effective headway in the enemy's country.

The next year (1609) Mahābat Khān was replaced by Abdullāh Khān in command. The latter is described as 'a valorous soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel and ruthless

1. Ibid., p. ;
2. E. & D., op. cit., p. 336.

sort of man.' From Kumbhalmir [25°9′ N. and 73° 35′ E. 40 miles North of Udaipur city ; 3,568 ft. above sea-level.], the rock-fortress built by Rāṇā Kumbha (1443-58), he made such a dash upon Amar Singh, that the latter came near to losing his life. The war went on with varying fortunes on either side, until the recall of Abdullāh Khān to the South on account of the exigencies of the Deccan campaign (to be noticed presently).

After a short experiment with Rājā Basu, the command finally (1613) came to Khān-i Azam Azīz Koka (Khūsrū's father-in-law) : 'one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this State' (as Jahāngīr called him) and Prince Khurram. The two inevitably quarrelled, and the former was recalled and placed in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (April 1614). Khurram's charge against him was that he was 'spoiling matters simply on account of the connexion he had with Khūsrū' and that his presence was 'in no way fitting.' However, he was soon set free.

The Last Campaign.

Khurram, now left in absolute command, conducted the campaign with consummate ability. He reduced the Rāṇā to great straits by devastating his country and cutting off his supplies. In fact, Amar Singh found himself in the same plight as his father in 579-80. In the words of Jahāngīr, 'Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hardās Jhālā, one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal ; he would then wait upon him in person to pay homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other *rājās*. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court..... My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.

'Rāṇā Amar Singh, and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of

Kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience : but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission."[1] Jahāngīr graciously accepted the submission and even restored Chitor to the Rāṇās, but with the express condition that it should neither be fortified afresh, nor even repaired.

In utter humiliation Rāṇā Amar Singh, some time after, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Karan Singh ; the Rāṇās ever after remained loyal to the Mughals until the blind fanaticism of Aurangzeb again drove Rāṇā Rāj Singh into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Karan Singh was placed 'in the right hand of the circle in the *darbār* and presented with a superb dress of honour and a jewelled sword. In March, 1615, at the next *Nauroz* celebrations, he received the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and *sawār ;* and what is more, two life-size equestrian statues of Amar Singh and Karan were made, in appreciation of their valour, and set in the palace garden within view of the *jarokhā* window at Agra.[2] When Karan left for his home, he received by way of a farewell gift a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 2,000. Jahāngīr calculated that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had, in the shape of cash, jewellery, etc., was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000 with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times.'[3] But what of the loss of dignity and freedom ? The proud Rāṇā could never be compensated.

(2) Ahmadnagar.

It will be remembered that Akbar had hastily concluded his Deccan campaign with the siege of Asīrgarh (1601), on account of Salīm's rebellion in the north. Since then, Malik Ambar, an able Abyssinian in the service of Ahmadnagar, had done much to consolidate the position of the Nizām Shāhi in the

1. Ibid., p. 339.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 246 n. 60.
3. Ibid., pp. 245-6 n 59.

south. He had both military and administrative talent, and had remodelled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Rājā Todar Mal. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marāthās, and took the fullest advantage of the political situation as well as of the peculiar strategic resources of his own country and men. He now set himself the task of recovering the dominion lost to the Mughals.

Burhānpur was the Mughal head-quarters in the south. There the puppet, Prince Parvīz held his petty court; or, as Sir Thomas Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and state, but the Khān (Khānan) governs all'. From 1608-15 the inane campaign dragged on, noble succeeding noble as commander; but all equally futile. The war was carried on on two fronts: (1) against the enemy, and (2) within the Mughal camp itself (viz. of mutual recrimination among the nobles!). From 1608—10 the Khān-Khānan was in command: from 1610-12 Khān Jahān Lodī with the assistance of Khān Zamān, Mān Singh and Abdullāh Khān (of Mewār Fame). At the end of this period the Khān-Khānan was again appointed to the southern command. This time he retrieved his position, mainly on account of disunity in the enemy's camp. He was continued till 1616, when Prince Khurram, ambitious to win fresh laurels, took his place.

Towards the close of October, 1616, Khurram's camp equipage started from Ajmer for the Deccan. Next month the Prince was honoured with the title of Shāh or King "which no Tīmūrid prince had ever received",[1] and loaded with presents he set out on his grand campaign. In Roe's estimate one of the swords he received was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, and another dagger was worth Rs. 40,000. Jahāngīr also prepared to move south, on Tuesday, Nov. 10, 1616. The whole pageant of his march has been well described by Sir Thomas Roe and Terry, his chaplain, who were eye-witnesses. The former says, 'the vale showed like a beautiful city', and ruefully adds, 'I was unfitted with carriage and ashamed

1. Ibid., p. 267.

of my provision; but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suit, sortable to others... So I returned to my poor house.' The latter writes of the camp royal 'which indeed is very glorious, as all must confess, who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a quantity of ground, that, I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once.'[1]

The Imperial camp reached Māndū (lat. 22° 20′ N. long. 75° 28′ E.; 1,944 ft. above sea) after four months, on March 6, 1617, where a splendid abode had been prepared for the reception at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.

Prince Khurram, who marched in advance, was joined by Karan singh (of Mewār) with 1,500 Rajput horse. They reached Burhānpūr on March 6, 1617. But in spite of the pompous equipage, or because of it, the Mughals won their objective without striking a blow. Peace was restored on the restoration of the Bālāghāt territory, recently seized by Malik Ambar, the delivery of the keys of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds, and the payment of tribute by the Deccan chiefs.

Shāh Khurram returned to the Imperial camp at Māndū on October 12, 1617, with treasures and 'offerings such as had never come in any reign or time.' "Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 2,260,000."[2] 'After he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground,' writes Jahāngīr, 'I called him up into the *jharokhā*, and with exceeding kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite, I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me.' He was, besides, promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *zāt* and *sawār*, and honoured with the title of Shāh Jahān or King of the World.

1. See Ibid., pp. 267-72.
2. For details see ibid., p. 281.

The Khān Khānan, Abdur Rahīm Khān (son of Bairam Khān) was appointed Governor of Berar, Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar, and his eldest son, Shāh Nawāz Khān was put in charge of 12,000 horse in the newly ceded territory. Altogether 30,000 cavalry and 7,000 musketeers were left in the Deccan under reliable officers, and due provision was made for both the defence and administration of these provinces.

But this was only a truce and no permanent pacification of the Deccan. So long as the astute and intrepid Malik Ambar was alive, there could be no lasting peace. No sooner than the Imperial arms were even partially withdrawn, or the political situation become favourable, he reasserted his strength. By 1620 he practically won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. This necessitated sending Shāh Jahān once more against him. Similar results followed (1621). 'After much entreaty on the part of the rebel,' writes Jahāngīr, 'it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished, and a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.'[1]

Still later, in 1623, both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar sought Imperial aid, each against the other. Mahābat Khān preferred the former, which inevitably entailed hostility with the latter. Finally, Malik Ambar died in 1626, and the Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The impression Malik Ambar had made, even on his enemies, is indicated by the following appreciation of him by Mutamad Khān, the Mughal courtier-chronicler :—

'Intelligence now arrived of the death of Ambar the Abyssinian, in the 80th year of his age, on 31st *Urdibihist*. This Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (*kazzaki*) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhni is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the

1. *Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīri*, E. & D. op. cit., VI, p. 380.

end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence.[1]

(3) Kāngra.

This is a beautiful and well-fortified region in north-eastern Punjab, impregnable on account of its geographical configuration. [Lat. 31°20′ and 32°58′; long. 75°39′ and 78°35′]. The *Shash Fat-i Kāngra* thus refers to the fort and its history: 'The fort of Kāngra is very lofty, and stands on a high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong; in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient *Rājās*, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in the possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720, or the commencement of Sultān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than 52 times by the most powerful kings, and rulers, but no one has been able to take it. Fīroz, who was one of the greatest Kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the *Rājā*, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khān Turkoman, entitled Khān-i-Jahān, Governor of the province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it..... It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahāngīr, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.'[2]

The task was accomplished by Rājā Bikramjit acting

1. Ibid., pp. 428-9.
2. Ibid., p. 526. For details of the conquest, which are very interesting, see ibid., pp. 518-26.

under the command of Shāh Khurram. 'He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the *Rājās* of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.'[1]

'On Monday, 5th *Muharram*, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kāngra arrived . . . . When this humble individual', writes Jahāngīr, 'ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtazā Khān, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtazā died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Rājā Basu, was afterwards sent against it : but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner, and was executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of *Shawwal*, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate ; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place surrendered on Monday, *Muharram* 1, 1031. (November 16, 1620.)

'The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution, ...and as I had a great desire for the air of Kāngra....I went to pay a visit to the fortress....After passing over about half a *kos* (from Bahlum) we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress.'[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 525-26.
2. Ibid., pp. 374-375 ; 381-83.

(4) Kandahār.

Kandahār, on account of its situation and importance, both commercial and military, was a constant source of friction between the Mughals and the Persians. It had been conquered, as we have seen, by Bābur in 1522, and kept by his sons, Humāyūn and Kāmrān. It slipped away in 1558, but was re-acquired by Akbar in 1594. The revolt of Khūsrū, at the commencement of the present reign, gave the Persians an opportunity, and Shāh Abbās (1587-1629) instigated the chiefs of Khorasan and others to attack Kandahār. But the Mughal commander of the fort, Shāh Bég Khān, proved more than a match for the Persians. Besides, reinforcements from India soon arrived (1607), to the utter discomfiture of the enemy.

Foiled in this indirect attempt, Shāh Abbās feigned indignation at the mischievous activities of his subjects, declared the attack was unauthorised, professed sincere friendship towards Jahāngīr, and hoped that the unfortunate occurrence would leave no unpleasantness behind. Jahāngīr naively accepted these diplomatic protestations of his astute neighbour, went to Kabul, directed a futile campaign against the predatory tribes of Bangash, ordered repair of the roads from Kandahār to Gaznī, and engaged himself in some beneficent activities, abolished certain customs duties at Kabul, planted trees and improved gardens, and set out for Lahore in August, 1607, after a sojourn of eleven weeks. These events occurred between the rebellion of Khūsrū and the plot to assassinate Jahāngīr that we have already mentioned.

In the meanwhile, Shāh Abbās, who never gave up his designs upon Kandahār, tried to cover up his sinister intentions by the exchange of diplomatic embassies, gifts, and other graces. Thus, he sent Persian ambassadors to the Mughal Court in 1611, 1615, 1616, and 1620, loaded with alluring presents and letters containing fulsome and studied flattery. A sample may be here given for more than the amusement it affords :—

'May the flower-bed of sovereignty and rule and the mead of magnificence and exalted happiness of His Honour of heavenly dignity, of sunlike grandeur, the King whose fortune is young, of

Saturn-like majesty, the renowned Prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khedive, the world-gripper (Jahāngīr) and country-conquering sovereign, the Prince of the exaltedness of Sikandar, with banner, of Darius, he who sits in the pavilion of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (seven) climes, the increase of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorner of the gardens of happiness, decorator of the rose-parterre, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the opener of the countenance, the perfection of Kinghood, expounder of the mysteries of the sky, the adornment of the face of learning and insight, index of the book of creation, compendium of human perfections, mirror of the glory of God, elevator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of the beneficent ascension, sun of the grandeur of the skies, the shadow of the benignity of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jamshid among the stars of the host of heaven, lord of conjunction, refuge of the world, river of the favours of Allāh, and fountain of unending mercy, verdure of the plain of purity, may his land (lit. surface) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye; may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his desire and love; the tale of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.'[1]

These compliments were only a camouflage; behind the smoke-screen of fine phrases the Shāh was mobilising mischief. When he thought that the time had come, owing to the internal situation in India, he did not hesitate to strike an effective blow. Kandahār was once more besieged in 1621, and finally taken by the Persians in 1622. Jahāngīr thought of elaborate preparations of war, which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital; but all this miscarried on account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion. Here is Jahāngīr's description of the situation :—

'A despatch arrived from the son of Khān Jahān, reporting that Shāh Abbās, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahār with the forces of Irak and Khurasan. I gave orders for calling troops from Kashmir, and Khwāja Abu-l-Hassan *Dīwān* and Sadik Khān *Bakshī* were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organise the forces as the princes brought them up from the Dakkhin, Gujarat, Bengal, and Bihar, and as the nobles came from their *jāgīrs* and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khān Jahān at Multan (where the forces were to be concentrated). Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be

1. Cited by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 338-9, n. 2.

sent on thither ..... For such an army 100,000 bullocks or more would be needed..... (But Zainu-l' Abidīn, whom I had sent to summon Khurram (who was to be placed in command), returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort Māndū. *When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased or rather I was displeased.*'[1]

After the capture of Kandahār, the Shāh had the temerity to write to Jahāngīr, declaring that Kandahār had rightly belonged to the Persians and that Jahāngīr ought to have voluntarily surrendered it to him, and expressing at the same time that 'the ever vernal flower of union and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) (would) remain in bloom and (that) every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord.'[2]

(5) Minor Conquests.

Before we proceed to consider the circumstances and details of Shāh Jahān's revolt, we might briefly describe some of the minor conquests under Jahāngīr.

In 1610, a Muslim youth named Qutb had tried to impersonate Prince Khūsrū and create trouble in Patna. He was soon executed and there was an end of the affair. But more formidable was the commotion further east. The refractory Afghans in Bengal had never been fully subjugated. In 1599 under their leader, Usmān Khān, they had rebelled against Mān Singh's grandson Mahā Singh. Though Mān Singh, when he returned to the province temporarily, subdued them, they still continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahāngīr's reign. The frequent change of governors afforded the rebels ample opportunities. Finally, in 1608, when Islām Khān was appointed to this eastern province, he changed his head-quarters from Rājmahāl to Dacca (then called Jahāngīrnagar), so as to be able to deal with the rebels effectively. Peaceful overtures having proved futile, a grand campaign was organised under the command of Sujaat Khān. Finally, the Afghans fighting bravely, and almost recklessly, were con-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 383.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 350.

quered. On April 1, 1612, Jahāngīr received the glad tidings of the victory, attested by the head of Usmān, 'the last of the brave Afghans.' Thereafter, Jahāngīr treated the Afghans with great clemency and promoted them to some of the highest ranks in the Imperial heirarchy.

Khurdā, in Orissa, with its famous temple of Jagannāth was subdued after brave resistance, by its Rājā Purshotam Dās, who was obliged to yield and send his daughter to the Imperial harem. This was effected by Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Todar Mal, in 1611. In 1615 Khokhara, in the wilds of Bihar, was captured from its ruler Durjan Sāl, because of its valuable diamond mines which were declared a state monopoly. The conquest was effected by Ibrāhīm Khān (brother of Nūr Jahān), on whom was bestowed the title of *Fīroz Jang* with the rank of 4,000. In 1617 Purshotam Dév of Khurdā again rebelled, and his territory was finally annexed to the Empire by Mukarram Khān, the Governor of Orissa. This brought the Mughal Frontier on this side to the borders of Golconda. In the same year, the tribes of Jām and Bhara in Cutch were subdued by Rājā Bikramjit whom the *Shash Fat-i Kāngra* calls 'an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne. . . for whom the Prince (Shāh Jahān) had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose friendship, when tried by the touch-stone had turned out pure and red,' etc.[1] In 1620 Kishtwar to the south of Kashmir, with its rich fruits and saffron, was taken from its *Rājā*, who rebelled and was again subdued in 1622. This state, though it was small, yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,00,000.

IV. NŪR JAHĀN AND REACTIONS

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahāngīr's story. All the remaining events, as well as some of those we have already narrated, are to be connected with the advent of Nūr Jahān. She forms as it were the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turns. The rebellions of Shāh Jahān and Mahābat Khān were primarily

1. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 521.

reactions to the workings of Nūr Jahān's influence. "No figure in mediæval history," observes Beni Prasad, "has been shrouded in such romance as the name of Nūr Jahān calls to the mind. No incident in the reign of Jahāngīr has attracted such attention as his marriage with Nūr Jahān. For full fifteen years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire." But, as regards the many romantic legends that have gathered round her name, he very properly says, "It is all very fascinating but it is not history. Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such a picturesque romance, but full of human interest."[1]

The best reliable and brief account of Nūr Jahān's history is contained in the following passage from Mutamad Khān's *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīrī* :—

'Among the great events that occurred during this interval (sixth year of the reign) was the Emperor Jahāngīr's demanding Nūr Jahān Begam in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange decrees of Fate. Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, the son of Khwāja Muhammad Sharīf, was a native of Teheran. Khwāja Muhammad was, first of all, the *wazīr* of Muhammad Khān Taklu, governor of Khurasan. After the death of Muhammad Khān, he entered the service of the renowned King Tahmāsp Safawī, and was entrusted with the *wazīrship* of Yazd. The Khwāja had two sons Aka Tahir and Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég,..... After the death of his father (1577), Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. On the road, as he was passing through Khandahār, by the blessing of god, another daughter was born to him. In the city of Fathpūr, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time owing to his devotion to the King's service, and his intelligence, Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég was raised to the office of *dīwān* or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets, and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; and he wrote *shikasta* in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold

1. *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 170-72.

NŪR JAHĀN BEGAM

and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, Ali Kuli Bég Istajlu, who had been brought up under Shāh Ismail II, having come from the kingdom of Irak, became included among the number of the royal servants, and, as Fath ordered it, married that daughter of Mīrzā Ghiyās Bég who had been born in Kandahār. Afterwards in the reign of Jahāngīr, he received a suitable *mansab*, and the title of *Sher-Afgan* was conferred on him. He next received a *jāgīr* in the province of Bengal, and departed thither to take possession. His murder of Kutbu-d dīn Khān (Governor of Bengal) and his own death have already been related.[1] After the death of Kutbu-d dīn, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyās Bég, who had been exalted to the title of *Itimādu-d daula*, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Kutbu-d dīn, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and Princess of the Time, it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign (March, 1611), her appearance caught the Emperor's far-seeing eye, and so captivated him that he included her amongst the inmates of his select *harem* (May, 1611). Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Nūr Mahāl*, "Light of the Harem," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Nūr Jahān Begam*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth

1. It was reported that Sher-Afgan 'was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. When Kutub-d dīn was sent to Bengal (Aug. 1606) he was directed to look after Sher Afgan : if he was found to be loyal and dutiful, he was to be maintained in his *jāgīr*; but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed to proceed thither. Kutbu-d dīn formed a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to appear before the viceroy, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Kutbu-d dīn made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court ; the viceroy was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afgan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command Kutub-d din immediately proceeded to Bardwan (March, 1607) which was in the *jāgīr* of Sher-Afgan.' Suspecting 'there was a design against him,' Sher-Afgan, in the course of conversation, 'before any one could interfere,' ran his sword into the viceroy's belly and slew him. 'Pīr Khān Kashmīrī, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afgan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afgan returned it so fiercely that he killed his assilant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and dispatched Sher-Afgan with their swords.'—*Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI. pp. 402-3.

.....No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nūr Jahān the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription : "By order of the King Jahāngīr, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam." On all *farmāns* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name "Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nūr Jahān Begam, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sīr* of wine and half a *sīr* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression ; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.'[1]

Controversy.

Plain and unvarnished as this tale is, there has been a great controversy over the alleged crime of Jahāngīr. He has been charged with the murder of Sher-Afgan, which he is believed to have brought about in order to marry Mihrunnīsa. It is said, on the strength of various legends, including a statement in De Laet who says that Jahāngīr was in love with Mihrunnīsa "when she was still a maiden, during the life-time of Achabar (Akbar) but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Affeghan (Sher-Afgan), and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."[2] But Dr. Beni Prasad has very ably made out a case acquitting Jahāngīr, which seems quite plausible. "An attentive study of contemporary authorities," he contends, "and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance, and the characters of Jahāngīr and

1. Ibid., pp. 403-5.
2. Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 181.

Nūr Jahān appear in a truer and more favourable light." His main line of argument may be briefly stated thus :

(*a*) No contemporary chronicler has made the charge against the Emperor.

(*b*) Even the chroniclers of Shāh Jahān's reign, who had antipathies towards Nūr Jahān, do not as much as hint at it.

(*c*) Contemporary European writers, although they record many another Court scandal, hardly impute the crime to Jahāngīr.

(*d*) If Jahāngīr had been early in love with Mihrunnīsa, Akbar would not have appointed Sher-Afgan in the service of Salīm, and the latter would not, under such circumstances, have promoted his rival in love.

(*e*) Nūr Jahān, from her known character, would not have submitted to the yoke of her husband's assassin ; on the contrary there is reason to believe she sincerely reciprocated Jahāngīr's passionate love for her.[1]

Dr. Ishwari Prasad's criticism of this is rather weak and unconvincing : "The improbabilities of the story itself, on which he (Beni Prasad) dwells at length", he writes, "are of little value in helping us to form a correct judgment. The evidence of the emperor's innocence adduced by Dr. Beni Prasad is of a negative character, and we cannot lightly brush aside the positive assertions of later historians, who were in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors. There are other considerations which militate against the theory of innocence." These are according to him—

(*a*) On mere suspicion the Emperor need not have authorised Kutbu-d dīn to punish Sher-Afgan ; "the cause of the royal displeasure was not even communicated to him."

(*b*) Jahāngīr, "who is usually so frank," does not say a word on this incident, "for the obvious reason that no man would relate scandals about himself."

1. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 176-82.

(*c*) Jahāngīr's silence about his marriage, "the most momentous event in his career, is wholly unintelligible."

(*d*) "His account of Sher Afgan's death is entirely devoid of a mention of Nūr Jahān."

(*e*) Why were not Mihrunnīsa and her daughter entrusted to the care of her father Itimādu-d daula? Why were they kept at Court?

(*f*) Finally, against the possible question why the impetuous lover did not marry her all at once, but waited for four long years, he answers that, Jahāngīr did not or could not marry all at once, because of the widow's natural dislike on the one hand, and Jahāngīr's desire to allay suspicion, on the other.

But after all, he concludes with the observation, "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afgan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, *although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime.*"[1]

The Junta :

The rise of Nūr Jahān led to a reshuffling of the political equation within the Empire. Her relations, particularly her father Itimādu-d daula, and her brother Asaf Khān, came into prominence as much by her influence as by their own undoubted personal abilities. The merits of the former have already been described. From 1611, the year of Nūr Jahān's marriage, to 1619, he had steadily risen in power and position, until he ranked only next to Prince Khurram. From the rank of 2000+500 in 1611, he had risen to 7000+5000 in 1616, and 7000+7000 in 1619. Asaf Khān also similarly rose from 500+100 up to 1611, to 5000+3000 in 1616, and 6000+6000 in 1622. He was an accomplished man of letters, as well as a man of political and administrative craft. Dr. Beni Prasad says, "As a financier, he stood unsurpassed in the Mughal empire."[2] The marriage of his daughter, Arjumand Banu Begam, with Prince Khurram,

1. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., pp. 493-96.
2. *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 187.

in 1612, undoubtedly heightened his prestige as well as power. This Prince, both by circumstance and ability, was marked out to be the heir-apparent. His services to the Empire have already been described in detail, up to his revolt on the eve of the Kandahār campaign in 1621. Mewar, Ahmednagar, Kāngra, proclaimed his glory to the four corners of the Empire. He had now been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zāt* and 20,000 *Sawār*, with the additional title of *Shāh Jahān*, and the *jāgīr* of Hisar Fīroza.

Speaking of the political importance of the marriage of the niece of Nūr Jahān with Prince Khurram, Dr. Beni Prasad observes, "It symbolised the alliance of Nūr Jahān, Itimādu-d daula and Asaf Khān with the heir apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nūr Jahān's sway is really the sway of these four personages."[1]

The period of Nūr Jahān's influence is usually considered in two divisions : (i) 1611-22, when her parents were still alive and exercised a wholesome restraint upon her ambitions ; and (ii) 1622-27, when Jahāngīr himself was more or less an invalid, and full vent was given to party strife and faction. In the first period also, Khurram and Nūr Jahān were in alliance ; in the second, they were antagonistic to each other. The marriage of Shahriyār (born 1605) with Nūr Jahān's daughter by Sher-Afgan, Ladli Begam, in 1620, introduced a fresh complication.

Under these circumstances, the division of the Court into parties was inevitable. At first, there were only two : the junta and its opponents ; later, when the junta itself broke up, there were more. Mahābat Khān throughout played an important rôle as an indefatigable opponent of the *parvenus*, as he considered Nūr Jahān's relations, and those whom she had exalted. In other words, he stood forth as the champion of the older nobility, and at one time went to the extent of advising the Emperor against the party in power. The author of the *Intikhāb-i Jahāngīr-Shāhī* says,

1. Ibid., p. 191.

'At this time the influence of Nūr Jahān Begam had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Mahābat Khān thought proper therefore to represent as follows: That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Mahābat Khān was brought up only by His Majesty, and *that he has no concern with anybody else.* Everyone knows that Mahābat Khān presumes much upon His Majesty's kindness; *and he now begs truly and faithfully to represent what he thinks proper, instigated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name... The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahāngīr should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him.....* He also added, that in his opinion, it was now very advisable to liberate Prince Khūsrū from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne..... His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince.'

It is clear from this passage that Mahābat Khān also championed the cause of the popular and pathetic Prince Khūsrū, adding another candidate to the party-struggle that was brewing at the Court. But his bold counsel appears to have been taken all in good part by the Emperor, though its effect was ephemeral. The writer above cited closes with the observation, 'The Emperor acted in some measure upon the advice of Mahābat Khān, till he arrived at Kashmir; but the influence of Nūr Jahān Begam had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Mahābat Khān had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.'[1]

With such candour Mahābat Khān could not expect to get on well at Court in opposition to the junta. From 1605-10 he had risen from 1500 to 4000+3500 in his rank. Then came Nūr Jahān. Till 1622 he received no promotion whatsoever. On the contrary he was driven from the Deccan to the frontiers of Afghanistan, wherever the most strenuous service was needed. For such a one to stand up for the unfortunate Prince Khūsrū was to spoil his case. Though Jahāngīr

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 451-52.

for a time relented towards his eldest born, and allowed him some liberty, the junta contrived to undo him. Shāh Jahān was then in the good books of Nūr Jahān. Lest the prospects of the younger (Shāh Jahān) should be suddenly marred by some whimsical turn in the Emperor's affections, they contrived to transfer the prisoner, at first to Asaf Khān's custody, and thence to Shāh Jahān's. The latter, in utter disregard of all human feeling, got his eldest brother out of the way by methods in which Mughal princes were becoming more and more adept. Before he would proceed for service in the Deccan, in 1620, Shāh Jahān insisted on taking his ill-starred brother with him. In January 1622 Jahāngīr received a report from Shāh Jahān, writing from Burhānpur, that Khūsrū died of a colic !

De Laet gives the following description of this strange 'colic' :—

"Xa—Ziaham (Shāh Jahān), who was at Brampore (Burhānpur), and was acting as jailor to his brother Gousrou (Khūsrū), began to make a plot whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence Ganganna (Khān Khānan) and his most faithful Omerau, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave Reza, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, knocked at dead of night upon the door of prince Gousrou's bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the bearers of robes and letters from the King, and that they had instructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, Reza broke open the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on his bed, and shut the door once more.....

"Xa-Ziahan returned to the city, and sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death....On receiving the news the king mourned deeply for the death of his son.....He summoned the father-in-law of Gousrou, Ghan Asem (Khān-i Azam), condoled with him, and committed to his charge his grandson Sultan Bolachi (Bulagı, who was made a commander of 10,000 horse) in order that he may be responsible for his education."[1]

Khūsrū's body had been hastily buried at Burhānpūr in

1. Hoyland and Banerjee, pp. 198-99. For a discussion on this incident see Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 331-34.

May 1622. At Jahāngīr's desire it was disinterred and carried to Agra in June 1622, whence it was taken to Allahabad, there to be deposited by the side of his mother's tomb in Khuldābād (now known as Khūsrū Bāgh). "His figure," observes V. A. Smith, "shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history."[1]

Meanwhile, Jahāngīr's health was failing. Repeated visits to Kashmir and other health-resorts, the treatment of distinguished physicians, and the affectionate and wholesome attentions of Nūr Jahān, did him little good. Though he continued to live till 1627, it was already certain that he had played out his part. Effective power must now pass on to other hands. More than anybody else, both Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān were keenly aware of the possible developments, and as Beni Prasad puts it, "In a single empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān." She, therefore, cast about for a more plaint instrument, and found one ready in Shahriyār the *Nashudani* (good for nothing). "The tender age (16), docile nature, feeble mind, and imbecile character of Shahriyār marked him out as the proper instrument for a masterful lady."[2] His marriage with Nūr Jahān's daughter (1620-1) has already been mentioned. At this time also Nūr Jahān lost the wise direction and the restraining influence of both her parents who died one after another in 1621, and 1622. The time had evidently come for a re-shuffling in the political arena.

The spirited and ambitious Shāh Jahān saw clearly that his chance lay in vigorous action. That is why, in 1621, he refused to be diverted into the futile Afghan campaign; that is why also he got rid of his possible rival Khūsrū in 1622; and finally, that was also the reason for his sudden rebellion in the Deccan. It was more than evident that Jahāngīr had come to know of his perfidious conduct towards Khūsrū; it was more likely that Nūr Jahān would press for Shahriyār's candidature. On Shāh Jahān's refusal to go to the frontier (a reasonable

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 376.
2. Beni Prasad, op. cit., p. 318.

occasion to embroil the Emperor with him), she had put Shahriyār in command, and on his failure had also invited Sultan Parvīz (Jahāngīr's second son) from Bihar, where he was governor. Civil war became thus inevitable.

CIVIL WAR :

(a) Shāh Jahān's Revolt.

The details of this revolt are of little interest. But Jahāngīr's lament over it is worth citation on account of its pathos :

'Intelligence now arrived,' he says, 'that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jāgīrs* Nūr Jahān Begam and Prince Shahariyār ....I had been offended by his delaying at the fort of Māndū, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had perceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Rājā Roz-afzum, one of my oldest servants, to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farmān*, directing him to attend to his own affairs, and not to depart from the strict line of the duty. He was to be content with the *jāgīrs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I warned him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahār.[1] If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent.....Letters arrived from Itibār Khān and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and prefering the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step on the road to perdition by marching upon Agra....A letter from Asaf Khān also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion ; that he (Asaf Khān) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.

'On receiving this intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultānpūr, and marched to inflict punishment on this ill-starred son (*Siyah-bakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "wretch" (*be doulat*)....The pen cannot describe all that I have done for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the

1. Jahāngīr was exasperated by the temerity of Shāh Abbās, to which reference had been made. He felt therefore goaded to try conclusions with the insolent Shāh of Persia. But Shāh Jahān's conduct put an end to all such schemes.

anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many nobles, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbecks and the Kazibashes, have, through this perfidy, met with their due punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities! What is most grievous for me to bear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have emulated each other in recovering Kandahār and Khurasan, the loss of which so deeply affects the honour of this Empire, and to effect which this "wretch" is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahār is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may be shortly relieved of this anxiety!

'On the 1st *Isfandarmuz*, I received a letter from Itibār Khān, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fathpur, he found that his hope was vain, so he remanned there. He was accompanied by Khān-Khānan (Mīrzā Abdur Rahman Khān) and his son; and by many other *amīrs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarat, and had now entered the path of rebellion and perfidy....The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khān, and everywhere they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khān-Khānan who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the 70th year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father (Bairam Khān), at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though rared with man himself."

'After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking from all directions, and by the time I reached Delhi, such an army had assembled, that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fathpūr, I marched to Delhi.'[1]

The remaining events may be briefly narrated. The rebels were defeated at Balochpūr, to the south of Delhi (1623), and Shāh Jahān at first retired into Mālwa and thence into the

1. *Wāqiāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 383-85.

Deccan. He sought in vain the help of Malik Ambar, and then fled to Bengal *via* Telingāna. He occupied Bihar and captured the great fortress of Rhotas. But at Allahabad, found the Imperial officers too alert (1624). Again he came back to the Deccan with better hopes of gaining support from Malik Ambar. He did form an alliance with him against Mahābat Khān who had sided with Bijapur as already stated. In 1625, however, he was seized with an illness. 'The error of his conduct,' as Muhammad Hādī puts it, 'now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand, (March 1626) to the effect that if he would send his sons Dārā Shikoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtas and the fortress of Asīr, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Bālāghāt should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this Shāh Jahān deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants etc., to the value of ten *lacs* of rupees. He wrote to Muzafar Khān directing him to surrender Rohtas to the person appointed by the Emperor and then to come with Sultān Murād Baksh. He also wrote to Hayāt Khān directions for surrendering Asīr to the Imperial officers. Shāh Jahān then proceeded to Nāsik.[1]

Thus ended the futile rebellion after three years of bloodshed and wastage in men and money, to nobody's advantage but the considerable distraction and weakening of the Empire. The victories of the Imperial forces, had been mainly due to the exertions of the indefatigable Mahābat Khān, acting in unison with Prince Parvīz. But his success was his undoing. Nūr Jahān was watching with jealousy his increasing power and prestige. She could brook nobody's rise within the Empire.

1. *Tatima-i Wāqiāt-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 396.

His Association with Prince Parvīz was particularly dangerous in her eyes. She, therefore, set about humiliating Mahābat Khān, and in the result, again plunged the country in civil war.

(b) Mahābat Khān's Coup.

Mahābat Khān and Prince Parvīz were together in the Deccan at Burhānpūr. Nūr Jahān's first stunt was to separate the two. So Mahābat was appointed governor of Bengal, and his place with Parvīz was to be taken by Khān Jahān. But the Prince was unwilling to part with the general who had become the prop of all his hopes. Parvīz was the eldest son of the Emperor, now alive, and since the discomfiture of Shāh Jahān he had built definite hopes of succeeding to his father. Nevertheless, the Empress Begam was equally determined to have her own way. So a peremptory *farmān* came from the Imperial head-quarters ordering Mahābat Khān either to proceed to Bengal or to come to the Court at once. He chose the latter course, but marched with 4,000 seasoned Rajputs. Meantime various malicious charges had been framed against Mahābat Khān, impunging his personal integrity : 'Mahābat Khān,' it was said, 'had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *jāgīrs*.' What was more ridiculous, 'Mahābat Khān had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwāja Umar Nakshabandī. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fidai Khān was directed to seize what Mahābat Khān had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.'[1]

Mahābat Khān was not the man to put up with these calculated affronts. The Emperor at that time had just come from Kashmir, and was about to start for Kabul, with Nūr Jahān, Asaf Khān, and all his Court. The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Asaf

1. *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 419-20.

Khān, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to the other side, with the children and women, and the attendants and the officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms, etc., even to the very domestics.

'Mahābat Khān perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2,000 horsemen to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow any one to pass over. Mahābat Khān, then proceeded to the royal quarters.'

Here, Mutamad Khān, who was present in Jahāngīr's camp at the moment, gives further details of how Mahābat Khān proceeded to take possession of the Emperor; throughout he acted with great caution and strength, but never disrespectfully towards Jahāngīr. To proceed with Mutamad's account:

'The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *pálki* which was in waiting for him. Mahābat Khān advanced respectfully to the door of the *pálki*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khān is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have therefore boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."

'The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Arab Dastghaib, ...and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of the faithless dog [meaning Mahābat Khān] had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansūr Badakhshī said, "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this

wicked faithless fellow to a just God : a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach his Majesty.'[1]

Having thus secured the Emperor, Mahābat Khān realised that he ought not to allow his powerful enemies to escape. Nūr Jahān thought at first that Jahāngīr had gone a-hunting ; but when she came to know of the real situation, she summoned the chief nobles, including her brother Asaf Khān, and addressed them in reproachful terms. " This," she said, " has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue." With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pass over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. The attempt proved unsuccessful in spite of the great heroism displayed by Nūr Jahān. Mutamad graphically describes the scene : Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore.....Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number of war-elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begam Nūr Jahān had in her litter the daughter of Shahriyār, whose *anka* (or nurse) was the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān. The *anka* received an arrow in her arm, and the Begam herself pulled it out, staining her

1. *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 419-22.

garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begam was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk; and when he turned round, he was wounded three times behind with spears. The Rajputs pushed after him with their drawn swords, and his drivers urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to swim, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant swam to shore, and the Begam proceeded to the royal abode. .....Asaf Khān, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and rashness had brought matters to this pass, when he found that he could make no longer any resistance to Mahābat Khān, fled with his son Abu Talib, and 200 or 300 horse, *bargirs*, and servants, to the fort of Atak, which was in his *jagir*, and closed the fortress....Mahābat Khān sent a large party of the royal *ahadis* (guards), with some of his own followers, and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bihroz and a Rajput, to invest Atak. They reduced the fort, and Asaf Khān bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mahābat."[1]

By this bold *coup de main*, Mahābat Khān had secured possession of all the important personages in the Empire and become the virtual dictator. But it is very strange that within a very short time the tables should have been turned against him. It was entirely due to the cleverness and diplomacy of Nūr Jahān. Our historian says, 'Nūr Jahān Begam worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attached them to herself by money and promises. In time Hushiar Khān, her eunuch, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also got together round the royal escort.'

The exact details of the reversal are rather obscure. Our Chronicler only says, 'His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines, from the royal abode

1. Ibid., pp. 422-28.

as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khān, one of his attendants, to go to Mahābat Khān, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue. After Buland Khān, he sent Khwāja Abul Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahābat to go on a stage. The Khwāja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him ; and, casting off all insolence and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtas, where he found a Court ready to receive him.'[1] Mahābat Khān does not seem to have been so naive a fellow as to be taken in so easily. The fact appears to be that he had acted too deferentially towards his Imperial prisoners from the very start ; this gave them the necessary opportunity to make the utmost of their royal prestige. Besides, Mahābat Khān, in the face of the jealousy he evoked in the hearts of the other nobles by his sudden and unexpected success, could not hope to hold on for long. If he had near him some prince of the Imperial family, he might have rallied round him forces that now he had no chance of invoking. His *coup* was the result of a sudden impulse that had occurred to him on the spur of the moment, carried out mainly as a measure of self-defence. He had neither the heart nor the resources to carry it through to its logical conclusion, viz., a revolution. He was not another Sher Khān driving out the Emperor into exile, and establishing his own dynasty ; he was a loyal servant trying to create an impression by means of a stratagem. So, when Majesty recovered itself he recoiled and mechanically carried out its behests.

These events happened in 1626. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān had proceeded to Thatta, to fish in troubled waters, and fail-

1. Ibid., p. 430.

ing all, to go to Persia with a view to recover his lost position with the assistance of Shāh Abbās. But owing to the difficulties he met with on the way, and his own illness, he determined to return to the Deccan. 'Being weak and ill,' writes Mutamad, 'he was obliged to travel in a *pālki*. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Parviz[1] (Oct. 28, 1626), and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahmūd of Ghaznā had taken when he plundered Somnāth. Passing by Rajpipliya, he arrived at Nāsik Tirbang (Trimbak) in the Dakhin, where he had left his stores and equipage .....At this time (also) died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khān-Khānan, son of Bairam Khān, one of the greatest nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honourable services and gained important victories.'[2]

Mahābat Khān had been ordered to release Asaf Khān and others, and to march against Shāh Jahān in Thatta. He chose instead to join forces with the disappointed Prince. Mutamad says, 'He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Rāṇā's country, and then sent persons to Shāh Jahān to express contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.'[3]

Death of Jahāngīr.

Alarmed at this dangerous combination, Nūr Jahān was preparing to suppress them, when the illness and death of Jahāngīr, on Oct. 28, 1627, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Emperor had been ill in Kashmir. 'He was unable to ride on horse-back, but was carried about in a *pālki*. His sufferings were great .... He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of the grape.' He then started on his way back to Lahore. 'On the way he called for a glass of wine; but when it was placed to his lips, he was un-

1. This death also is ascribed to Shāh Jahān's poisoning, on the strength of a later accusation by Aurangzeb; see Beni Prasad, op. cit. p. 418 n. 9.
2. Ibid., pp. 433-34.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 434.

able to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and died early on the following day, the 28th Safar, 1037 A. H., in the 22nd year of his reign.'[1]

V. JAHĀNGĪR AND THE EUROPEANS

Before we can appreciate the results of Jahāngīr's reign and his character, it is necessary to review briefly his relations with the Europeans who throw ample light upon both. It would be convenient to consider these under three separate heads : (*a*) the Portuguese ; (*b*) the Jesuits ; and (*c*) the English.

(*a*) The Portuguese.

The Portuguese power in India was definitely on the decline, due to a variety of reasons.[2] Perhaps two important causes of this were their religious intolerance and the absorption of Portugal by Spain, between 1580 and 1640. Other European powers like the Dutch and the English were fast out-stepping them in the East. Particularly, their piratical activities[3] brought them into active conflict with the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Jahāngīr's desire to maintain friendly relations with them, which made him send an embassy to Goa in 1607 and 1610 (under Father Pinheiro and Mukarrab Khān), their audacity became intolerable. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four Imperial vessels, containing about three millions worth of goods, near Surat. Since their Viceroy was not amenable to reason, Mukarrab Khān, then Governor of Surat,

1. Ibid., p. 435.
2. See Rev. Heras, *The Decay of Portuguese Power in India*, (Bombay, 1928) pp. 34-40.
3. Prof. Sarkar gives the following description of the horrors perpetrated by the pirates (both native and Feringi) from a contemporary Persian source :—They pierced the hands of their victims, and ' passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl, every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their homes they employed the few hard-lived captives that survived, in tillage and other hard tasks, according to their power, with great disgrace and insult. Others were sold to the Dutch, English, and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.'—*Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 123-4.

inflicted a naval defeat on the Portuguese, in alliance with the English sea-captain Downton. This was followed by a very vigorous campaign against the Portuguese settled within the Empire, and the withdrawal of all privileges granted to them previously. The Portuguese, wherever they could be caught hold off, were arrested, and even Father Jerome Xavier was placed under the custody of Mukarrab Khān. The churches at Agra and Lahore were forcibly closed. This brought the Portuguese to their senses, and they soon opened negotiations with the Emperor. Father Xavier was released to discuss peace terms, but the Portuguese proposals were not wholly acceptable to Jahāngīr : prisoners were to be released, the Emperor was to be content with taking the Portuguese property already seized as indemnity, and the Dutch and English were to be excluded from all privileges.[1] However, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, harmony was restored between the Portuguese and the Empire in September, 1615[2]. In 1623, when Shāh Jahān, in the course of his rebellion, sought their assistance from Hugli, they refused it, but, on the contrary, they served as gunners in the Imperial army under Ibrāhīm Khān.

(*b*) The Jesuits.

Jahāngīr, as we have seen, had come very early into contact with the Jesuits during his father's lifetime. He had formed a close friendship with Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, head of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. During his revolt, as a Prince, when he set up his mock court at Allahabad, he had sought without success a mission from Goa. He had bestowed several favours and gifts, like a silver image of the infant Jesus, upon the Jesuits and their church. He had even worn round his neck a locket containing portraits of the Saviour and the Virgin, marked his letters with Christian symbols, contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and 'exhibited most edifying devotion'

1. A copy of this draft, with Fr. Xavier's signature, is said to be in the Goa archives.

2. For text of treaty see Rev. Heras, *Jahāngīr and the Portuguese* (Report of the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Lucknow, 1926).

towards the Christian faith. The fathers of the Society of Jesus had an 'elegant and commodious' church at Lahore, as well as a *collegium* or 'priests' residence, "a comfortable building equipped with varandhas and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each department of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahāngīr was on his way to Kabul he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When the Emperor returned to Agra he took two of the priests with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts."[1]

The most remarkable indication of Jahāngīr's interest in the Jesuits was, perhaps, his permitting them to baptise his own nephews (sons of the late Prince Dāniyāl). "The Princes clothed in Portuguese costume and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the church through streets packed with eager spectators. A large cortège from the Court accompanied them and some sixty Christians—including Poles, Venetians and Armenians—joined the procession on horseback. Even the Englishman, Hawkins, who was then in Agra, put aside his Protestant prepossessions for the day and rode at the head of the procession with St. George's flag carried before him 'to the honour of the English nation.' At the church the Princes were received with every sign of rejoicing and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke. The ceremony itself was impressive and the demeanour of the Princes brought tears to the eyes of the spectators. When baptized, they were given, as was then the practice, new names of a European complexion."[2] King Philip III

1. Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 377-78; *Akbar*, pp. 261, 291-2. Rs. 10 a day were paid to Fr. Xavier and smaller sums to others.
2. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghul*, pp. 72-3.

of Spain received these tidings with great enthusiasm, and personally addressed a letter to Jahāngīr thanking him for his friendliness towards the Christians. But after all this fuss, in five years' time the Princes 'gave their crucifixes again to the Jesuits' i.e. abjured their Christian faith, and in the words of a Jesuit writer, 'rejected the light and returned to the vomit.'[1]

After the death of Father Xavier in 1617, and of Pinheiro in the following year, their places were taken by Fathers Corsi and Joseph de Castro. In addition to their evangelical work they were in the position of an 'agent for the Portugals.' The former has been described as 'a great column of the Mission,' and both had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the Emperor. Corsi first came to Agra in 1604, and de Castro ten years later. The former died at the capital in 1635; the latter at Lahore, in 1646. Although both of them were Italians, their political activities were directed towards furthering the interests of the Portuguese at Court as against those of the English. Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in September 1615, in a letter written a year later, describes 'how the Portugals have crept into this kingdome and by what corners they gott in; the entrance of the Jesuits, their entertainment, priviledges, practises, ends and the growth of their church, where of they sing in Europe so loud prayses and glorious successes.' In spite of his obvious Protestant bias and opposing political interests, mutual relations between Roe and Corsi were, according to Sir Edward Maclagan, good and creditable to both.[2]

(*c*) The English.

The first Englishman to appear before Jahāngīr was Captain William Hawkins, who arrived at Surat (in his ship *Hector*) in August 1608, with a letter from James I, King of Great Britain, asking for trade facilities.[3] He brought with him a gift of 25,000 gold

1. Ibid., p. 74.
2. Ibid., pp. 85-6.
3. 'It was a singular situation,' observes Lane-Poole, for a bluff sea-captain to find himself, in an unknown land, called upon to meet a great emperor about whom absolutely nothing was known in England. There was nothing to suggest the most distant dream

pieces, and was well received by the Emperor (April 1609), in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Father Pinheiro who represented Portuguese interests at the Mughal Court. Hawkins could speak Tūrkī and Persian and hence needed no interpreter. The bitter hostility that existed between the English and the Portuguese, on account of their rivalry at Jahāngīr's Court, is clearly discernible in the statements of Hawkins. He alleges that Father Pinheiro had bribed Mukarrab Khān to kidnap him (Hawkins), and that he had described England as a dependency of Portugal. 'The Jesuits here,' he writes from Agra (1609), 'do little regard their masses and their church matters for studying how to overthrow my affairs.' Finally, he calls them 'madde dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world,' and says they had to be warned by the Emperor that, if aught happened to Hawkins, they would be held responsible. When a Protestant follower of Hawkins died at Agra, the Jesuits refused to allow him to be buried in the Christian cemetery. When Hawkins married an Armenian Christian lady, 'to avoid being poisoned,' they declined to perform the ceremony unless he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.[1] Later, however, their relations, slightly improved. But, none the less, when Hawkins left India, in 1611, in disgust, his mission had been thoroughly discredited on account of the Jesuits, and Father Xavier represented that some ultramontane heretics had attempted to disturb the happy progress of the Catholic faith in Mogor, but that the King on discovering their perfidy had banished them from the country.'[2]

The next Englishman of note to appear at the Court of Jahāngīr was one Paul Canning, who too appears to have come to Agra (1612) with a further letter from King James. His experience was no better than that of his pre-

that in two centuries and a half the slight introduction Hawkins was then effecting between England and India would culminate in the sovereignty of a British Queen over the whole empire where the "Light of the World" and her imperial husband then reigned.' *Medieval India*, pp. 299-300.

1. Ibid., p. 79.
2. Ibid. p. 80.

decessor. English accounts still speak of 'those prattling, juggling Jesuits' and their great influence at the Court. 'The lying Jesuits,' we are told, were 'feeding the king daily with presents and strange toys,' and poisoning his mind against the English. But the strained relations between the Empire and the Portuguese, to which reference has already been made, changed the whole situation for the time being (1613-15). The Jesuits with the Portuguese stood thoroughly discredited. It was at this time, when they were still 'in deep disgrace with the king and people,' that the third English 'ambassador,' William Edwards came from Surat (1615) also with a letter from King James. But the most important and the most famous of the English representatives was Sir Thomas Roe. Smith describes him as 'a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and trained diplomatist, well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade.'[1] He was accompanied (since 1616) by his chaplain Terry, whose account 'is far superior to that of Roe, as a description of the country and Government.'[2] He too met with difficulties similar to those of his predecessors : "when he had hopes of a speedy decision on his request, Roe found objections raised at the last moment 'a jesuitical bone' as he said, 'cast in overnight.'[3] His own draft of the treaty he wanted to negotiate

1. 'Roe had come to complete what Hawkins had only partly succeeded in effecting. The English agents and traders were still in a humiliating situation, subject to all kinds of indignities, possessing no recognised or valid rights, and obliged to sue and bribe for such slight facilities as they could win. Their chiefs, the agents of the East India Company, had brought scorn upon their nation by "Kotowing" to the Moghal dignitaries cringing to insult, asserting no trace of dignity; and had even "suffered Blows of the porters, base Peons, and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction." Englishmen were flouted, robbed, arrested, even whipped in the streets. It was evident that a different manner of man (than Hawkins or Edwards) was needed to retrieve the indignity done to our name and honour.'- Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 305-6; Sir Thomas Roe, according to the Directors of the E. I. Co., was a man 'of a pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious and of a comely personage.'
2. Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 382-83.
3. Maclagan, op. cit. p. 85.

provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Mughal, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs; they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates; while other articles directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claims to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the King, delays in the custom-house and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, 'except the enemies of the said English, or any other that shall seek to injure them', and that their factors while residing ashore, should 'behave themselves peaceably and civilly,' that they should do their best to procure rareties for the Great Mughal, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furnisher of war that he could reasonably desire, and that they should assist him against 'any enemy to the common peace.' The Portuguese were to be admitted to 'enter into the said peace and league,' should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, 'without any offence to the said Great King of India'."[1] Roe did not succeed in this, though he remained in India for over three years and went about with Jahāngīr in his southern tour (Māndū and Ahmadābād), and finally left India on February 17, 1619. He had arrived at Surat (Swally Road) on September 18, 1615. Although his mission was a failure[2] he has recorded with grace the manner

1. Foster (Introd., xx-xxi), cited by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 248-9.

2. Roe wrote: 'Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant (Mughal Emperor) descend to Article or bynde himself reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of Equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay.' All that Jahāngīr could assure him was 'you shall be sure of as much priviledge as any stranger.' The ambassador says of the Mughal officials: 'their Justice is generallie good to strangers; they are not, rigorous, except in searching for things to please, and what

of his reception as well as departure from the Great Mughal. 'I had required, before my going,' he writes, 'leave to use the customs of my country, *which was freely granted,* so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence; entering in the inward rail, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of equality, within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, underfoot laid with gold carpets, the meaner men representing gentry, within the first rail, the people without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This setting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar gazing on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, welcoming me to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated; and after my commission, whereon he looked curiously; after my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming care of my health [Roe had just recovered from an illness], offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep my house till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send him and obtain my desires. *He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace,* if by the

trouble we have is for hope of them, and by our own disorders.' He warned the Company: 'A war and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage yourselves but at sea, where you are like to gayne as often as to loose. It is the beggaring of the Portugale, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that he keepes souldiers that spends it; yet his garrisons are meane. He never profited by the Indyes since he defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek Plantation here by the sword. They have a woonderfull stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best; yet ther dead Payes Consume all the gayne. Lett this bee received as a rule that if you will Profitt, seek it at Sea, and in quiett trade; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and Land warrs in India.'

Christians I were not flattered, *than ever was shown to any ambassador either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever.*'

VI. SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF JAHĀNGĪR

The character and achievements of Jahāngīr are more difficult to judge than those of any of his predecessors or successors. He was indeed, as Vincent Smith has characterised him, 'a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness.' But, if a balance were to be struck, between the credit and debit side of his life, there is little doubt, his assets were far greater than his liabilities. To enter upon a detailed discussion of this subject would take us far beyond our limits; but the reader will not find it difficult to draw illustrative material from what has been said already and what follows. Jahāngīr's love of ease, his self-indulgence in drink and love, his caprice and cruelty, and his superstition and childishness are notorious; but his love of justice, religious toleration, energy where a situation demanded it, wisdom in the recognition of merit, whether in fine arts or in politics, are all worthy of due appreciation and praise. Whatever the faults of his youth, which clung to him through later life, the period of his rule as Emperor was a continuous and honest striving to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father; no ruler could do better, and Jahāngīr, is to be understood in this light, if he is to be understood at all. The judgments of his contemporaries as well as modern critics will bear out what we have said :

Lane-Poole.

"When he (Jahāngīr) ascended the throne in 1605, at the age of thirty-seven, his character, never wanting in a certain indolent good-nature, had mellowed. He had become less savage and more sober; by day he was the picture of temperance, at night he became exceeding 'glorious'[1] ..... Jahāngīr carried his daylight

1. 'I myself have been accustomed to take wine,' writes Jahāngīr, 'and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In

sobriety so far as even to publish an edict against intemperance, and emulated his far more contemptible 'brother' James of Great Britain by writing a Persian counterblast against tobacco.[1] In spite of his vices, which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixtieth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intelligence, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the government and principle of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was afoot; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious toleration with the easy-going indifference which was the key-note of his character. The son of an eclectic philosopher and a Rajput princess, he professed himself a Muslim, restored the Muhammadan formulas of faith which Akbar had abandoned on the coinage, and revived the Hijra chronology, whilst preserving for regnal years and months the more convenient solar system. But he followed his father's policy towards the Hindus, and was equally tolerant towards Christians." (*Medieval India*, pp. 298-99).

Elphinstone.

"Jahāngīr's first measures were of a much more benevolent and judicious character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed

early days, when I craved for drink I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My times of drinking varied. Sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirtieth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.'—*Wāqiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 285. Sir Thomas Roe relates how he was asked by Jahāngīr to drink: 'I drank a little, but it was more strong than ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which were brought me on a plate of gold and bade me eat and drink what I would, and no more.'—Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 100.

1. 'As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shāh Abbās (King of Persia), also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran.'—Jahāngīr: *Wāqiāt*, E. & D. op. cit., VI, p. 351.

most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting some vexatious duties which had survived Akbar's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the State should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment."

Regarding Nūr Jahān's influence over Jahāngīr, he says, "Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, *it was beneficial on the whole.* Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that a great improvement took place in the conduct of Jahāngīr after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments. In occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Nūr Jahān's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty; it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of *attar* of roses.[1] One of the accomplishments by which she captivated

1. '*Atr* of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Nūr Jahān Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.'—Jahāngīr in *Wāqiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, p. 338.

Jahāngīr is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses." (*History of India*, pp. 550-51, 555-56).

Vincent Smith.

"Terry truly observes: 'Now for the disposition of that King (Jahāngīr), it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.' He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmir nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into ecstasies over a waterfall. He thought the scarlet blossom of the *dhāk* or *palās* tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it', and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmir."

Then after commenting on Jahāngīr's love of fine arts,[1]

1. 'This day', writes Jahāngīr, 'Abul Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of *Nadiru-z Zaman*, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it as a frontispiece to the *Jahāngīr-nāma*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abu-l Hai and Bihzad were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father, Aka Raza, was always with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. However, the son is far superior to the father. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Mansūr is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the title of Nadiru-l Asli. In the time of my father and my own, there have been none to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist (on seeing his work), whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits, finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each.' *Wākiāt*, E. & D., op. cit., VI, pp. 359-60. The editor also cites the following observation from Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178.—'In this time there were found, in the Indies, native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attached him to the Jesuits.'

Smith quotes the Emperor's *Memoirs* on his sense of justice,[1] and proceeds : " His religion is not easy to define. Grave Sir Thomas Roe roundly denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did sot frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed.....He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe orders against the Jains of Gujarat, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reasons or other he considered them to be seditious..... His personal religion seems to have been a vague deism, either taught by heretical Muhammadan Sūfīs, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages.*..... The material for dis-

Sir T. Roe also confirms. Roe had presented Jahāngīr a picture, which he said his own artists could exactly copy : 'At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his workman, and showed me six pictures, five made by his man, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discern which was which ; I confess beyond all expectation ; yet showed my own and the difference, which were in art apparent, but not to be judged by the common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful and cracked like a Northern man.' —*Embassy*, Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 98.

1. Referring to a capital sentence passed on an influential murderer Jahāngīr observes : 'God forbid that in such affairs I should consider Princes, and far less that I should consider *Amirs*.' Terry speaks of the 'round and quick' justice which 'keeps the people in such order that there are not many executions!' Hawkins found that by the time he personally saw the Emperor and complained to him about his ill-treatment at Surat, Jahāngīr had already got the official report and taken the first steps towards justice. If the local officials were guilty of justice, Hawkins observes, 'it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands.'

* *Note on Jahāngīr's religious policy.*—But for a few lapses, Jahāngīr's religious policy was, in the main, a continuation of his father Akbar's, based on principles of wide toleration. The exceptions were mostly due to religion and politics being inseparable in life. The prosecution of the Sikh Guru Arjun and of Mān Singh the Svetāmbar Jain leader at Ahmadabad (who, at the time of Khūsrū's rebellion, declared that Jahāngīr's empire would come to an end in two years) are not indicative of the general policy. The Sikhs as a community were not persecuted by Jahāngīr ; the ordinances against the Jains were later withdrawn. Likewise were the Christians 'persecuted' on account of the follies of the Portuguese, but no sooner than peace was restored, they were once more restored to the royal favour. Terry observes : 'All religions are tolerated and their priests held in high esteem. Myself often received from

course on Jahāngīr's interesting personality is so abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the subject." (*O. H.*, pp. 387-89).

Ishwari Prasad.

"Jahāngīr is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal history. The ordinary view that he was a sensual pleasure-seeker and a callous tyrant does him less than justice. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd, and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty....There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned, but

the Mughal himself the appellation of Father with other many gracious words, with place among the best nobles.' Pietro Della Valle (1623-24) says, that the Hindus and Muslims 'live all mixed together and peaceably, because the grand Mughal...makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies, and even among men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration.'

Nevertheless, if Jahāngīr felt that the preaching of any religious teacher had harmful consequences on the Empire, he did not hesitate to interfere. Two instances, both Muslim, are on record : the Afghan Sheikh Ibrāhīm Bābā was imprisoned in Chunār (1606) for his activities were 'disreputable and foolish' and he had gathered together a large following of Afghans near Lahore ; in 1619, similarly, Sheikh Ahmad, a celebrated Muslim divine of Sirhind, who claimed to be the *Mahadi*, was imprisoned at Gwalior, and placed in the custody of a Rajput. Sheikh Ahmad had written a book called the *Maktubat* which was judged to contain 'many unprofitable things', calculated to drag people 'into infidelity and impiety. Two years later the Sheikh recanted and was released ; he was not only set free but also given a dress of honour and considerable sums of money more than once.' (Beni Prasad, p. 433).

Jahāngīr's interest in deserving *sādhus* and *fakirs* was remarkable. In 1618-19 he wrote of Jadrup : 'On Saturday, for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. After performing the midday devotions,....I ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many sublime words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without exaggeration, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome Sūfism, and one can find delight in his society. He is sixty years of age. He was 22 when, forsaking all external attachments, he placed the foot of determination on the high-road of asceticism, and for 38 years he had lived in the garment of nakedness.....God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature, and keen intellectual powers, etc.....On Wednesday I again went and bade him good-bye. Undoubtedly parting from him weighed upon my mind which desires the truth.' Sir Thomas Roe records another instance of a *Fakir's* visit to Jahāngīr : 'This miserable wretch, clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, His Majesty talked with for about an hour, with such familiarity

there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian History."[1] (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 524-30).

and show of kindness that it must needs argue a humility not easily found among kings. The beggar sate where his (Jahāngīr's) son dare not do ..... and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, which no cleanly body durst have touched, embracing him; and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all us, and me, in admiration of such virtue in a heathen prince. *Which I mention with envy and sorrow, that we having the true vine should bring forth crabs and a bastard stock grapes*; that either our Christian princes had this devotion or that this zeal were guided by a true light of the Gospel.'

1. Here is a delightful portrait of Jahāngīr from the pen of Hawkins :—'Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his beads with his face turned to the westward. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private fair room, upon a goodly set stone, having only a Persian lamb-skin under him. At the upper end of this stone the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone; so he turneth over his beads and saith 3200 words according to the number of beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he showeth himself to the people, receiving their salams or good-morrows, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleepeth two hours more, and than dineth, and passeth his time with his women; and at noon he showeth himself to the people again, sitting till three of the clock, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes.

'Then at three of the clock all the nobles in general, that be in Agra and are well, resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of nobles standing within the red rail, and the rest without.....The King heareth all causes in this place and stayeth some two hours every day.

'Then he departeth towards his private place of prayer; his prayer being ended, four or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meats are brought him, of which as he pleaseth he eateth a bit to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. Then he cometh forth into a private room, where none can come but such as himself nominateth (for two years I was one of his attendants there). In this place he drinketh other three cup-fulls, which is the portion that the physicians allot him. This done he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drink, he layeth him down to sleep, everyman departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours they awake him, and bring his supper to him; at which time he is not able to feed himself; but it is thrust into his mouth by others; and this is about one of the clock; and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.'—*Relations*, Lane-Poole, (*Contemporary Sources*, pp. 88-9).

Beni Prasad.

"Jauntily to dismiss him (Jahāngīr) as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in debauch, as more than one modern writer has done, is at once unscientific and unjust. His fame has been eclipsed by the transcendent glory of his father and the dazzling splendour of his son. His memory has suffered from the implicit faith reposed in historical forgeries and travellers' tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

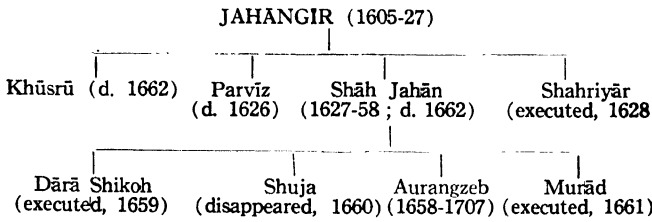
"From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out a sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand.....

"Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jahāngīr and argued in particular, that his celebrated institutes were neither original in conception nor effective in practice. The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organization is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shāh had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in adoption and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out, but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the case. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jahāngīr exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers.....

"Jahāngīr's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the Empire. Under its auspices industry and commerce progressed, architecture achieved notable triumphs; painting reached its high-water mark; literature flourished as it had never done before: Tulsidās composed the *Rāmāyan*,

which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of mediæval Indian literature. *The political side of Jahāngīr's history is interesting enough but its virtue lies in cultural development.*" (*History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 430-38).

GENEALOGY


JAHANGIR (1605-27)
Khūsrū (d. 1662)
Parvīz (d. 1626)
Shāh Jahān (1627-58 ; d. 1662)
Shahriyār (executed, 1628)
Dārā Shikoh (executed, 1659)
Shuja (disappeared, 1660)
Aurangzeb (1658-1707)
Murād (executed, 1661)

AUTHORITIES

A. PRIMARY—1. *Persian* : (i) *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī* or 'Memoirs of Jahāngīr,' already noticed, forms an important source of information for the period it covers. So too are the other histories of the reign of Jahāngīr referred to in the previous chapter.

(ii) *Pādshāh-nāma* of Kazwini, who entered the service of Shāh Jahān in the fifth year of his reign. Kazwini was the first to receive orders from Shāh Jahān to write an account of his reign of which he has covered only the first ten years. It is also called *Tārīkh-i Shāh Jahānī Dahsāla,* and forms the basis of most other later works.

(iii) *Bādshāh-nāma* of Abdul Hamīd Lahorī, who died in 1654 A.D., deals in detail with the first twenty years of Shāh Jahān's reign. Despite its laboured style, which is too ornate at places, it contains 'a solid substratum of historical matter, from which the history of this reign has been drawn by later writers.' One of its MS. copies now available is considered 'a most excellent specimen of the Oriental art of calligraphy' and contains an autograph of the Emperor Shāh Jahān. Extracts in E. & D., op. cit. VII, pp. 5-72.

(iv) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Inayat Khān, who held responsible administrative posts under Shāh Jahān, and was on intimate terms of friendship with the Emperor, sums up the earlier histories and carries the story up to the end of 1657-8. The author says in his preface : 'It seemed to the writer of these pages that, as he and his ancestors had been devoted servants of the Imperial dynasty, it would be well for him to write the history of the reign of Shāh Jahān in a simple and clear style, and to reproduce the contents of the three volumes of Sheikh Abdul Hamīd in plain language and in a condensed form. Such a work (he thought) would not be superfluous, but rather a gain. Hence, he calls his work also *Mulākh-khas* or 'Abridgment.' Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 76-120.

(v) Other *Shāh Jahān-nāmas.* There are several other works of the same name, two of which might be very briefly alluded to : (a) *Amal-i Sālih* of Muhammad Sālih Kambu, one of the noted calligraphists of the period, deals with the whole life of Shāh Jahān—from his birth to his death in 1665. Besides writing of princes, nobles, and officers, the work also speaks of 'learned men, physicians, poets and fine writers who were contemporary with Shāh Jahān.' (b) *Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Muhammad-Sādik Khān, somewhat similar to the above, is particularly of value as it formed the basis of Khāfī Khān's history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. Extracts and notices in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 121-44.

For other Persian sources see Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shāhjahān of Dilhi,* pp. i-xx.

II. *European* (i) Sir Thomas Roe's *Embassy,* noticed in the previous chapter, throws some light on Shāh Jahān's early career as Prince. (ii) Francoys Pelsært's *Remonstrantee* is the account of a Dutch factor who was in India for seven years (1620-27). He believes in Shāh Jahān's guilt in the murder of Khūsrū, denounces Nūr Jahān's dominance, and makes interesting observations on prohibition of cow-slaughter for which, among other reasons, he gives the economic one, viz., that oxen do everything that is done by horses in Holland.—Moreland and Geyl. Cambridge 1925. (iii) De Laet's *Description of India and Fragment of Indian History,* already noticed. (iv) Pietro Della Valle (1623-27), an Italian traveller, in particular was impressed with religious toleration within the Empire. His descriptions of the places he visited (Western India) are graphic and valuable.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (v) Mandelslo the German traveller was in India for a very short time (1638-39). His account, first published in 1658, contains much fiction mixed with some facts relating both to Mughal administration and history.—Harris's *Travels,* Vol. II. (vi) Peter Mundy, who came to India in 1628 and left eight years later, gives a more interesting and valuable record.—Ed. Temple, Pub. Hakluyt Society 1914-1919. (vii) The Portuguese Fr. Sebastian Manrique travelled through N. India in

1640-41 and published his *Itenerario* in 1649 at Rome. He seems to have been well impressed with the prosperity of the country and people, and also speaks well of the orderliness of the Mughal camp. He attributes the planning of the Tāj to Geronimo Veroneo.—Pub. Hakluyt Society. (viii) The two French travellers Bernier and Tavernier are the most famous of European visitors of the period. The former, a well educated and experienced traveller came to India in 1658 and stayed for twelve years. His work was first published in 1670. He was witness to many of the events he described or had means of reliable information. Yet, as Manucci points out, he is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny and verification. The other, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, rightly regarded as the 'Prince of Ramblers', had also travelled widely in Europe before he came to India in 1640. His observations of social and economic conditions are valuable, but not equally so regarding political events. Himself a jeweller he observes 'where baniyans refuse to bite there is nothing to be hoped for by these Franks.' (Bernier, tr. Constable, ed. Smith, Oxford U. Press, 1914; Tavernier, tr. Ball, Macmillan, 1889.)

(ix) Last, but not least, Niccolas Manucci, the Italian adventurer, already noticed, is an important source of information for the period. He was a loyal partisan of Dārā and hated Aurangzeb for his treacherous conduct. After many vicissitudes he again entered service under Prince Shāh Alam in 1678 and saw much of the politics and social life of India. But like most other European writers he is not to be depended upon where he speaks not from personal knowledge or experience but merely from hearsay and bazar gossip. He died in India in 1717. His *Storia de Mogor* translated by William Irvine in four bulky volumes is rather too diffuse, and an abridged edition of the same in one volume, containing his experiences relevant to our purposes, has been published by his daughter Margaret L. Irvine, under the title—*A Pepys of Mogul India* (John Murray, London, 1913). *Pere Catrou's Histoire Generale de l'Empire du Mogol* (1705) was founded on Manucci's memoirs.

B. SECONDARY.—1. *History of Shāhjahān of Dilhi* by Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena is a most welcome addition to the critical monographs that have recently appeared on the lives of the Mughal Emperors. Sir Wolseley Haig, in his foreword to the book, writes : "Saksena treats his subject with praiseworthy impartiality. Shāhjahān, in his hands, is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers who have flavoured their pages with the scandalous gossip of the purlieus of the court."—*The Indian Press, Ltd.*, Allahabad, 1932. Pp. i-xxx contain a critical discussion of the sources, Persian and European. There is also a classified Bibliography at the end of the book, pp. 345-49.

2. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Maclagan, Ch. VI, pp. 99-120.

3. *History of India* by Monstuart Elphinstone, pp. 574-603.

4. *Studies in Mughal India* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar for 'The Daily Life of Shāh Jahān', 'Wealth of India, 1650', 'Who Built the Tāj?' pp. 1-32. (1919).

History of Aurangzeb, Vols. I & II, by the same—M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1922.

5. *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān* by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, appearing in the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras ; to be completed.

6. *Shāh Jahān*, by Jast, L. S. (London 1934), though it deliberately tampers with history, is an interesting contribution.

7. "The Architecture of the Tāj and its Architect,"—S. C. Mukherjee (I. H. Q. IX, 4. 1934).

8. "Rebellion of Shāh Jahān and his career in Bengal,"—S. N. Bhattacharya (I. H. Q. X).

9. "Prince Shāh Jahān in Bengal,"—Sri Ram Sharma (J. I. H., Dec. 1934 & I. H. Q. Mar. XI).

10. "Shāh Jahān's Embassy to China,"—C. S. K. Rao Saheb (Journal of the Andhra Hist. Society, Oct. 1934).

11. "Religious Policy of Shāh Jahān,"—Sri Ram Sharma (I. H. Q. Mar. 1936).

CHAPTER VIII

GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

"Shāhjahān.....is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers."—SIR WOLSELEY HAIG.

'The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.'—LUBB-AT-TAWĀRIKH.

The thirty years of Shāh Jahān's rule found the Empire at its zenith, in point of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole, they were years of peace and plenty, with few internal disturbances of any formidable character; the only wars, whether successful or otherwise, were those of aggression, and intended to extend the boundaries of the Empire. Until the Empire was convulsed by the War of Succession, following on the illness of Shāh Jahān, it had held forth the promise of a most glorious epoch in the history of India. But events soon showed that there were worms infolded in the gilded tomb, and all that glistered was not gold. The failure of Imperial arms on the north-west frontier, the destruction of temples by Shāh Jahān, and the internecine feuds that were brewing—all indicated an unhappy augury for the future of the Empire. The reign of Shāh Jahān which had commenced with crime was not destined to end without it. Though Shāh Jahān was of a more staid character than his father, his rule is not without contrasts : it was an epoch of *grandeur not altogether unmixed with symptoms of decay.* It was both glorious and portentous at one and the same time.

The principal phases may be classified under the following heads : I. Early Life and Accession ; II. Rebellions and

Minor Conquests ; III. Kandahar and Badakhshan ; IV. The Deccan ; V. War of Succession ; and VI. The Golden Age.

I. EARLY LIFE AND ACCESSION

The early career of Shāh Jahān has been too clearly delineated in the last chapter to need repetition ; yet a few important details may be enumerated here.

(i) Early Life.

He was born on Thursday, January 5, 1592 at Lahore. His mother was the Rajput Princess (daughter of Rāja Udai Singh of Mārwar) variously called Jagat Gosain, Jodhbāi, and Manmati, whom Salīm had married in 1586. He had been christened *Khurram* or '*the joyous*' and brought up under the care of Akbar's childless wife Ruquiah Begam. Although he had no dearth of literary teachers, the young Prince, from the very beginning, showed a decided turn for more practical pursuits. In spite of his sharp wits and strong memory he was more at home with the bow and arrow, swordsmanship and riding, than with Persian and Turki. About his sixth year he suffered from small-pox, the recovery from which delighted Akbar so much that the occasion was celebrated with alms-giving and the setting free of some prisoners. In 1606 Prince Khurram was first entrusted with responsibilities of a public character, when he was left in nominal charge of the capital (with of course a Council of Regency) during Jahāngīr's absence in pursuit of the rebellious Prince Khūsrū. In 1607 he received the rank of 8,000 *Zāt* and 5,000 *Suwār*, with a flag and drums ; the same year he was betrothed to Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khān, more famous as *Mumtāz-i-Mahal*, the Lady of the Tāj. This was followed by his nomination to the *Sarkār* of *Hisar Fīroza* which was the virtual declaration of his succession to the throne. Two years later, he was again betrothed ; this time a daughter of Mīrza Muzaffar Husain Safavi (of the house of Shāh Ismail of Persia). This marriage strangely enough took place in 1610, whereas that with the former fiancé was celebrated only two years later, in 1612. In addition to these, Khurram married a third wife, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān (grandson of Bairam Khān), in 1617.

His children of any note were all by his second and most celebrated wife, Mumtāz, Begum ; they were fourteen in all, out of whom only seven survived : (1) Jahānara Begum was born at Ajmer, in 1614 ; (2) Dārā Shikoh, in the same city, in 1615 ; (3) Shāh Shūja, also at Ajmer, in 1616 ; (4) Roshanara Begum, at Burhānpur, in 1617 ; (5) Aurangzeb, at Dauhad on Oct. 24, 1618 ; (6) Murād Bakhsh, at Rohtas, in 1624 ; and Gauharara Begum, at Burhānpur, in 1631.

(ii) Political Career.

" The history of Jahāngīr's reign," writes Dr. Saksena, " is mainly a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khurram.... His charming manners, his stern rules of conduct, his devotion to duty, and his dashing courage, all combined to ensure for him a successful career. Contrast gave him a superiority over his brothers and rivals whose failure more than once added to his glory. He had never to wait for an opportunity ; it came to him automatically."[1]

(*a*) Mewar.

Khurram's first great triumph was against Mewar in 1614. It was an illustration of his pluck and tactics, he had eminently succeeded where other veterans had failed. It is strange that Vincent Smith should describe him as wanting in skill as a military leader.'[2] Dr. Saksena is truer in his observation that the subjugation of Mewar enhanced the glory of the Mughal Empire, and that, by this victory, Khurram's ' reputation as a general of consummate skill and ability was established beyond doubt ; and he was marked out as the rising star.'[3]

(*b*) Deccan.

The second great chance of his life came to Khurram when he was appointed to the southern command (1616-17), in supersession to his elder brother Parvīz and other reputed generals. Already raised to the dignity of 20,000 *Zāt* and 10,000 *Suwār* Khurram was now given the title of *Shāh*, never before bestowed on any

1. Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shāhjahān of Dihli*, p. 15.
2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 416.
3. Saksena, loc cit., p. 17.

Mughal Prince, and placed in full charge of the Deccan. 'Mewar revealed him as a skilful general, and the Deccan as a clever statesman.'[1] He was further exalted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zāt* and 20,000 *Suwār* and given the title of *Shāh Jahān*. Then followed gifts and offerings 'such as had never come in any reign or time' (amounting in all to Rs. 2,260,000). Finally, Shāh Jahān was given charge of the province of Gujarat (1618), in recognition of his meritorious services.

(*c*) Kangra.

To crown all, the operations carried on unsuccessfully against Kangra, since 1615, gave Shāh Jahān his third opportunity. He won his laurels again at this place towards the close of 1618.

(*d*) Deccan Again.

The first triumph of Shāh Jahān in the Deccan was really a piece of good luck for him, but it secured no permanent peace for the Empire. The corruption and quarrels of the Mughal officers, on the one hand, and the courage and cleverness of Malik Ambar, on the other, had resulted in reversing the tables against the Empire, since the withdrawal of Shāh Jahān in 1617. He was, therefore, again called to the South in 1621, and once more his tact and courage triumphed. But, as we have observed in the previous chapter, his success was his undoing.

(*e*) Rebellion.

Suspicion of Nūr Jahān's jealousy drove him to indiscretion. When he was called to lead the campaign against Kandahar, he thought it more prudent to rebel. The circumstances and course of his insurrection have already been described. 'His rebellion,' as Dr. Saksena has well expressed, 'was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subdue the other.'[2] It was also a great blunder, because by his rashness he played into the hands of his enemies. His grave misconduct, though he tried to 'clothe his immodest acts in the garment of apology', cost him the unique pisition to which he had climbed up in the

1. Saksena, loc. cit., p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 33.

Empire. But though baffled, his usual good luck once more came to his rescue. The death of Jahāngīr at *Rajauri* on Sunday, October 29, 1627, was a boon to Shāh Jahān. Although he was far away in the Deccan at that time, he briskly made his way to the throne.

(iii) Accession.

There was a quick shuffling of the cards at the Imperial head-quarters. In the words of the *Bādshāh-nāma* (if Abdul Hamīd Lahori) : 'Nūr Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to *Nāshudani* (Shahriyār), advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' On the other hand, Nūr Jahān's brother Asaf Khān was equally alert. He 'determined that, as Shāh Jahān (his son-in-law) was far away from Agra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to take possession of the princes (sons of Shāh Jahān) Muhammad Dārā Shikoh, M. Shāh Shūja, and M. Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Nūr Mahal. They, therefore, resolved that for some few days they would raise to the throne Bulāki (Dāwar Bakhsh) the son of Khūsrū, who, by Nūr Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with *Nāshudani*.'[1]

Mutāmad Khān narrates the sequel in some detail : 'Nūr Jahān Begum sent several persons to bring her brother (Asaf Khān) to her ; but he made excuses, and did not go. Asaf Khān now sent Banārasi, a swift runner, to Shāh Jahān, with intelligence of the death of Jahāngīr ; and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Nūr Jahān had made.

'When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Asaf Khān had resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dāwar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shāh Jahān, and that Dāwar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Asaf Khān, and did whatever he said. So the *Khutba* was read in Dāwar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar.'

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 5-6.

Shahriyār, in the meantime, had assumed the royal title at Lahore. 'He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed 70 *lacs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position.' A clash was, therefore, inevitable. The rival forces met three *kos* away from Lahore, and 'at the first attack Shahriyār's mercenaries, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled..... unable to understand his position and danger, Shahriyār fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived,....Shahriyār fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dāwar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded.... Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dāniyal, were also taken and confined. Asaf Khān wrote to Shāh Jahān, informing him of the victory.....

'Shāh Jahān sent a *farmān* to Yaminu-d-daula Asaf Khān, to the effect that it would be well if Dāwar Bakhsh the son, and *Nāshudani* the useless brother of Khūshrū, and the sons of Prince Dāniyal, were all sent out of the world....' On the 2nd *Jumad-l awwal*, 1037 A.H..... by general consent Shāh Jahān was proclaimed at Lahore, and the *Khutba* was read in his name. Dāwar Bakhsh, whom the supporters of Shāh Jahān had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbances, was now cast into prison. On the 26th *Jumada-l awwal*, Dāwar, his brother Garshas, Shariyār, and Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Dāniyal, were all put to death.'[1]

1. *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngīr*, E. & D., op. cit., pp. 435-38. Dāwar (Bulāki), according to some, escaped and lived for some years longer.—Saksena, op. cit., pp. 62-88.

The ruthless philosophy underlying these wholesale political murders is very frankly stated by Md. Sālih Kambu, the historian of Shāh Jahān's reign: 'It is entirely lawful,' he writes, 'for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, *whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and common weal*, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sultān Khūsrū whom the Emperor Jahāngīr had, in an hour of drunkenness, handed over to Shāh Buland Iqbāl (Shāh Jahān) was *translated*, on Monday 22nd February, 1621, *from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence.* To avoid suspicion, the dead body of the late prince was taken with due honour and respect round the city of Burhānpur. The

'Shāh Jahān ascended the throne at Agra on the 18th *Jumada-s sani*, 1037 A.H. (4th Feb., 1628), with the title of Abu-l Muzaffar Shahabu-d din Muhammad Sāhib Kiran-i Sani.'[1]

The coronation was attended with a lavishness quite characteristic of the monarch who is still remembered as Shāh Jahān 'the magnificent.' The Imperial couriers carried the news of the accession to the most distant corners of the Empire. Poets, astrologers, learned and pious men, all received their due rewards. The Empress Mumtāz Mahal herself got a present of 200,000 *ashrafis*, and Rs. 600,000, together with an annuity of Rs. 1,000,000. Jahānara Begam received 100,000 *ashrafis*, and Rs. 400,000, with an annual allowance of Rs. 600,000. Rs. 800,000 were distributed among the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial family. The loyal officers and nobles were equally well rewarded, the disloyal were degraded. Among the most notable, Mahābat Khān was promoted to the rank of 7,000 *Zāt* and 7,000 *Suwār*, and made *Khān Khānan*. Above all was Asaf Khān exalted to the dignity of 8,000 *Zāt*, and *Suwār*, called 'uncle', allowed to kiss the Emperor's feet (a unique privilege), entrusted with the Emperor's signet ring, and made the *Vakil* of the Empire.

II. REBELLIONS AND MINOR CONQUESTS

There were two great rebellions at the commencement of Shāh Jahān's reign, one Hindu and another Muslim. The first was that of Jajhar Singh, son of the notorious *Bīr Singh Dev Bundela;* the second was of *Khān Jahān Lodī*, Jahāngīr's officer whom we have met with already. The former started in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1628), and with a break, continued to defy the Emperor until 1635, when he met with the fate usual for rebels. The latter broke out in the

notables and officers accompanied the hearse chanting prayers, and muttering incantations. He was buried in Alamganj on the night of Wednesday.' *Sālih*, Vol. I, p. 137 and pp. 163-65 cited by Saksena, op. cit., p. 35.

It will be remembered that the death of Parvīz is too plausibly attributed to Shāh Jahān.

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 6

second year of the reign (1629), and after a short interval of restless peace, found the leader defeated and decapitated (1631).

The Portuguese also created some trouble in the eastern provinces and were ruthlessly suppressed. These as well as other disturbances and conquests will be noticed in due course.

The account of this rebellion given by Abul Hamīd Lahori, in his *Bādshāh-nāma*, is interesting.

(1) The Bundela Revolt.

'Jajhar Singh was son of Rāja Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abul Fazl..... After the accession of Jahāngīr to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahāngīr he became disaffected and oppressed all the *zamīndārs* in his neighbourhood.... He died three or four months before Jahāngīr and was succeeded by his son Jajhar Singh. *The wealth and property which Nar Singh had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhar*, and at the accession of Shāh Jahān,....he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Undcha (Orcha), his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads.

'A force was accordingly sent against him under the command of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānan. [The Imperial forces[1] converged upon Undcha and] Jajhar Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khān-Khānan and made his submission . ...

'His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service in the Dakhin. After a while he took leave of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānan, the ruler of the Dakhin, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Bikramjit, entitled Jag-rāj, and his contingent of men.

'On reaching home he attacked Bīm Nārāin, *zamīndār* of Garhā, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaurāgarh (70 miles west of Jabbalpur.—*Āin-i Akbarī*, I. p. 367). Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bim

1. One division of the Imperial army marched from the capital under Mahābat Khān, another came from Kanauj under Fīroz Jung, and a third proceeded from the south under Khān Jahān. The total strength of these forces was 27,000 horse, 6,000 foot, 1,500 musketeers.

Narain and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

'Bīm Nārāin's son accompanied Khān Jahān to Court from Mālwa, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A *farmān* was then sent to Jajhar Singh, charging him with having killed Bīm Nārāin, and taking possession of Garhā, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else to give up the *jāgīrs* he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten *lacs* of rupees in cash out of the money which had belonged to Bīm Nārāin.

'He got notice of this *farmān* from his *vakils* before it arrived, and being resolved to resist, he directed his son Bikramjit to escape with his troops from the Bālāghāt, whither he had gone with Khān Jahān, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly.'

The military operations need not be followed in detail. Prince Aurangzeb was in nominal command of 20,000 troops directed to reduce the rebels. Rāja Devi Singh, one of the rivals of Jajhar, was with the Imperial army.

'Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forests, Jajhar was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Undcha to the fort of Dhamuni, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the running of zigzags. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty Imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine....' When the army in pursuit approached Dhamuni, Jajhar fled to Chaurāgarh. 'Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhamuni, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort.' He did the same at Chaurāgarh, 'and then went off with his family and such goods as he would carry to the Dakhin.... When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhar and Bikramjit put to death several women whose horses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers.... Although they fought desperately, they were beaten and fled into the woods.... The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jauhar*, which is one of the benighted practices of Hindustan. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a dagger on Rānī Pārbati, the chief wife of Rāja Nar Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword.... Durgābhān, son of Jajhar, and Durjan Sāl, son of Bikramjit, were

made prisoners[1].... The royal army then encamped on the edge of the tank.... While they rested there, information was brought that Jajhar and Bikramjit,.... after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the wilds, where they were killed with great cruelty by the gonds who inhabit that country.... Khān-Khānan rode forth to seek their bodies, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court.... When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Sehur.

'On arriving at Chanda, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Kipa, chief *zamīndār* of Gondwana,....and he consented to pay five *lacs* of rupees as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of rupees in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders ....On the 13th *Jumada-i sani* the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Undcha, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jhānsi, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.'[1]

But the irrepressible Bundela were not subdued. Another leader arose in Champat Rāi of Mahoba. In 1639 his depredations and incursions into Mughal territory made the road to the Deccan very insecure. Abdulla Khān was directed by Shāh Jahān to round up the rebels. But Champat Rāi played the Robinhood. He had the fullest support of his people. In 1642, through the agency of Pahād Singh, a son of Bīr Singh Dev, he was temporarily brought under the Imperial yoke. But his more famous son, Rāja Chhatrasāl, again challenged the Imperial authority under Aurangzeb.

Another exactly similar rebellion took place in Mau Nūrpur in 1639. Its *zamīndār*, Jagat Singh, was a loyal servant of the Empire, but his son Rājrup proved recalcitrant.

1. Later, the same chronicler (Lahori) states, 'By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmans by the names of Islām Kuli and Ali Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Fīroz Khān Nazir. Rānī Pārbati, being severely wounded, was passed over; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace ....

'Udaibhān, the son of Jajhar, and his younger brother, Siyam Dawa, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoners by Kutbu-l Mulk, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th *Shawwal*. The young boy was ordered to be made a Musalman, and to be placed in the charge of Fīroz Khān Nazir, along with the son of Bikramjit. Udaibhān and Siyam Dawa, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islām or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to hell.'

1. ***Bādshāh-nāma***, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 6-7, 47-50.

Jagat Singh's secret sympathy with his rebellious son involved him in a war with the Imperial authorities. However, unlike the Bundela revolt, this insurrection ended in reconciliation. After nearly three year's hostilities, Jagat Singh submitted in March 1642, and ended his life as a loyal servant of the Crown.

Dr. Saksena, after pointing out the close parallelism between the two rebellions, observes : " The only difference is that in one case the entire line of the rebels was extirpated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Moghul Emperor, and this it was impossible to obtain without extinguishing their existence ; while in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and once the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shāh Jahān did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless.'[1]

(2) Khān Jahān's Rebellion.

Khān Jahān Lodī was a son of Daulat Khān Lodī, one of Akbar's officers. He held the rank of 5,000, and was successively governor of Gujarat and the Deccan in the reign of Jahāngīr. But like many another Afghan under Mughal dominance he still cherished dreams of independence. Unfortunately he was also guilty of peculation. Never heartily loyal to the Mughal Emperor, he had surrendered Bālāghāt to the 'Nizāmshāh for a paltry 300,000 rupees.[2] After the sudden death of Jahāngīr, and the temporary uncertainty of succession, he vaguely imagined a great opportunity to assert himself in the South. Shāh Jahān, when he ascended the throne, sent for him, and for a time seemed to have won him over. But the sullen nobleman proved incorrigible. He was jealous of Mahābat Khān, whose promotion as *Khān-Khānan* he looked upon as a supersession of his own claims. He was also disappointed at what he considered to be a cold reception at Court. He soon began to suspect even his personal safety and feared he might well be called upon to answer for his peculation. Under these

1. Saksena, op. cit., p. 103.
2. Ibid., p. 68 n. 7.

circumstances, he determined to seek refuge in flight. He effected this on the night of October 5, 1629. The following is Lahori's account of the insurrection :—

'After the death of Jahāngīr, and before the accession of Shāh Jahān, Khān Jahān Lodī entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course.... He formed an alliance with Nizāmul-l Mulk, and gave up to him the Bālāghāt in the Dakhin, the revenue of which amounted to 55 *krors of dāms*. But Sipādhā Khān, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city.'

Then Khān Jahān 'marched with a large force to Māndu, with the intention of taking possession of Mālwa', but the news of Shāh Jahān's accession 'brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Rāja Gaj Singh, Rāja Jai Singh, and other distinguished Rajputs who had accompanied him to Māndu, parted from him when they heard of Shāh Jahān having arrived at Ajmer. Thereupon Khān Jahān wrote a letter of contrition and obedience, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.

'A royal *farmān* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhānpur. He then retired from Mālwa to Burhānpur, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported that the country of Bālāghāt, which Khān Jahān had given to Nizāmu-l Mulk still remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahābat Khān to the governorship of the Dakhin. Khān Jahān then returned to Court.' There, in spite of reassurances from the Emperor, he remained sullen and moody. Lahori says, 'Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness.' Hence his flight above referred to.

'As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwāja Abu-l Hasan .... in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afghans, they followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpur.' Yet, after a brave fight the rebel escaped. 'When the traitor entered the territory of Jajhar Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin; but his eldest son Bikramjit was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Bikramjit had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwana, and after staying there some time in

disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Berar to the country of Burhan Nizāmu-l Mulk.'

The rest of the fight, flight and pursuit, need not be followed, with the exception of one incident, viz., the part played by Shāhūji Bhonsle, Shivāji's father.

'At this time, Shāhūji Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jadu Rāi, the Hindu commander of Nizām Shāh's army, came in and joined Azam Khān (the Mughal commander). After the murder of Jadu Rāi, ... Shāhūji broke off his connexion with Nizām Shāh, and, retiring to the districts of Pūnā and Chākan, he wrote to Azam Khān, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Azam Khān wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Shāhūji then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *khilat*, a *mansab* of 5000, and a gift of two *lacs* of rupees, and other presents. His brother Mināji received a robe and a *mansab* of 3000 personal and 1500 horse. Samāji, son of Shāhuji, also received a robe and a *mansab* of 2000 personal and 1000 horse. Several of their relations and dependants also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.'

Finally, 'Khān Jahān was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and followers (who were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces). All hope of escape was cut off; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means of deliverance for him; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best he could. A few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled....In the midst of the struggle Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khān could come up, the brave fellows cut Khān Jahān and his dear son Azīz to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off ..... The heads of Khān Jahān and Azīz .... were sent to the Imperial Court. ..... (His other sons were imprisoned). The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, Abdu-lla Khān and Saiyid Muzaffar Khān came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a *mansab* of 6,000 and 6,000 horse, and he received the title *Fīroz Jang*. Saiyid Muzaffar Khān was promoted to a *mansab* of 5,000 and 5,000 horse. He received the title *Khān Jahān*.'[1]

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 7-22.

The Portuguese were long settled in the eastern parts of Bengal, but they were never interfered with by the Mughal Emperor so long as their activities were harmless. On the contrary, they obtained a monopoly of salt from Government, and paid 10,000 *tankas* into the Imperial treasury every year.[1] But their omnivorous adventures soon landed them in trouble. They were not content with mere trade; their missionary zeal to convert the natives evoked much hostility. Matters were made worse by their piratical pursuits also. Often they penetrated forty or fifty leagues up-country, from the river mouths, 'carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival.' They would even 'offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men redeeming their parents.'[2]

(3) Suppression of Portuguese Piracy.

Under such provocation Shāh Jahān instituted a ruthless campaign against these foreigners (1632). Various motives are ascribed for this attack on the Portuguese, but that it was neither sustained nor universal, makes it clear beyond doubt that it was purely due to local irritation. Sir Edward Maclagan is perfectly right when he remarks: "The trouble at Hugli was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Governors had put no obstacles in the way of propaganda and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood ..... the Viceroy had protected them from the attacks of Mullas and Pirs. The hostilities undertaken by the Moguls against the Portuguese in Hugli originated in political causes, namely the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hugli had given to compatriots the Farangis of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the

1. Manucci records about Hugli, 'Here I found the chief inhabitants of Hugli, all of them rich Portuguese, for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal.' (*A Pepys of Mogul India*, p. 118.)

2. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 174-76.

Moguls. A religious element was indeed imported into the quarrel by Shāh Jahān, probably for reasons of policy .... The Farangis made slaves of large numbers of Mogul subjects, and of these slaves they made Christians—'Boasting' says Bernier, 'they made more Christians in a twelve month than all the missionaries in the Indies do in ten years.' The religious aspect, however, of the relations between the Moguls and the Portuguese was of subsidiary importance, and there was much apart from religion to justify the punishment of Hugli."[1]

The details of the fight are of little consequence. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, even desperately, but it was of little avail against the concentrated might of the Empire. The following description taken from the *Bādshāh-nāma* of Lahorī gives a vivid idea of the brief struggle :—

'On the 2nd *Zi-l hijja*, 1241, the attack was made on the Firingis by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land .... Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Bengalis. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalis called *ghrabi*, then left the Firingis and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.

'The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place (Hugli). Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was placed were stripped of their branches and leaves.'

Finally, however, they were all defeated. 'Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring

1. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.'

The figures may not be very accurate. 'On the 11th *Muharram* [1043 A. H.]', the writer concludes, 'Kāsim Khān and Bahādur Kambu brought ..... 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it .... Those who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumnā, the rest were broken to pieces.'[1]

(4) Minor Conquests.

Before proceeding to the major political events of the reign a passing reference might be made to some of the minor conquests of Shāh Jahān. Most of these relate to the subjugation of recalcitrant chiefs or petty *rājas* and *zamīndārs*, like Bhagirath Bhil (1632) and Marvi Gond (1644) in Mālwa, and Rāja Partāp of Palamau (1642) in Chutia-Nāgpur, and the turbulent border tribes on the frontiers. But the most notable were perhaps the cases of Little Tibet and Assam. In 1634 the ruler of the former country had been persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor and to read the *khutba* in Shāh Jahān's name. Failure to maintain this attitude of loyalty resulted in a big expedition, consisting of 2,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, being led into Little Tibet under Zafar Khān, in 1637-38. The

1. E. & D., op. cit. VII, pp. 31-5, 42-3. Bernier gives a more glowing picture of the persecution: 'The misery of these people,' he writes, 'is unparalleled in the history of modern times: it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon; for even the children, priests, and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women, as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Omrahs; little children underwent the rite of circumcision and were made pages; and the men of adult age, allured for the most part by fair promises or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, renounced the Christian faith.'—(*Travels*, p. 177).

prestige of the Empire was again restored, the *khutba* was again read in Shāh Jahān's name, and an indemnity of one million rupees was also paid into the Imperial treasury by the Tibetan ruler Abdal.

The conquest of Bengal had brought the Mughals into close contact with the Mongoloid states in the north-east of India. Akbar, on the whole, had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of Kuch-Bihar and Kāmrūp, but during Jahāngīr's reign Mughal policy in this direction "imperceptibly took an aggressive turn."[1] This was largely due to the internal weakness of the states themselves, no less than to the ambition of the Mughal officer, Islām Khān. Within a short time both Kuch-Bihar and Kāmrūp were annexed to the Empire. The next step of Mughal Imperialism was naturally in Assam. This was reserved for successful execution in the reign of Shāh Jahān. From 1628-39 there was open war between the Empire and Assam. It resulted in the definite fixing of boundaries and resumption of peaceful trade relations, not unmixed with diplomacy, during the rest of the reign (1639-57).[2] The outbreak of the fratricidal war unsettled everything for the nonce.

III. BADAKHSHAN AND KANDAHAR

The unrealised ambition of Bābur to conquer and rule over his ancestral dominions in Samarkand and Bokhara, seemed to be still active, through some principle of heredity, in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The stars of the Empire were clearly on the ascendant, and Shāh Jahān, who had even as a Prince made his mark as a conqueror, now cast wistful eyes beyond the Hindukush towards Transoxiana, Balkh, and Badakhshan. He turned the puisant arms of the Empire for the reconquest of these distant regions as well as of Kandahar which had been lost since 1622. The result in both cases, unfortunately, was disastrous.

1. Bhattacharya, *A History of Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, pp. 388-90.
2. Ibid., pp. 391-93.

Badakhshan.

A quarrel between Nazr Muhammad Khān, ruler of Bokhāra, and his son Abdu-l Aziz, gave Shāh Jahān the tempting opportunity for interference.[1] In June 1646, he sent an army of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot, under the command of Prince Murād and Ali Mardān Khān, into Balkh. They entered the city in July, and were rewarded by the capture of a treasure worth 12 *lacs* of rupees, 2,500 horses and 300 camels. Nazr Muhammad ran away to Persia, whence he returned triumphant not very long after. It is extremely interesting to note the Imperial casuistry about this interference in a foreign dominion. Says the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* : 'As it happened, from the commencement of his invasion of Balkh, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz., that *after clearing the kingdoms of Balkh and Badakhshan from the thorny briers of turbulence and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nazr Muhammad Khān.* The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Iran, etc.'[2] In spite of the victory of the Imperial arms, Prince Murād had no desire to remain long in those turbulent regions, and evinced on the contrary a keen desire to get back to India. 'Many of the *amīrs* and *mansabdārs* who were with the Prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustan, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balkh,

1. 'Ever since the beginning of his reign,' writes Abdu-l Hamīd Lahorī, 'The Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timūr Sāhib-Kiran. He was more especially intent on this because Nazr Muhammad Khān had the presumption to attack Kabul (1628) from whence he had been driven back in disgrace. The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles ; .... but now the foundations of the authority of Nazr Muhammad were shaken, and his authority in Balkh was precarious .... So the Emperor determined to send his son Murād Bakhsh with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, rocket-men and gunners, to effect the conquest of that country .... On the last day of *Zi-l hijja*, 1055 H., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murād Bakhsh, to Amiru-l Umara (Ali Mardān Khān) and the other officers sent on this service.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 70.

2. Ibid., p. 76.

and the rigours of the climate, all conduced to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the *raiyats*, of despondency among the soldiery, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balkh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the Prince of his *mansab*, and took from him his *tuyul* of Multan.

'Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balkh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager : so he selected Sadu-lla Khān, his prime-minister ..... Sadu-lla Khān returned on the 5th *Shaban*, 1056-7, having settled the affairs of Balkh, and *restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and rescued the country from wretchedness.* He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khilat* and a thousand increase to his *mansab*.

'On the 24th *Zi-l hijja*, 1056, the Emperor bestowed the countries of Balkh and Badakhshan on Aurangzeb, and increased his *mansab* to 15,000 personal and 10,000 horse .... He was directed to proceed to Peshawar, and on the arrival of Spring to march to Balkh, in company with Amir-ul Umara Ali Mardān Khān, and a body of Rajputs, who had left Balkh and Badakhshan in disgust, and had come to Peshawar, where they were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Atak not to allow them to cross the Indus.'[1]

But, even Aurangzeb, in spite of his great personal courage, which impressed the Badakhshanis very much,[2] could not hold the provinces for long. After the first capture of Balkh and the flight of Nazr Muhammad to Persia, Shāh Jahān had written to the latter in the following diplomatic strain : When the Prince (Murād) encamped opposite to Balkh, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negli-

1. Ibid., pp. 71-2.

2. "The grim tenacity of Prince Aurangzeb struck terror into the heart of the enemy ; ..... 'one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its hottest ; Aurangzeb spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bokhara army gazed on the scene with wonder, and Abdul Azīz, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying : To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction." Saksena, op. cit., p. 207.

gence of the elders accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e. g., the entering of Rustam Khān into the fort, when you (Nazr Muhammad) were in presence there. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it .... But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere .... But fate is stronger than will .... *I wished to clear Balkh of troublesome elements, and to hand it over to you .... and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover Trans-Oxiana.*'[1] Now, on account of the sheer impossibility of maintaining the Mughal position there, the retreat became inevitable. "The country was desolated, winter close at hand, grain scarce, and time short," Aurangzeb told his men, "So that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter, and remaining in the kingdom during that inclement season ...."

The Prince then marched with all his forces from the neighbourhood of .... Balkh ; where, having ceded the country to Nazr Muhammad Khān, he delivered up the town and citadel of Balkh to Muhammad Kāsim and Kafsh Kalmak. He presented the former of these, on bidding him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden trappings, and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury. He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 *mans* of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five *lacs* of rupees ; and besides this, all the granaries of the other forts .... From the beginning of the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan (1645) till the end (Oct. 1647), when those conquered territories were ceded to Nazr Muhammad Khān, there was expended out of the State Exchequer, in the progress of this undertaking, the sum of two *krors* of rupees, which is equivalent to seven *lacs* of the *tumans* current in Irak.[2]

The march back from Balkh to Kabul (Oct. 1647) was nearly as disastrous as the British withdrawal from Kabul in 1842. According to Inayat Khān, 'from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5,000 men, a similar number of animals such as horses, elephants, camels,

1. Cited Ibid., p. 202.
2. *Shāh Jahān-nāma,* E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 78-9.

oxen, etc., were destroyed and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow.'[1]

Kandahar.

Kandahar, on account of its strategical and commercial importance, had ever been the bone of contention between the Shāh of Persia and the Emperor of Hindustan. Conquered by Bābur in 1522, it had been lost for a time and recovered by Humāyūn in 1545. Lost again during Akbar's minority, it was re-acquired in 1595. Jahāngīr once more lost it in 1622, but Shāh Jahān regained it in 1638. Ten years later, in 1648, the Persians recaptured Kandahar for the last time, and despite persistent efforts (1648-49 and 1652-53) the Mughals could never wrest it from their hands again. Diplomatic embassies and very costly gifts were exchanged during the intervals, between the Shāh and the Emperor, but they were all directed to the study of each other's political advantages and weaknesses with the ultimate object of outwitting the rival. Finally, Persia won this race for Kandahar against the Emperor of Hindustan.

In 1638, Ali Mardān Khān, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, fearing that he might be called upon by the Shāh to account for the large sums he had embezzled from the revenues of his province, invited the Mughals to capture it. 'On the

1. *Shāh Jāhān-nāma* E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 83. The First Afghan War, under Lord Auckland closed with a series of disasters greater than those of Aurangzeb in Balkh. Revolts broke out in all directions. The presence of the foreigners was detested by the Afghans, 'and everybody in a responsible position behaved with unexampled folly.' In December 1841 the necessity of retreat to Jallalabad was recognised. A treaty was signed on 1st Jan. 1842; 'the guns, muskets, and ordnance stores having been previously given up. Snow fell, ... on January 6, the dispirited army, still numbering about 4,500 troops and 12,000 followers encumbered by a train of *doolies* or litters bearing the women and children, started for Jallalabad. On the 8th, only about 800 men of all arms emerged from the Khurd Kabul defiles .... on the 11th only 200 were left. "On the 13th, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded, and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him, reached Jallalabad, and told that Elphinstone's army, guns, standards, honour, all being lost, was itself completely annihilated. Such was the consummation of a line of policy which from first to last held truth in derision, trod right under foot, and acting on a remote scene was enabled for a time unscrupulously to mislead the public mind."' (Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 680-82).

approach of the Imperial forces,' says Lahorī, 'Ali Mardān Khān conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. ... The Governor of Kabul was directed to proceed to Kandahar, and present a *lac* of rupees to Ali Mardān Khān. He was then to take the Khān to Kabul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependants. ....All the country of Kandahar with its fortresses was annexed to the Imperial dominions.'[1] But this was only a short-lived triumph.

Loss of Kandahar.

When the ambitious Shāh Abbās II came to the throne, in 1642, Persia seemed determined to reconquer Kandahar. Owing to the minority of the Shāh, however, the actual attack was not made until 1648. Then, 'it reached the ear of royalty (Shāh Jahān), through the representations of Daulat Khān, ruler of Kandahar, and Purdil Khān, Governor of Bust, that Shāh Abbās II, having come to the sacred city of Tus (Mashhad-i-Mukaddas) with intent to rescue the kingdom of Kandahar, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurasan, with all his matchlockmen and pioneers. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Farah, Sistan, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Herat, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side; being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindustan by way of Kabul and Multan was impracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Shāh Kuli Beg, son of Maksud Beg, his *wazīr*, as expeditiously as possible, with a letter to Court, and further that individual in question had reached Kandahar, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 64. Ali Mardān Khān later, as we have seen, served in the Badakhshan campaign. He was promoted up to a rank of 7000 *zāt* and *sowār*, and made successively Governor of the Punjab and Kashmir. The Ravi Canal, 49 *Krosh* in length, near Lahore was built during his governorship.

'His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned Allāmi Sadulla Khān from the metropolis, commanded him to write *farmāns* to all the nobles and *mansabdārs* who were at their respective estates, *jāgīrs* and homes, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the astrologers should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-traversing camp from the metropolis to the capitals Lahore and Kabul.

'As soon as it reached the royal ear, ... that ... the Shāh had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahar, and besieged it, the ever successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur was appointed to proceed thither with Allāmi Sadulla Khān, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahādur Khān, Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Rustam Khān, Rāja Bithaldās, and Kalich Khān. Besides these, there were upwards of fifty individuals from amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *mansabdārs*, *ahadis* and archers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulation requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective rallies of fighting men into the field, would amount to 50,000 horsemen, and according to the rule enforcing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocket men, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of the money out of the State Exchequer should be made to the nobles and *mansabdārs* holding *jāgīrs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 100 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lac* for every hundred (thousand?) ; that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *jāgīrs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed ; and in like manner also to the *ahadis* and matchlockmen, who numbered 5000 horse, should a similar advance be made ; so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses ..... It was further commended that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kabul *via* Bangash-i bala and Bangash-i payin, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazni towards Kandahar.'

In spite of all these elaborate preparations, however, Kandahar could not be retaken from the doughty Persians.

'Some of the Mughal *mansabdārs*, *ahadis*, and matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the early

arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbashi, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by force and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their off-spring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khān, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself with offering advice in reply ....

'After the fortress of Kandahar had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to be scarce, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the Crown, owing to their having with them neither a siege train of battering guns, nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a *farmān* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb), to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindustan with the "victorious" troops .... the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attentions, set out with the "victorious" forces from Kandahar on the 8th of the month of *Ramzān* this year of Hindustan.'[1] (Sept. 3, 1649.)

Second Siege of Kandahar.

In May 1652, another effort was made to recover Kandahar, but with no better result. 'His Majesty despatched Allāmi with the multitudinous forces (resembling the waves of the sea), amounting together with the army serving in Kabul to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers, and rocketmen, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahar, Bust and Zamindawar. He was further accompanied by ten large and ferocious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns; the latter of which carried two and two and a half *sīr* (four and five lbs.) shot, and during

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 87-96.

an engagement, used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying *hathnals*, and 100 camels with *shuturnals*, besides a well-replenished treasury, and other suitable equipments. He was instructed to repair by way of Kabul and Ghazni to Kandahar, and about 3,000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot ....

'As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the arrival (of Aurangzeb) at Kandahar, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the strong-hold that very day .... For two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred .... To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in carrying forward the parallels and zigzags of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength, and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and, owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. (The artillery proved ineffective.)

'As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's world-adorning understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Amans had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazni, and excited tumults, ... a *farmān* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb) on the 4th of *Shaban*, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court.'[1] (July 9, 1652.)

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1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*. E. & D. op. cit., VII, pp. 99-101.

Third Siege of Kandahar.

Despite the failure of the first two attempts, Shāh Jahān resolved to make yet another effort in 1653. But this time the command was entrusted to Prince Dārā instead of Aurangzeb. To follow Inayat Khān's narrative : 'As the Prince Buland Iqbāl (Dārā Shikoh), after the return of the army from Kandahar, had guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he made such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period.

'Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-kusha* (clime-conquering), and another *Garh-bhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one *man* and eight *sirs* in weight (96 lbs.); and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Kāsim Khān. There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of a *man* and sixteen *sirs* (1 cwt.), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mīr-i-atish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 *mans* of gunpowder, and 2,500 of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets.

'Having likewise collected as many grain-dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd *Rabi'u-l awwal*, and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal forces appointed to this enterprise received their dismissal, he would set out for Kandahar. A mandate in the auspicious hand-writing was, therefore, issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the predetermined moment by way of Multan, on which road provisions and forage were abundant.'[1]

Dārā left Lahore on February 11, 1653, and arrived at Kandahar on April 23, 1653. But a siege of over five months showed that, in spite of Dārā's pompous equipment, Kandahar could not be conquered. A few minor fortresses were, no doubt,

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*. E. & D. op cit. VII, pp. 101-2.

reduced, but the main objective remained unfulfilled. Again the old story repeated itself : 'The winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A *farmān* likewise was issued to this effect, that, as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahar, if the reduction of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer ; or otherwise return immediately ..... Not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Buland Iqbāl consequently, on 15th *Zi-l ka'da* this year, set out from Kandahar for Hindustan.' (September 27, 1653.)

Despite his colossal failure, Prince Dārā was magnificently rewarded. 'On the 8th of *Rabi'u-s sani* this year (1653-4), being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Iqbāl a handsome *khilat* with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar ; on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000 ; and also a *sarband* compound of a single ruby of the purest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a *lac* and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty *lacs* besides. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of *Shāh Buland Iqbāl*, which had been applied exclusively to himself during his late Majesty's reign ; and since in the days of his Princehood a chair had been placed at the Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed his Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair that had been placed near the sublime throne.' [1]

"Trustworthy estimates," writes V. A. Smith, "place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahar (1649, 1652, 1653) at 12 'crores', or 120 millions of rupees, more than half of the

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma.* E. & D. op cit. VII, pp. 102, 104-5.

annual income of the empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1648. During Shāh Jahān's reign the value of the rupee in English currency was usually taken at 2s. 3d. The imperial revenue, therefore, may be reckoned as 24¾ millions of pounds sterling, or, in round figures, as about 25 millions."[1]

IV. THE DECCAN

The history of Mughal relations with the Deccan has already been narrated up to the commencement of Shāh Jahān's reign. Akbar had annexed Khāndesh in 1599, and captured Asirgarh in 1601, when he was suddenly called to the north on account of Salīm's rebellion. He had also secured Berar which was then a part of the Nizām-shāhī dominion of Ahmadnagar. Jahāngīr, in spite of his prolonged and elaborate campaigns in the Deccan, was unable to make any headway in the South. This was partly due to the quarrels among the Mughal generals, on the one hand, and the intrepid opposition of Malik Ambar (d. 1626), the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, on the other. However, thanks to the ability and prestige of Shāh Jahān, the *status quo* was maintained. The Deccan, too, had been the refuge of many a rebel against the Empire. Shāh Jahān himself had sought shelter there, with Malik Ambar and the King of Golkonda, during his rebellion as a prince. At the commencement of his reign the same story was repeated by Jajhar and Khān Jahān Lodī in the course of their insurrections. To prevent further repetitions of this nature, as well as to pursue his ancestral policy to its logical conclusion, therefore, Shāh Jahān felt it necessary to subdue the three Deccan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda.

Ahmadnagar.

The reduction of Ahmadnagar became comparatively easy owing to the treacherous conduct of its officers, particularly Fath Khān, the unworthy son of Malik Ambar. When this

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 403.

great Abyssinian died in 1626, the Mughal possessions in the Deccan included Khāndesh, Berar, parts of Bālāghāt, and the fort of Ahmadnagar. But during the disturbed state of the empire in the last year of Jahāngīr's reign, the Nizām Shāh Murtaza II had virtually reacquired much of his lost territory, with the connivance of the peccant Mughal governor, Khān Jahān. When the latter, in the early years of Shāh Jahān, made matters worse by his rebellion, a systematic campaign was launched against Ahmadnagar (then including Aurangabad, Jalna, Nasik, Baglana, and Kalyan). Azam Khān, the Mughal commander, captured Dharur and Kandahar, and, though his attempt at Parenda was foiled by a combination of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar forces, their guerilla tactics, and the shortage of supplies, he succeeded in devastating the whole country and threatened the extinction of the Nizām-shāshī altogether. The internal weakness of the Sultanate enabled the Mughals to achieve their end without much trouble.

Fath Khān had been imprisoned for a second time, for his contumacious conduct, by Murtaza II. But the present crisis and the entreaties of Murtaza's wife, who was Fath Khān's sister, obtained his release and reappointment as *Vakil* and *Peshwa*. The superseded officer, Muqarrab Khān, on this account went over to the enemy who rewarded him with the title of *Rustam Khān*. Fath Khān showed his gratitude and patriotism by imprisoning his own master and writing to Asaf Khān, 'informing him that he had placed Nizām Shāh in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khān secretly made away with Nizām Shāh, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizām Shāh's son Husain, a lad ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late King, and his own eldest son

as a hostage.'[1] Though Fath Khān temporised for a time to fulfil this, he ultimately yielded and sent to the Emperor 30 elephants, 9 horses, and jewellery worth 8,00,000 rupees. He also read the *khutba*, and struck coins in Shāh Jahān's name, upon which Shāh Jahān left Burhānpur, on March 6, 1632, and returned to the capital.

"With Shāhjahān's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close ... Mainly, two considerations affected Shāhjahān's decision to return to the North : first the outbreak of a severe famine[2] which drained his resources and inconvenienced his men, and second, the death of his beloved wife, Mumtāz Mahal, which grieved him intensely.[3] He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., p. 27.

2. Lahori's account of this famine is as follows :—'During the past year no rain had fallen in the territoies of the Bālāghāt, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy ; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it ; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food ; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.' The relief measures will be considered later. (E. & D., op. cit., p. 24.)

3. She was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Asaf Khān, and hence Nūr Jahān's niece. At the time of her death she was about 40 years of age, and had borne her husband eight sons and six daughters. Their married life of 19 years was unique in its happiness. She was deeply loved by Shāh Jahān for whom she was really a guide, philosopher and friend. Her sudden death during the fourteenth childbirth, at Burhānpur, shocked and stupified her husband. He did not appear at the *jarokha* for a week, and despised luxuries for two years. Like the Prisoner of Chilon's, his hair suddenly turned white. Shāh Jahān lived for 35 years more to mourn her irreparable loss. 'Empire has no sweetness, life itself has no relish left for me now,' he declared. His abiding love found its eternal monument in the Tāj, perhaps the most unique enshrinement of a lover's heart yet to be seen in this world.

MUM TĀJ BEGAM

to remain there. It was a human frailty which overcame him on this occasion, otherwise he seldom left things half done."[1]

But very soon Daulatabad proved the storm-centre of a fresh struggle. A dispute arose between Fath Khān and Shāhū (whose allegiance to the Mughals has been previously mentioned) over certain grants of *jāgīrs* which were claimed by both. Consequently, Shāhū, with the aid of the Bijapuris, prepared to besiege Fath Khān in Daulatabad. 'The latter was much incensed against the Nizām-shāhīs, and had no faith in them; so he wrote to Khān-khānan Mahābat Khān, informing him that Shāhūji Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that as the fortress was ill-provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahābat Khān came to his assistance. If the Khān came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court.

'The Khān-khānan accordingly sent forward his son, Khān-zamān, with an advance force, and he himself followed on the 9th *Jumada-s sani*.' He reached Daulatabad on March 1, 1633. In the meantime, the Bijapur army met with a reverse at the hands of Khān-zamān, and 'so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khān. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement (with the Mughals), and entered into an alliance with them. When Khān-khānan, who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khān-zamān directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijapuris.' When Khān-khānan joined his son in the attack on Daulatabad, and stormed the fortress with shot and shell, Fath Khān 'woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizām Shāh's women, he sent his eldest son Abdu-r Rasul to Khān-khānan (laying the blame of his conduct on Shāhūji and the Adil-khānis). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay to enable him to remove his and Nizām Shāh's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khān-khānan's power. Khān-khānan had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept

1. Saksena, op. cit., p. 138.

his son as a hostage. Fath Khān asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khān-khānan sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded the surrender of the fortress. Fath Khān sent the keys to Khān-khānan, and set about preparing his own departure. Khān-khānan then placed trusty guards over the gates.

'On the 19th *Zi-l hijja*, Fath Khān came out of the fort and delivered it up (June 17, 1633). The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill.[1] These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered.... Khān-khānan went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name.' The boy prince Nizām Shāh was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. 'The crimes of Fath Khān were mercifully pardoned; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khilat* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizām Shāh was confiscated.'[2] (Sept. 21, 1633.)

Although this event virtually extinguished the Nizām-shāhī dynasty for ever, it did not mean the total subjugation of Ahmadnagar at once. The Nizām-shāhī and Adil-shāhī officers still held out in some outposts which they would not surrender without a struggle. More than others, Shāhūji, with his strong-hold on Junnar, Poona, and Chākan, now proved as intrepid and resourceful as Malik Ambar had been in the previous reign. He created a *roi faineant* round whom he tried to

1. The *Bādshāh-nāma* gives the following description of Daulatabad :—

'The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Deo-gir, or Dharagar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5000 legal *gaz*, and the rock all round is scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty yards in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret, and a light is required there is broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier, its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sabats*, etc., are of no avail against it.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 41.)

2. Ibid., pp. 36-43.

rally all the Deccani forces, both Nizām-shāhī and Adil-shāhī.[1] But the Mughals proved too strong for him; and he had to yield fort after fort to them. Murtaza Khān, governor of Daulatabad, Allah Vardi Khān, governor of Painghāt, Khān Daurān, Khān Zamān, and other Mughal generals[2] hunted Shāhū from place to place. Finally, Shāh Jahān himself left Agra on Sept. 21, 1635, to direct the operations and reached Burhānpur in January, 1636. One by one Shāhū's supporters and allies were either won over or neutralised by bribes and threats. Udgir, Ausa, Māhuli, and other fastnesses soon fell into Mughal hands. The account of this campaign given in the *Bādshāh-nāma* is as follows :—

'Now that the Emperor was near Daulatabad, he determined to send Khān-dauran, Khān-zamān, and Shayista Khān, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels, and in the event of Adil Khān failing to co-operate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories....Khān-daurān's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandahar and Nander, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bijapur, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Udgir and Usa, two of the strongest forts in those parts .... Khān-zamān's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmednagar, and subdue the native territory of Sāhu, which lies in Chamar-gonda and Ashti near to Ahmadnagar. After that he was to release the Kokan from the grasp of Sāhu, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of Adil Khān....

'It now became known that Adil Khān, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance, had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Udgir and Usa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khān with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sāhū. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khānjahān, ... to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Khān-daurān and Khān-zamān should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaula from joining Sāhū, and to

1. 'Nizāmu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior but the evil-minded Sāhu,' says Lahorī, 'and other turbulent Nizamu-l Mulkis, had found a boy of the Nizām's family, to whom they gave the title of *Nizāmu-l Mulk*. They had got possession of some of the Nizām's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government.' (E. & D., op. cit., p. 51).

2. Khān-khānan Mahābat Khān died at this stage.

ravage the country from end to end. If Adil Khān should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him....

'Mukarramat Khān, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur, and Adil Khān, fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect....But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage and as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

'When Abdu-l Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutbu-l Mulk came forth five *Kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour .... He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor; he several times attended when *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperor's name, and sent specimens of them to Court.'

Adil Khān, finding that his territory was ravaged by the Mughal armies, at last submitted. He agreed to pay a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants, etc., and engaged that if Sāhū returned and surrendered Junir and the other forts in the Nizām-shāhī territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service; but if Sāhū did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sāhū.....There was, therefore, no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and would be a great favour if he (Shāh Jahān) would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bijapur might return peacefully to their avocations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mandu. Adil Khān's tribute, ... arrived; and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijapur and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to Nizāmu-l Mulk, but the commandant had surrendered to Adil Khān for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizāmu-l Mulk.' (May 6, 1636.)

'On the 3rd *Zi-l hijja* the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. This country contains 64 forts, 53 of which are situated on hills; the remaining 11 are in the plain. It is divided into four *subas*: 1. *Daulatabad*, with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *suba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizāmu-l Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatabad. 2. *Telingana*. This is situated in the *suba* of Bālāghāt. 3. *Khāndesh*. The fortress of this province is Asir, and the capital is Burhānpur, situated four *kos* from Asir. 4. *Berar*. The capital of this province is Ellichpur, and its famous fortress is called Gawil. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortresses in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Payin-ghāt. *The 'jamā' or total revenue of the four provinces is two Arabs of dams, equivalent to five crores of rupees.*' Both from a civil and military point of view, Aurangzeb's appointment proved particularly happy for the Empire.

Aurangzeb's 1st Viceroyalty (1636-44).

'Sāhū had declined entering the service of Adil Khān, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. Adil Khān, therefore, sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Sāhū, and the reduction of his fortresses.' This was accomplished at last by Khān-zamān, who, however, succumbed at the end of this struggle and died at Daulatabad 'from a complication of diseases of long standing . . . . . Shayista Khān was appointed to succeed him in his command.'

Shāhū's submission.

According to Abdu-l Hamīd Lahori, whose narrative we have followed so far, 'When the place (Māhuli) was hard pressed, Sāhu wrote repeatedly to Khān-zamān, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must come to terms with Adil Khān, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission

to Adil Khān, and he besought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Sāhū came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizām. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khān, and to surrender the fortress of Junir and the other forts to Imperial generals.... Accordingly, the forts of Junir Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund, and Harsira, were delivered over to Khān-zamān....Randaula under the order of Adil Khān, placed the young Nizām in the hands of Khān-zamān, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sahu. The last of the Nizām Shāhs, here referred to, was also imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, where there were two other of the Nizāms—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahāngīr, and the other at the downfall of Daulatabad in the present reign.'[1]

This brought about the final extinction of the Nizām-shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. "Thus after forty years of strife (1595-1636)," writes Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."[2]

Golkonda.

The abject surrender of Kutb Shāh to the imperious demands of Shāh Jahān, described above, was due to several causes. In the first place, the Kutb-shāhī had felt the might of the Mughal arms as early as 1629, when Bakir Khān, the Imperial Governor of Orissa, captured the strategic stronghold of Mansurgarh in the north of the kingdom. This was followed, a year later, by the invasion of Telingana by Naziri Khān, the seizure of Kandhar,[3] and the reduction of nearly a third

1. Khān-khānan Mahābat Khān died at this stage., pp. 51-61.
2. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 41.
3. 'Naziri Khān had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Khandhar (about 75 miles, east of Dharur, and 25 miles south-west of Nānder), which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country.....The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones, and grenades, but the storming parties pressed on. The conflict raged from mid-day till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled and the defenders

of that province. Secondly, Golkonda was weakened by her internal squabbles. Mīr Jumla, a Persian adventurer from Ardistan, who started life as a jeweller, had entered the service of Kutb Shāh, and risen to the position of the prime-minister. Ultimately, by virtue of his ability also as a general, he threatened to usurp the throne itself. Mīr Jumla, 'in whose hands was the entire administration of Kutbu-l Mulk's kingdom,' according to the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* 'had, after a severe struggle with the Karnātakis, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150-*kos* in length, and 20 or 30 in breadth, and yielding a revenue of 40 *lacs* of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and no one of Kutbu-l Mulk's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnātakis, he had brought this country into his power.'[1] His jealous master fearing Mīr Jumla's growing power imprisoned his son. So, Mīr Jumla appealed to the Mughal Court for intervention.

Aurangzeb's second Viceroyalty.

The ambitious and aggressive Aurangzeb, who had been viceroy in the Deccan for eight years, from 1636 to 1644, was again in the south at this time. In 1637 he had gone to the capital for his own marriage with Dilras Bano Begam, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān. Again in 1644 he went to Agra to see his sister Jahānara who was dangerously ill, being accidentally burnt, her skirts having caught fire over a candle. "She hovered between life and death for four months, and was not finally cured until November."[2] Mysteri-

kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and .... made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the Imperial troops took possession of the fortress.... The siege had lasted for four months and 19 days, and the place fell on the 15th *Shawwal*.' (*Bādshāh-nāma*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 25-7).

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 108. Karnātakis here mean the subjects of the Rāja of Chandragiri, representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

2. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 401. Smith discredits the familiar story of the English surgeon, Gabriel Boughton (Bowden), having cured the Princess in return for trade privileges for the E. I. Co. Boughton

ously enough, when Aurangzeb was still in Agra, he was superseded in the South, and after a little over eight months sent to Gujarat (Feb. 16, 1645). In January, 1647, he was transferred to Balkh, Badakhshan and Kandahar, whence, for no fault of his, he had to return discomfited in 1652. Aurangzeb's pride was mortified, and he desired to redeem his reputation by persisting in the futile north-western campaign. But Shāh Jahān had lost faith in him ; he said, 'If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army'. Nevertheless, as Lane-Poole has observed, the campaigns in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindukush, "were of the greatest service to Aurangzeb. They put him in touch with the imperial army, and enabled him to prove his courage and tactics in the eyes of the best soldiers in the land. The generals learnt to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was as cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a reputed devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general : a prince, whose wisdom, coolness, endurance, and resolution had been tested and acclaimed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have ended since, but they had done for Aurangzeb what they did for Stewart and Roberts : they placed their leader in the front rank of Indian generals."[1]

Such was Aurangzeb when he assumed, for a second time, the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1653). Though he lingered for about nine months at Burhānpur, enthralled by the charms of Hirā Bāi *alias* Zainābādi Mahal, he soon took up his headquarters at Daulatabad, and set about improving the economic condition of his new charge. This, however, we shall consider a little later. With his economic resources considerably increased by his wise fiscal reforms, burning for an opportunity to restore his prestige with his father by some fresh

did not proceed to Agra until 1645, when Jahānara had already got well. (Ibid, n. 1).

1. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 346-47.

conquests, and not a little enthused at the prospect of striking a blow at the heretical Shia Sultans of the Deccan, Aurangzeb grasped the occasion provided by the invitation of Mīr Jumla, with great avidity. Determined and aggressive Imperialism was never at a loss for excuses !

Golkonda was in arrears of tribute. Abdu-lla Kutb Shāh was ordered to make good the dues at once. He was also asked to release the interned members of Mīr Jumla's family. But the real attitude and intentions of Aurangzeb are revealed in his unmistakable mandate to his son, Muhammad Sultān, whom he sent in advance.

'Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, "I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to say with you. But, as you have not done so, I have myself come to you." Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously, and, if you can manage it, *lighten his neck of the burden of his head.* The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand."[1]

Though Kutb Shāh's neck was not lightened of the burden of his head, the expected happened. The fabulous riches of Golkonda were plundered, and Aurangzeb, who joined his son on Feb. 6, 1656, would have wholly annexed the kingdom, but for Shāh Jahān's countermanding *farmān.* Accordingly, the siege was raised on 30th March. Peace was concluded with the Kutb Shāh, whose daughter was also married to Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultān, who (by a secret understanding) was to succeed Abdu-lla on the throne of Golkonda ; considerable remissions were made in the tribute due from the Kutb Shāh ; the district of Rangir (Manikdrug and Chinoor) was ceded to the Empire ; and Mīr Jumla was admitted into the Imperial service, given the title of Muazzam Khān with rank of 6,000, and on the death of Sadullah Khān

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* I, p. 208. The Court historian Inayat Khān, however, puts the blame on Kutb Shāh who according to him 'under the influence of the fumes of arrogance, would not heed, etc.' (E. & D., op. cit., pp. 109-10).

appointed prime-minister of Shāh Jahān. "The deceased minister," according to Smith, "although unfortunate in his military adventures, was reputed one of the best Muhammadan administrators whom India has known."[1]

Bijapur.

For twenty years, since the treaty of 1636, Bijapur had enjoyed considerable prosperity under her able Sultan Muhammad Adil Shāh. But, unfortunately, this great ruler died on Nov. 4, 1656, leaving his kingdom to his eighteen years old son and factions. Aurangzeb, ever watchful for an opportunity, obtained permission from Shāh Jahān 'to settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit.' Though Bijapur was not a vassal state, he put forward a claim to settle its succession on the absurd plea that the boy-Sultan was not the son of his predecessor but only an obscure pretender.

The Mughal armies once again flooded the Adil-shāhī territory. Mīr Jumla was called from the north to co-operate with Aurangzeb. The important fortress of Bidar (which had come into the possession of Bijapur in 1609) was the first to be besieged.

'This strong fortress was 4,500 yards (*darā*) in circumference, and twelve yards high; and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (*gaz*) wide, and fifteen yards deep, cut in the stone. The Prince (Aurangzeb) went out with Muzzam Khān (Mīr Jumla) and reconnoitred the fort on all sides. He settled the places for the lines of approach, and named the forces which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the citadel, in the course of ten days Muazzam Khān and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several times the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded . . . .' At the end of March, 1657, however, Bidar fell after a gallant resistance. 'The commandant of the fortress (Sidi Marjan), with great humility, sued for quarter, and as he was mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince who presented them with *khilats*,

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 407.

and promised them the Imperial favour. On the day after giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built 200 years before, in the reign of the Bahmani Sultāns, he caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Emperor .... This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve *lacs* of rupees in money, and eight *lacs* of rupees in lead, gun-powder, stores, and other munition of fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.'[1]

Next, 'Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of Adil Khān were collecting at Kulbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Mahābat Khān, with 15,000 well-mounted cavalry to chastise these forces, and not to leave one trace of cultivation in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the owls and kites.....Mahābat Khān (II) then ravaged Kalyāni, and continued his march. Every day the black-coated masses of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat....'[2]

Kalyāni, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas (40 miles west of Bidar) was besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657; it capitulated, after a brave defence, on 1st Aug. 1657. Now the road to Bijapur lay open to the invaders. But, as in the case of Golkonda before, Shāh Jahān at the nick of the moment called off the campaign. Peace, however, left Bidar, Kalyāni, and Parenda in the possession of the Mughals. The Sultan also agreed to pay an indemnity of 1¼ crores, a third of which was remitted by Shāh Jahān. The illness of Shāh Jahān and the ensuing disorders soon changed the whole face of affairs.

1. 'Bidar is a pleasant, well built city', writes the same chronicler, 'and stands on the borders of Telingana. It is related in the histories of Hindustan, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Rais of the Dakhin, and that the Rais of the Karnātik, Mahrātta (Country), and Telingana were subject to the Rai of Bidar. Daman (Damayanti), the beloved of King Nala of Mālwa, whose story Shaikh Faizi has told in the poem entitled *Nal o Daman*, was daughter of Bhim Sen, the *marzban* of Bidar. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Tughlik, first subdued the place. After that it passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijapur. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions.' *Amal-i Sālih*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 124-6.

2. Ibid., pp. 126-28.

Disputed Succession (1657-58).

The sickening tale of the fratricidal war of succession need not detain us long. Though it lasted only a little less than a year, from the illness of Shāh Jahān, in September 1657, to the coronation of Aurangzeb, in July 1658, its trailing cloud of crime cast a portentous shadow over the future of the Empire. Kāmrān, Askari, Hindāl, Hakim, Salim, Khūsrū, and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humāyun, otherwise humane, had been forced into a fratricidal war in spite of himself by the treachery of his brothers; Jahāngīr, out of sheer impatience, had opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the emulation of his successors; Shāh Jahān had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers Khūsrū, Parvīz, Shahriyār and other relations. Aurangzeb was only following too closely the examples of his predecessors. The unfortunate, though perhaps, unconscious motto of the house seemed to be: '*Kingship knows no kinship;* the watchword of the brothers who were now at death-grips with one another appeared to be: '*takht ya takhta,*—either crown or coffin.

Princes Dārā Shikoh, Shūja, Aurangzeb, and Murād were all uterine brothers. Their ages were respectively 43, 41, 39, and 33 years, at the time of this fateful struggle. The eldest seemed to be the father's favourite, and would have normally succeeded to the throne. Though he spent most of his time at the Capital with Shāh Jahān, he was nominally the viceroy of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Shūja was governor of Bengal and Orissa; Aurangzeb of the Deccan; and Murād of Gujarat. All four were reputed soldiers, though each of the other three yielded the palm to Aurangzeb in point of steadiness and strength of character, astuteness, and generalship. In religious outlook also, Aurangzeb was as determined to uphold orthodox Sunni Islām as his brothers were either latitudinarian or namby-pamby. Dārā was eclectic like Akbar, Shūja was Shia, and Murād, at least for political purposes, a hater of heresies. Hence the first combi-

nation of the younger two against the two elder[1]; once the discomfiture of the former was achieved the latter were quits. Aurangzeb had the same axe for all, though Dārā was executed to all appearances, on a charge of heresy and Murād on a charge of murder. Shuja escaped beyond the north-eastern frontier only to be done to death by the Arakanese. Dārā's son, Suleiman Shikoh, was not treated more unkindly than Aurangzeb's own son, Muhammad Sultan, for crimes which were not dissimilar in the eyes of the fanatical Aurangzeb : the former had fought for his father, and the latter for his father-in-law (and uncle) Shuja, who were equally heretical and therefore equally hateful,—both were imprisoned and then 'sent to hell.' But in spite of all this Aurangzeb was not a blood-thirsty fiend : as Smith writes, "Aurangzeb, while not shrinking from any severity deemed necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for indiscriminate, superfluous blood-shed ; and when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youths to live."[2] Nay, he went a step further and married his two daughters, the third and the fifth respectively to Sipihr Shikoh (younger son of Dārā) and Izid Bakhsh (son of Murād).

'As at a signal, straight the sons prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war ;

1. Cf. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 324-26. "M. Amin, the author of *Zafarnāmah*, says that after the failure of the 2nd Qandahar campaign, Shuja and Aurangzib, on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Dihli, where they stopped for six days to cement the bond of friendship between them (their common hatred of their eldest brother Dārā)...Shuja betrothed his daughter to Sultan Muhammad and Aurangzib betrothed his daughter to Zain-al-abidin. On the receipt of the report of the serious illness of the Emperor, Aurangzib, Shuja, and Murād opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the exchange of letters, relays were established at convenient stages between Gujarat and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa. Some of these letters which have survived destruction, and have come down to us unfold a thrilling story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Dārā. It is clear that the advance of Shuja from Bengal, and of Murād and Aurangzib from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, in which they promised to meet near Agra.... 'if the enemy attacks only one of us, the other two should try to prevent him.'"

2. Smith *O. H.*, p. 412.

Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose fate it was to reign.'

The Fratricidal War.

From the point of view of our study of the Empire no purpose would be served by going into the details of this war. When all is stated, it only illustrated : the basic weakness of a system that could be set at naught at the merest illness of the Emperor ; the darker side of the family tradition of the house of Tīmūr that exalted pelf and power above everything else ; and the consummate ability of Aurangzeb in diplomacy and war in contrast with the political impotency of his brothers. The circumstances which led to the discomfiture and death of the weaker parties may be briefly stated as follows :—

1. When Shāh Jahān fell ill, in September 1657, he formally nominated Dārā Shikoh his successor, to avert the possible tragedy of a war of succession.[1]

2. In spite of this, on the 5th December 1657, Murād proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmadabad, struck coins and had the *khutba* read in his own name.

3. Shūja did the same at Rājmahal in Bengal, and marched with an army and fleet towards Benares which he reached on January 24, 1658.

4. Aurangzeb, quick to apprehend the situation, but too shrewd to precipitate matters, proposed to act, not in his own

1. According to the *Inayat-nāma* (cited ibid., p. 325), Aurangzeb wrote to Murad : 'I understand that the influence of the enemy (Dārā) in administration, transfers and appointments has attained undesirable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army....We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything undesirable in our letters.' He also wrote to the Emperor (ibid., pp. 329-30) : 'You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs ; it is the eldest Prince who has usurped it....As he cannot succeed against me, it would be better for him to retire to his *jāgīr* in the Punjab, and leave your service in my hands.

But Manucci, who was in the service of Dārā, has a different story from that implied above : 'Some authors, he writes, 'recording what they have been told, say that Dārā seized his father and divested him of his power by force ; but I assert this to be a great untruth, for I know, and have tested it that Dārā was quite submissive.' (*Papys*, p. 51).

name, but in the interests of Islām and his younger brother Murād. The Empire was to be saved from the heresies of Dārā and Shūja ; a third of the booty was to be given to Murād together with the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh : the rest to be retained by Aurangzeb himself.

5. Mīr Jumla who was called to the north, by order of Shāh Jahān, was not allowed by Aurangzeb to proceed from the Deccan. He was arrested and his army thus made available for Aurangzeb. Smith says, "The circumstances indicate that probably Mīr Jumla connived at his own arrest. Certainly he did not resent it, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally invaluable support when released..... Mīr Jumla's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful."[1]

6. At the beginning of February 1658, Aurangzeb too assumed Imperial prerogatives. On 3rd April he crossed the Narmada and joined forces with Murād, near Ujjain.

7. On 15 April, 1658, the Imperial army, under Kāsim Khān and Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, was defeated at Dharmat, (14 miles s-w. of Ujjain) by the rebel Princes. Jaswant Singh fled from the battle-field, but his wife would not give him shelter after such rank cowardice !

8. Dārā Shikoh then encountered the rebels at Samugarh (8 miles to the east of Agra fort), on May 29, 1658. A mere accident in this well-contested battle, in which the Rajputs 'did honour to the traditions of their race,' turned the tide in favour of Aurangzeb. "*The battle* (of Samugarh)," as Smith says, "*really decided the war of succession.* All the subsequent efforts to retrieve the cause then lost, whether made by Dārā Shikoh himself, by his son Suleiman Shikoh, or by Shūja and Murād Bakhsh, were in vain. Aurangzeb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1660, when Shūja met his miserable fate."[2]

1. *O. H.*, p. 410.
2. Ibid., p. 411.
The success of Aurangzeb was largely due to his better equipment and generalship. Manucci observes that although Dārā's army made 'a brave and splendid show,' the greater number of them 'were

9. *On 8th June 1658* Aurangzeb took possession of Agra fort and imprisoned Shāh Jahān therein for life.[1] Shāh Jahān died there on 22nd January 1666, gazing for the last time on the tomb of his beloved wife with whom he now lies buried.

10. Murād was apprehended on June 25, 1658, and finally imprisoned and executed at Gwalior, in December 1661. A charge of murder was brought against him by the son of Ali Naki who was Murād's one time Dīwān. The Prince was tried and condemned by a Kāzi 'with all the forms of law.'

11. On July 21, 1658, Aurangzeb had himself crowned, though his formal enthronement was deferred until June 1659.

12. Suleiman Shikoh had defeated Shūja at Bahādurpur (near Benares) in February 1658. Aurangzeb again routed him at Khajwah (Fathpur District), on January 5, 1659. Thence he fled to Arakan where he met with his death in May 1660.

13. Dārā was hunted from place to place through Multan, Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat. He was betrayed once near

not very warlike; they were butchers, barbers, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and such-like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well at a review: but they had no heart, and knew nothing of war.' (*Pepys*, p. 53) 'Dārā', he further points out, 'had not sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing-women and buffoons of his father, and gave undue credit to the words of the traitors.' (Ibid., p. 59).

1. Manucci refers in touching terms to the sufferings and humiliation of Shāh Jahān in his prison life, to which he was eye-witness: 'Going thus several times,' he says, 'I noted the imprisonment of Shāh Jahān was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the Governor (Itibar Khān), that there did not come under eunuchs to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shāh Jahān, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company share in what was going on inside, adding some foul expressions in disparagement of Shāh Jahān. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave....so that by force of ill-treatment, the wretched old man might die. I do not know how it was with the others who were present when this was done, but I certainly felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shāh Jahān lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan; it was doubly sad when remembered that Itibar Khān was formerly slave of this same Shāh Jahān, by whom he was given to Aurangzeb.' (Ibid., pp. 111-12).

Ajmer, by Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. Finally, while he was trying to escape to Persia, he was again betrayed by Malik Jiwan Khān, the Afghan chief of Dhandar (near Bolan Pass), on June 9, 1658. The death of his beloved wife Nadira Begam (daughter of Parvīz) had much distracted Dārā. 'Death was painted in his eyes....Everywhere he saw only destruction, and losing his senses became utterly heedless of his own affairs.' In the words of Khāfī Khān, 'Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dārā, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium .... At the end of *Zi-l hijja*, 1069 (Sept. 1659), the order was given for Dārā Shikoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed in a *howda* and carried round the city (as once before when he was alive). So once alive and once dead he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humāyun.'[1]

Dārā, like Khūsrū, was an enlightened and popular Prince. Bernier, who was an eye-witness to these tragic happenings, records: 'Everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dārā in the most touching language .... from every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks, ... men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves.'[2] Several works

1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubab*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 244-46.
2. *Travels*, II, p. 544.
'Dārā,' writes Bernier, 'was not deficient in good qualities: he was courteous in conversation, quick in repartee, polite, and extremely liberal: but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself; believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him, and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible; apt to menace; abusive and insulting even to the greatest Omrahs; but this anger was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammadan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion; but although thus publicly professing his adherence to

are attributed to Dārā Shikoh. (1) *Sirr-ul-asrar,* a translation of the 50 *Upanishads;* (2) *Majmua-ul-Baharain,* a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu *Vedānta* with *Sufi* equivalents; (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal*; (4) *Sakinat-ul-awliya* containing lives of the Muslim saints; (5) *Risala-i-Lagnuma;* and (6) a Persian translation of the *Atharva-veda.* The charges levelled against him were (*a*) That he conversed with Brahmans, Yogis, and Sanyasis; (*b*) that he regarded the Hindu *Vedas* as revealed literature; (*c*) that he wore rings and ornaments with the inscription '*Prabhu*' on them; and (*d*) that he disregarded the injunctions of Islām regarding the observance of the fast of *Ramzān,* etc.

VI. GOLDEN AGE OF THE EMPIRE

The Empire for which the brothers fought so furiously was yet to grow to its fullest extent in the next reign; but it is certain that it was never more prosperous than during the thirty years (1627-57) of Shāh Jahān's rule. In spite of the early rebellions, which were soon crushed; in spite of the foreign wars of aggression beyond the frontiers, which cost enormously with no return whatsoever; in spite of the famine in the Deccan and Gujarat, which devastated a vast portion of the country; and in spite of the constant fighting in the Deccan, which, while it resulted in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, also involved a great drain in the resources of the Empire, the age of Shāh Jahān showed much that was glorious, and many an unmistakable sign of unique prosperity, to justify this period being described as the Golden Age of the Empire.

Prosperity.

Rai Bhāra Mal, in his *Lubb-at-tawārikh,* records with admiration: 'The means employed by the King (Shāh Jahān) in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his

its faith, Dārā was in private a Gentile with Gentiles and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about him some of the Pundits or Gentile doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Rev. Fr. Brusse, a Jesuit in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce.'

knowledge of what made for their welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants, and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil doers, oppressors and malcontents, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire. The pargana which had brought in three *lacs* in Akbar's reign now yielded ten, though some fell short, and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded, and *vice versa.* The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate his under predecessors.'[1]

European Criticism.

European critics, partly judging by modern standards, and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was ever more prosperous than in our own times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above description, except grudgingly and with qualifications. Thus we come across statements like the following : " The reign of Shāh Jahān, which covers nearly thirty years, from 1627 to 1658, is *usually regarded* as the golden period of Mughal rule. It was *outwardly* a period of great prosperity. Foreign wars were few and unimportant ; at home there was peace and *apparent* plenty, and the royal treasury

1. Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources,* p. 110.
According to Moreland (*The Agrarian System of Moslem India,* p. 126), " Under Akbar the rapidly increasing Imperial expenditure was more than covered by the growth of the Empire, and reserves in cash were accumulated. Jahāngīr neglected the administration,... ...and.... the annual income from the Reserved tracts fell to 50 lakhs of rupees, while the annual expenditure was 150 lakhs, and the accumulated treasure was drawn on for large sums. *Shāhjahān on his accession, put the finances on a sound basis : he reserved tracts calculated to yield 150 lakhs, as income, fixed the normal expenditure at 100 lakhs and had thus a large recurring balance for emergencies. Expenditure rose far above this limit but careful administration raised the reserved income to 300 lakhs (the figure given in Maāsir-ul-Umra) by 1547, and to nearly 400 lakhs by the end of the reign.* Aurangzeb at first aimed to maintain the balance between income and expenditure, but his long wars in the Deccan were ruinous, and at his death only 10 or 12 krors of rupees were left in the treasury, a sum which was rapidly dissipated by his successors."

seemed full to overflowing. *Yet despite* the vast treasure which Shāh Jahān had inherited from his father and grandfather; *despite* the growth of a large trade between Indian and western Asia, which was *rendered possible by the existence of a strong Government in Persia; despite* the establishment of the export trade with Europe, which certainly brought *some* profit to the Mughal Empire; and *in spite* of other *apparent advantages, the reign of Shāh Jahān sounded the knell of the Empire and of its economic system.*" The writer further elaborates: "To meet the expenditure of Shāh Jahān's *extravagant bureaucracy* and to pay for the splendid architectural monuments, which alone would render his reign memorable, *an insupportable burden was laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,* upon whom the very life of the Empire ultimately depended. *Thus was engendered* the *national insolvency* which, becoming more marked during the reign of his successor, proved one of the most potent factors in the subsequent disintegrations of the great organization which he inherited from Akbar and Jahāngīr".[1]

A more skilful piece of subtle disparagement, which looks like impartial appreciation, is difficult to find. We do not seek to extenuate the crimes and shortcomings of Shāh Jahān's reign, but it is necessary to admit the undoubted prosperity of howsoever short a period without mixing up with it matters of an extraneous nature. Discussion of 'extravagant bureaucracies' and 'insupportable burdens laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,' as well as the 'engendering of national insolvency,' would land us in controversies far beyond the scope of this work; but it is certainly not permissible to father the sins of his successors upon Shāh Jahān. In the first place the splendid 'extravagance' of Shāh Jahān was never imitated by his puritanical successor Aurangzeb;[2] on the contrary, the solicitude for the agriculturists, from whatever motive, was continued by Aurangzeb; and lastly, the springs

1. Edwards and Garrett, op. cit., p. 99. (Italics mine.)
2. "The puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of those things.... generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts." (Smith, *O. H.*, p. 419.)

of Aurangzeb's actions are not to be traced to the initiative of his father whom he hated, imprisoned, and superseded. The complexity of forces that brought about 'the disintegrations of the great organization' of the Mughal Empire will be discussed in the proper place.

To cite another example of the undue severity of biased criticism, Vincent Smith observes: "Shāh Jahān has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment *unduly favourable*. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural master-piece, the Tāj, have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have slurred over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed."[1] In his zeal to correct this 'unduly favourable' picture of Shāh Jahān, Smith has overshot the mark, and 'slurred over his many' virtues and 'exaggerated such' crimes as he was guilty of. Apart from Shāh Jahān's personal failings as a son, as a brother, as a father, and finally as a widower, "In affairs of state," says Smith, "he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous"; though he does not fail to add "*perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time*, but certainly not better." Then, "He had little skill as a military leader," the organization and command of his army was inefficient. "*Shāh Jahān's 'justice' was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion.*" (Shades of Charles I and Louis XIV bear witness!) Peter Mundy and "Other travellers bear similar testimony to *the misgovernment of the country*." Bernier, "a highly trained observer," who was "deeply interested as a student in what he saw," and "free from personal bias for or against either Shāh Jahān or Aurangzeb," is one that "cannot be brushed aside" as "a hostile European witness." "He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich

1. *O. H.*, p. 415. (Italics mine.)

beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression." His "pessimistic observations" and "gloomy impressions" regarding "the upper provinces" are then faithfully cited: 'Thus do ruin and desolation overspread the land' (Bernier's *Travels*, p. 231). "Similar ruin and tyranny had been the fate of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1653, in the interval between the first and second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb," when a great famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarat. "The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shāh Jahān's rule had therefore a *dark background of suffering and misery seldom exposed to view.*" Then follow "a few phrases of painful vividness" from the pen of "the official historian, Abdu-l Hamīd," who "contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity."

Yet Smith denies the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shāh Jahān described by the *same* writer; for, "So far as Mundy saw, *nothing to help the suffering people was done by the government;* though "Meantime, the camp of Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur was filled with provisions of all kinds." Of course "*No statistics are on record*"; but we are not without imagination. Though "Even the nature of the consequent pestilence *is not mentioned*," "it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims." For, "Sir Richard Temple, the editor of Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that "it is worthwhile to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter of fact observations on this famine,' *in order to realize the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of its glory and those prevailing under the modern British government.*"[1]

Other Side of the Picture:

Nevertheless, Elphinstone is perfectly right when he describes the Age of Shāh Jahān as "*the most prosperous ever known in India,....together with a larger share of good government than often falls to*

1. *O. H.*, pp. 415-18, 393-94.

the lot of Asiatic nations. Notwithstanding Shāh Jahān's love of ease and pleasure .... he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements—such as his survey of the Deccan.[1]

"Khāfī Khān, the best historian of those times, gives his

1. "His ministers were men of the highest ability. Sad-Allah' Allāmi, a converted Hindu, was the most upright statesman of his age; and Ali Mardān and Asaf Khān were men of approved integrity and energy." (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 15.)

The improvement of the administration in the Deccan was the work of Aurangzeb and Murshid Quli Khān. The former at that time was Viceroy in the Deccan. The latter was a native of Khurasan who had come to India in the train of Ali Mardān Khān, the Persian Governor of Kandahar who had come over to the Mughal side. He is said to have combined in himself 'the valour of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant.'

The maladministration of predecessors had considerably reduced the treasury and revenues. "At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officers from their *jāgīrs*, produced an annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000, which was made good by drawing the reserves stored in the treasuries of the Deccan.... When appointing him to the Deccan, *Shāh Jahān had urged Aurangzib to pay special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation.* Aurangzib had promised to do his best for these objects.... The new *diwan's* reform consisted in extending Todar Mal's system to the Deccan. First he worked hard to gather the scattered *ryots* together and restore the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper chain of officers. Everywhere wise *amins* and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings (*raqba*), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. Where a village had lost its headman (*muqadam*) he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer *ryots* were granted loans (*taqavi*) from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments."

His second reform was to adopt the system to the varying needs of each locality. Thirdly, "The revenue at the fixed rate of so many Rs. per *bhīga* was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market price, and actually measuring the sown area. This became the prevalent system in the *subahs* of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as the '*dhara* of Murshid Quli Khān.' His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years." (Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 26-9.)

opinion, that, although Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, yet *for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shāh Jahān....*

"Mandelsloe describes Agra as at least twice as large as Isfahan (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we will see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed cause-ways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation....

"Shāh Jahān was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances....

"Notwithstanding the unamiable character given of him in his youth the personal conduct of Shāh Jahān seems to have been blameless when on the throne.[1] His treatment of his

1. "The popular view that the life of a Moghul Emperor was an increasing round of pleasure, lasciviousness, sport and sensuality, is refuted by the very minute details of his (Shāh Jahān's) daily routine, which we come across in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly adhered to, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shāh Jahān led a strenuous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport." (Saksena, op cit., p. 238; Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-15.)

people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons.'[1]

This certainly does not seem an overdrawn or 'unduly favourable' picture considering the almost unanimous verdict of unbaised observers, and in the clear light of facts. "Tavernier who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that *Shāh Jahān 'reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children';* and goes on to commend the strictness of his civil Government, and speaks in high terms of the security enjoyed under it.... Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jahāngīr (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account :—'Hence, generally, all live much after a genteel way ; and they do it securely as well, because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries)."[2]

Even Bernier, whose "gloomy impressions" are emphasised by Vincent Smith,[3] writes of the prosperity of Bengal under Shāh Jahān in the following terms :—

'Bengale abounds with every necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Half-castes, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion, assured me that *Ogouli* (Hugli) alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand. *The*

1. Elphintsone, op. cit., pp. 600-603.
2. Ibid., p. 600 n.
3. *O. H.*, p. 418. Smith himself does not fail to acknowledge : "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shāhjahān or the efficiency of his administration, it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire."—Ibid., pp. 418-19.

rich exuberance of *the Country*, together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, *has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.*

'*In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar,.....there is in Bengale such quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common store house for those two kinds of Merchandise, not of Hindoustan or the Empire of the Great Mogol only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengale for the supply of the whole of the Mogol Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabol (Kabul), and generally of all those foreign nations to which the Cottons are sent.... The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.*

'*Bengale is also the principal emporium for saltpetre. It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies, and to Europe.*

'*Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper and various drugs are obtained; and butter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.*"[1]

1. *Travels*, pp. 438-40.

Shāh Jahān's Justice.

Manucci has recorded that, when his patron Bellamont (who was the exiled Charles II's ambassador to the Mughal Court) died, two English imposters, pretending to be Imperial officers, wanted to appropriate to themselves all the effects and belongings of that stranger in the Empire. When Shāh Jahān came to know of this, he ordered all the property to be restored to the rightful assignee of the dead envoy with the exception of an Arab horse 'which he kept for himself, *giving an order to pay to the said John (Young) one thousand pataca (Rs. 2,000), the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the latter which was destined for him.*'[1] This unique conduct even towards an unknown stranger in the land but illustrates the Emperor's sense of fairness and justice towards all people. Bernier has also observed that 'in Hindoustan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and *the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King's domain.*'[2] In the light of these statements of disinterested Europeans, Rāi Bhāra Mal's eulogy regarding Shāh Jahān's administration of justice is not difficult to understand : Says he,

'Notwithstanding the great area of this country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, *viz.*, Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice ; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the *darogha* of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court .... *In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King toward the promotion of the national weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace.* But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot (where the offence had been

1. *A Pepys of Mughal India*, p. 45.
2. *Travels*, p. 354.

committed) according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers : and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the governor or *dīwān*, or to the *kāzī* of the *suba, the matter was reviewed, and judgment was awarded with great care and discrimination lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done.* If parties were not satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief *dīwān*, or to the chief *kazi* on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries, with all this care, what cases, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty.'[1]

Financial Administration.

Moreland has indeed pointed out that *the reign of Shāh Jahān was "a period of agrarian tranquillity,"* though the condition of the peasants became worse towards the beginning of the next reign.[2] This prosperity under Shāh Jahān was largely due to his "careful administration," which raised the income of the State beyond all precedents.[3] The testimony of Rāi Bhāra Mal, already cited in confirmation of this, is sought to be disparaged by some on the ground that the actual orders of Shāh Jahān on matters therein referred to are not traceable. Moreland is certainly not correct in describing the author of the *Lubbu-t Tawārikh* as "a later writer"; for the Rāi himself speaks of 'the writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion,' being 'honoured with an audience of the King (Shāh Jahān).' His account, we repeat, unmistakably points to the efficiency, benevolence, and undoubted prosperity of Shāh Jahān's Empire.[4]

It is not possible here to make an accurate estimate of the extent of this prosperity.[5] We, therefore, give below only a few of its visible indications, from which readers might draw their own conclusions :—

1. In 1647, Shāh Jahān sent, as a thanks-offering, a jewelled candle-stick 'to the revered tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest favours and blessings !), an account of which is here given ..... Having selected out of the amber candle-sticks that he had

1. *Lubbu-t Tawārkh-i Hind*, E. & D., op. cit., VII pp. 172-73.
2. Moreland, op. cit., p. 131.
3. Ibid., p. 126.
4. Ibid., p. 130 ; E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 171-172.
5. Cf. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 16-20.

amongst his private property the largest of them all, which weighed 700 *tolas*, and was worth 10,000 *rupees*, he commanded that it should be covered with a net-work of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamonds[1] should also be included. In short, that incomparable candle-stick cost two *lacs* and 50,000 *rupees*, of which one *lac* and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining *lac* the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candle-stick. Mir Saiyid Ahmad Said Bahari, who had once before conveyed charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this precious offering ; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarat should purchase a *lac* and 60,000 *rupees*' worth of goods for the sacred fane, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Out of this he was directed to present 50,000 *rupees*' worth to the Sheriff of Mecca ; to sell 60,000 *rupees*' worth, and distribute the proceeds together with any profits that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city ; and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medina. The above named Saiyid, who was in receipt of only a daily stipend, was promoted to a suitable *mansab*, and having been munificently presented with a dress of honour and a donation of 12,000 *rupees*, received his dismissal.[2]

2. 'Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, gratuities for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakhshan, and Kandahar, amounted, at one disbursement only, to fourteen *krors* of *rupees*, and the advances made on account of edifices only were *two krors* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others.'[3]

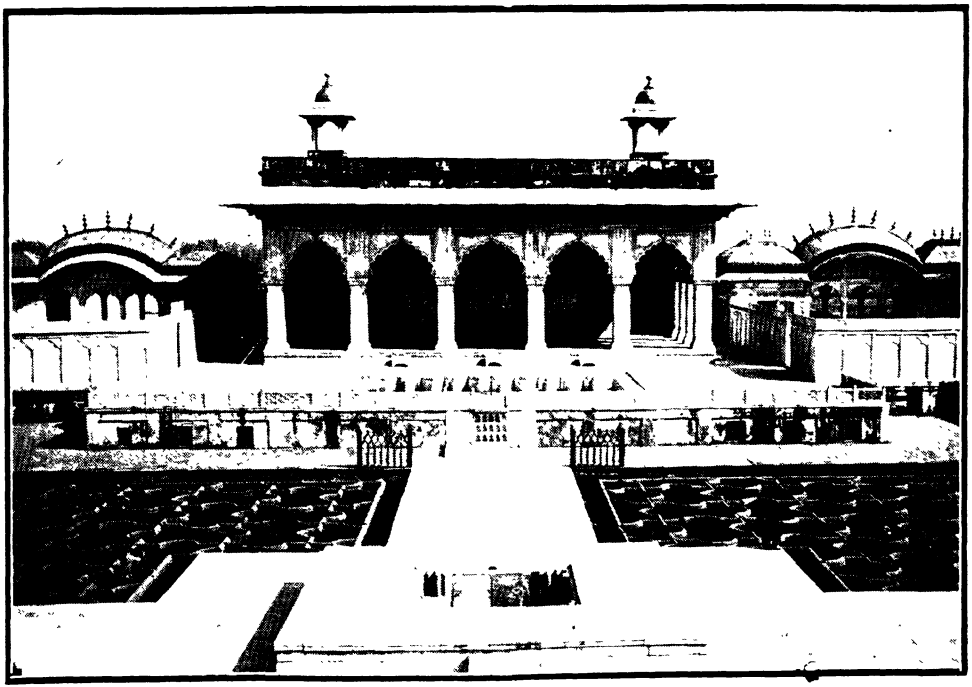
3. 'In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Venus, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun. Upon the accession of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of far-seeing men, the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping

1. The diamond in question was got from Golkonda as part of [illegible]'s tribute, and weighed in its rough state 180 *ratis* : 'after His Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away as much of the outer surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties there remained a rare gem of 100 *ratis* weight, valued by the jewellers at one *lac* and 50,000 *rupees*' (*Shāh Jahān-nāma* of Inayat Khān, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 84).
2. Ibid., pp. 84-5.
3. *Lubbu-t Tawārikh*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 171.

of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of empire. They ought, therefore, to be put to such a use, that beholders might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 200 *lacs* of *rupees*, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees*, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to Be-badal Khān, the superintendent of the gold-smith's department. There was also to be given to him one *lac* of *tolas* of pure gold, equal to 250,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees* in value. The throne (which was ordered to be constructed) was to be three *gaz* in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with the above-mentioned jewels. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems, the inside was to be thickly set with rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of each pillar there were to be two peacocks thickset with gems and between each two peacocks a tree set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. This throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 *lacs* of *rupees*.'[1]

4. 'The following is an exact account of the founding of the splendid fort in the above-named metropolis (Shāhjahānābād), with its edifices resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Delhi, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the omniscient mind that he should select on the banks of the aforesaid river some pleasant site, distinguished by its genial climate, where he might found a splendid fort and delightful edifices, agreeably to the promptings of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river. When, after a long search, a piece of ground outside the city of Delhi, lying between the most distant suburbs and Nūrgarh, commonly called Salimgarh, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 25th *Zi-l hijja*, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1048 A. H., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies, according to the plan devised, in the august presence. Active labourers were then employed in digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 9th of *Muharram*, of the year coinciding with 1049 A. K. (1639 A.D.), the

1. *Bādshāh-nāma*, op. cit., pp. 45-6.



INSIDE FORT, AGRA

foundation stone of that noble structure was laid. Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience, they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of *Rabiu-l awwal*, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1058 A. H., at an outlay of 60 *lacs* of *rupees*, after taking nine years, three months, and some days in building.'[1]

5. The Tāj Mahal, by common consent the most admired mausoleum in the world, enshrining the remains of Mumtāz-i Mahal, Shāh Jahān's beloved queen who died on Tuesday, 7th June, 1631 (17 *Zi-l kada*, 1040 A. H.) at Burhānpur, was built on a plot purchased from Rāja Jai Singh (grandson of Rāja Mān Singh) south of Agra city, at a cost of 9 *krors* and 17 *lacs* of *rupees*,[2] according to the *Dīwāni-Afridi*. It was begun early in 1632 and completed in January 1643, under the supervision of Mukarramat Khān and Mīr Abdul Karīm. The *Dīwān-i-Afridi* also names the following artisans employed in its construction :—" Amanat Khān Shirāzi, writer of Tughra inscriptions, from Qandahar ; Master Isa Khān, mason, a citizen of Agra; Master Pira, carpenter, a resident of Delhi ; Banuhar, Jhat Mal, and Zorawar, sculptors, from Delhi; Ismail Khān Rumi, maker of the dome and the scaffolding supporting it ; and Rām Mal Kashmiri, gardner.' It also gives a list of twenty varieties of precious stones set in the Tāj, got from 'Qandahar, Ceylon, " the upper world ", Nile, Basrah and Ormaz, Jodhpur, Kumaon, Makrans, Bamas, Yemen, Atlantic Ocean, Ghorband, Gandak, Baba Budhan, Mount Sinai, Gwalior, Persia, and Assam.[3]

Rev. H. Heras following the wake of V. A. Smith tried to make out a case for the Italian Geronimo Veroneo, as the architect of the Tāj, on the testimony of two contemporary Jesuit Fathers, Manrique and De Castro. Veroneo was a Venetian jeweller who died at Lahore on 2nd August, 1640. Father Manrique appears to have got the information from De Castro (then Rector of the Jesuit College, Agra) who administered the last unction to Veroneo at the time of his death. His statement is as follows :—

1. *Shāh Jahān-nāma*, op. cit., pp. 85-6.
2. Only 50 *lacs* according to other estimates, see Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 30.
3. Ibid., pp. 33-31.

'The architect of these works was a Venetian, by name Geronimo Veroneo, who had come to this part in a Portuguese ship and died in the city of Laor (Lahore) just before I reached it.

'The Emperor Corrombo (Khurram) paid him a very high salary. .... Fame, the swift conveyor of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him and informed him that he desired to erect a great sumptuous tomb to his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some designs for this, for the Emperor's inspection.

'The architect Veroneo carried out this order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in this art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture. He pleased this ruler in respect of the designs, but, in his barbaric pride and arrogance, His Majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimates, and it is said that, becoming angry, he told Veroneo to spend 3 *crores* of *rupees*, that is Rs. 300 *lakhs*, and to inform him when it was expended. This is so large a sum as to overawe one. If, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates, as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of the Agarene Empress, such heavy expenditure was not surprising.'[1]

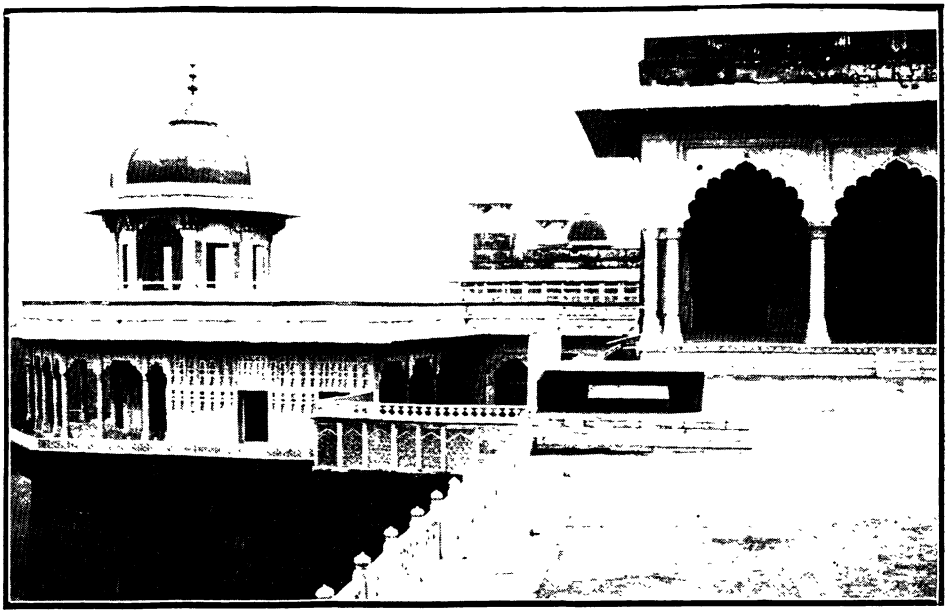
Sleeman, in his *Rambles and Recollections*,[2] suggests the name of another European architect, viz., the French engineer, Austin de Bourdeaux, whom he tries to identify with Ustād Isa Khān !

These views are contradicted by Sir John Marshall[3] and E. B. Havell[4] on grounds of faulty historical evidence and internal proofs of style.

Mr. Arthur U. Pope, more trenchantly declares : "The myth that the Tāj Mahal was built by an Italian now belongs to the realm of bed-time stories."[5]

6. An idea of the wealth accumulated by the nobility may be had from the following account of Asaf Khān's property at the time of his death in 1641 A.D. It is, of course, not to be forgotten that Asaf Khān held a unique position in the Empire,

1. Cf. Smith *History* of *Fine Arts*, etc., pp. 183, 85 ; 416-18.
2. *Rambles and Recollections*, I, p. 385.
3. *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1904-05), pp. 1-3.
4. *Indian Architecture*, pp. 33-9.
5. For a report of the controversy see *The Examiner*, No. 11 pp. 123-25 (Bombay, 18th March, 1933) ; also Moinu-d-din Ahmad, *The Tāj and its Environments*, pp. 16-30 (2nd ed., Agra, 1924).



SAMAM BURJ, AGRA

by virtue of his relationship with the Emperor. The *Bādshāh nāma* states :

'He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the state had ever before attained. By the munificent favour of the Emperor, his *mansab* was nine thousand personal and nine thousand horse, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*, the pay of which amounted to sixteen *krors* and twenty *lacs* of *dāms*. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *rupees* was left for himself. .... Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty *lacs* of *rupees*, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *krors* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. There were 30 *lacs* of *rupees* in jewels, three *lacs* of *ashrafis* equal to 42 *lacs* of *rupees*, one *kror* and 25 *lacs* in *rupees*, 30 *lacs* in gold and silver utensils, and 23 *lacs* in miscellaneous articles.'[1]

Comments.

This vast wealth, though to all appearances concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and the nobility, and spent in war and luxury, could not have been extorted from an indigent peasantry. The only revolts under Shāh Jahān were not reactions to the alleged oppression of the rulers, whether central or local, but the expression of the normal ambitions of medieval nobility. The only exception to this was the intransigent conduct of the Portuguese at Hugli, whose oppressions and exactions drew upon themselves the might of Imperial arms. Manucci has more than once observed how he sought fortune and security within the Empire, while he met with chicanery and risk to life in the European settlements. In one place he remarks, 'Joas Antunes Portugal was incensed at this affair (a just award, of money due to Manucci, by an impartial tribunal), and, in place of being sorry, sought means to take my life. If he did not succeed, it was because I did not remain in Goa, but returned to the Mogul Prince's service.'[2] 'The fellows,' he writes about the Portuguese, 'glory in cheating foreigners without scruple.'[3] He found less personal liberty, to do even humanitarian work for the poor and indigent, in Portuguese than in Mughal India.[4]

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 68-9.
2. *A. Pepys of Moghul India*, pp. 223-24.
3. Ibid., pp. 224-25.
4. Ibid., p. 221 ; see also pp. 134-36 and 220-31 for various other instances of oppression suffered by Manucci.

Conditions, no doubt, were more unsettled in medieval times than now all the world over, and robberies on roads were not infrequent. But Shāh Jahān did all in his power to render travelling within the Empire as safe as could be. One of the means he adopted was to provide caravansarais with proper equipments. 'For the use of wayfarers,' writes Manucci, 'there are throughout the realms of the Mogul on every route many *sarais*. They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, picket his horses by their fore and hind legs, above all that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves!

'At 6 o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings, if any one suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the *sarai*. Thus the thieves when they hear a complaint is made drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

'These *sarais* are only intended for travellers (*soldiers do not go into them*). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000 persons with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, verandahs, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops, also separate abode for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for the travellers.'[1]

Famine Relief.

The measures taken by Shāh Jahān for the relief of the famine-stricken in the earlier part of his reign, when his treasury was not so full as later, are worthy of note. Writes Lahorī: 'The Emperor in

1. *A Pepys of Moghul India*, p. 34.

his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials of Burhānpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhānpur 5,000 *rupees* should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one *lac* of *rupees* was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 *rupees* among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused distress in many other countries (districts). So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor *taxes amounting to nearly 70 lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eight krors of dams, and amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue.* When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jāgīrs* and *mansabs.*'[1]

Similar measures were adopted for relief of distressed peasantry in Kashmir (1641) and the Punjab (1646) when there was famine on account of heavy rainfall. On the former occasion 50,000 people appealed to Shāh Jahān for relief and he distributed among them Rs. 100,000, besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily ; and at the same time sent Rs. 30,000 to Tarbiyat Khān for further relief measures, and ordered the opening of five kitchens for the distribution of soup and bread in Kashmir. This officer having failed to manage the situation well, he was replaced by Zafar Khān, who was given a further grant of Rs. 20,000. In the Punjab, likewise, ten kitchens were opened and Saiyid Jalal was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. "Sold children were ransomed by the Government, and restored to their

1. E. &. D., op. cit., pp. 24-5.

parents. In February 1647 Shāh Jahān sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Punjab."[1]

In the face of this, Vincent Smith declares, while the people were dying of starvation "the camp of Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur was filled with provisions of all kinds," and "so far as Mundy saw, *nothing* to help the suffering people was done by the Government." With regard to the remission of taxes, above referred to, Smith dismisses them with the frivolous observation that "*The facts do not justify the historian's praise of the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shāh Jahān. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect ten-elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to 'the dire extremity,' and retaining no trace of productiveness.*"[2]

At least two instances of the construction of canals to improve agricultural prosperity are on record. The *Bādshāh-nāma* states :

(1) 'Ali Mardān Khān represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the palace where the river Rāvī descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor . . . gave to the Khān one *lac* of *rupees*, a sum of which experts estimated the expense, and the Khān then entrusted its formation to one of his trusted servants.' The canal even to this day bears witness. (2) 'The canal that Sultān Fīroz Shāh Khiljī, during the time he reigned at Delhi, had made to branch off from the river Jumna, in the vicinity of *pargana* Khizrābād, whence he brought it in a channel 30 Imperial *kos* long to the confines of *pargana* Safidun, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had after the Sultān's death, become in the course of time ruinous. While Sahābu-d dīn Ahmad Khān held the Government of Delhi, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to fertilize the places in his *jāgīr*, and hence it was called Nahr-i-Shāh ; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the sublime attention was turned to the building of this fort and palace (of Shāhjahānābād), it was commanded that the aforesaid canal from

1. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 292-93.
2. *O. H.*, p. 394.

Khizrābād to Safidun should be repaired, and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the regal residence, which also is a distance of 30 Imperial *kos*. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the Nahr- Bihist.' [1]

A further illustration of Shāh Jahān's benevolent intentions towards the peasantry is afforded by the same writer in the following statement :

'As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forces towards Kandahar (in 1649 A. D.) a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazni and its dependencies had been trodden under foot by the army, the merciful monarch, the *cherisher of his people*, despatched the sum of 2,000 gold *ashrafis*, in charge of a trusty individual, with directions *to inquire into the loss sustained by the agriculturists, and to distribute it among them accordingly*.' [2]

Art under Shāh Jahān.

This account of the Golden Age of the Mughal Empire cannot be closed without at least a brief reference to the cultivation of fine arts. The construction of the Peacock throne and the building of the Tāj Mahal, both of which took years to execute and gave employment to the finest workmen from all parts of the country, are but the best known of numerous works of art produced in this epoch. We have not the space to dwell at length on all phases of the cultural life under Shāh Jahān ; but as Dr. Saksena, in his excellent study of the subject, has truly observed, "The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, aritisans, all flocked to Court in search of patronage, and talent was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognise merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men."[3]

The *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque was built at Agra in seven years (1645-53) at a cost Rs. 300,000. In the words of St. Nihal Singh it was "designed by a craftsman who

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 67-8 and 86.
2. Ibid, p. 96.
3. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 246-47.

possessed the skill to make stone suggest the struggle of the soul to soar above mundane entanglements. Built on a high plateau, with a spacious court of white marble, surrounded by a gallery and column made of the same stone, its white, delicately shaped domes rise above the red, solid-looking ramparts, powerfully conveying that idea." [1]

The *Tāj Mahal*, details of the construction of which have already been given, seen from the *Samam Burj* or Jasmine Tower in Agra Fort (whence Shāh Jahān gazed at it for the last time from his prison window), reveals 'the pearly marble set off against the green foliage of the garden and the deep blue of the Indian sky, a sight the charm of which is never forgotten by any one who has had the good fortune to behold it.'

"Perhaps the most entrancing view is to be had on a tranquil night, when the full moon floats overhead lighting up the tomb with an ethereal glow, and the mausoleum is mirrored in the calm surface of the Jumna. The closer one examines the Tāj Mahal the more one admires it. The minutest detail has been carefully thought out and executed with tireless patience. In inscribing texts from the *Qurān* round the tall doorways the artists have shown themselves such masters of perspective that the letters thirty feet or more above the line of the eye appear to be exactly the same size as those a foot from the ground. The mosaic work is done with onyx, jasper, cornelian, carbuncle, malachite, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones." [2]

The Tāj still attracts tourists from all over the world and is perhaps the most admired mausoleum ever built by man. Human expression fails to convey in words the delicate

1. *India Old and New*, p. 72. Another writer has described it as 'a poem of fervent stone,' and observes: 'There is something more intense in the mystic impression of those denticulated arches, those white and blue perspectives, than in the flight of the Gothic perpendiculars ... The serenity of the Greek temple has not that passion petrified in beauty .... The sanctuary is alive, a mysterious soul throbs there between bliss and ecstasy.' (D'Humieres, *Through Isle and Empire*, pp. 225-6, cited by Edwardes and Garrett, op. cit., pp. 311-12.)

2. Ibid., p. 73.

message of its exquisite beauty : It has nevertheless been described as 'A Dream in Marble,' as 'a summing up of many forms of beauty.' "It matters not," writes Mr. Gladstone Solomon, "that it was the autocrat Shāh Jahān who made the Tāj. From the moment of the first inception of its idea in the beauty-haunted mind of the Grand Mogul, the Tāj became the property of the world .... Shāh Jahān, the Oriental despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the community of Art .... so that the unending message of the Tāj is still being unfolded."[1]

Shāh Jahān's patronage was not confined to architecture alone, though one writer has observed : "Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the story of Shāh Jahān's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history."[2] Both Persian and Hindi, prose and poetry, music, painting[3] and dance, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, all flourished equally. There were both Hindu and Muslim writers, scholars, and artists. Translations of great Sanskrit works were also made. Besides those attributed to Dārā Shikuh may be mentioned the rendering into Persian of the *Prabodh Candrodaya* by *Munshi* Banvali Dās and the *Rāmāyāṇa* by Ibn Har Karan. Mulla Farīd Munajjim, the greatest astronomer of the period, prepared the astral chart entitled *Zich-i-Shāhjahānī*, Ataullah wrote a treatise on Algebra, Mensuration and Arithmetic, and dedicated it to the Emperor and Dārā, while Abdur Rashīd translated *Bīj Gaṇit* from Sanskrit.

"The period of Shāh Jahān's reign," according to Dr. Saksena, "partially coincided with what is described as the

1. *Essays on Mogul Art*, pp. 56-8.
2. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 261-62.
3. "The artists of Shāh Jahān allowed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European pictures...Many of the arts were endowed with unsurpassed keenness of vision and steadiness of hand. Some were able to use with success a brush consisting of a single squirrel's hair. The portraits of Shāh Jahān's time, which are free from the stiffness common in the preceding and succeeding ages, are wonderfully life-like and often perfectly charming." (Smith, *O. H.*, p. 421.)

most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindi literature and language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindi, was fond of Hindi music, and patronised Hindi poets. The Hindi poets who were then connected with the court were Sundar Dās, Chintāmani, and Kavindra Āchārya.[1] Shāh Jahān delighted in Tān Sen's son-in-law, Lāl Khān *Guṇa Samudra*, singing the *drupad* tune, which was the Emperor's favourite. Jagannāth, the best Hindu musician of the age, "was exceedingly favoured by Shāh Jahān," and received from him the title *Mahā Kavi Rāi*. Sukh Sen was a master-player on the *rubab* or guitar, and Sūr Sen on the *bīn* or zither.[2]

Shāh Jahān a paradox.

In spite of all that has been said above, however, Shāh Jahān still remains a paradox in some respects. The minute details of his daily routine, of which we have contemporary evidence, show him to have been a man of strenuous activity and great self-command ; but legend whispers many a tale of extreme self-indulgence verging on scandalous depravity for which, however, there seems to be little foundation.[3] His sense of fairness and justice was great ; yet, at times he was guilty of excessive cruelty ; though this was a common frailty of the age. He entertained many Hindus in his Court and service, and was ordinarily tolerant towards Christians, as mentioned by Bernier ; nevertheless, at times, he gave way to acts of intolerance, though sometimes not without provocation, as in the case of the Portuguese. But his destruction of Hindu temples is less intelligible. Says the author of the *Bādshāh-nāma* :

'It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad

1. Smith, *O. H.*, p. 259.
2. Ibid., p. 268.
3. Ibid., pp. 238 and 336-42.

that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.'[1]

This was in 1633, now over three hundred years ago. It is further related that "Hindus were forbidden to dress in the Muslim style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to cremate their dead or burn the *satis* near Muslim grave-yards; and to purchase Muslim slaves of war."[2] These and other acts of petty persecution indicated that there was already a set-back in the tide of liberalism so well begun by Akbar. Yet, Della Valle refers to the prohibition of cow-slaughter in Cambay, and Manrique to strict injunctions against slaying of animals in Hindu districts.[3]

Dryden's lines best sum the sunset of this glorious career;

'Oh! had he still that character maintained,
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,
He promised in his East a glorious Race;
Now sunk from his Meridian, sets a pace.
But in the Sun, whom he from Noon declines,
And with abated heat less fiercely shines,
Seems to grow milder as he goes away.
Pleasing himself with the remains of Day:
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove,
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love.'

Aurang-Zebe.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 36.
2. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 294-95.
3. Ibid., p. 295. Lane-Poole observes: "But Shāh-Jahān was too prudent a king to let religion over-ride statesmanship." (op. cit., p. 14.)

GENEALOGY

AURANGZEB

(1658-1707)

Muhammad Sultān (executed, 1676)	Muazzam (Bahādur Shāh or Shāh Alam I, 1707-12)	M. Azam (killed at Jajau, 1707)	Kāmbaksh (killed at Hyderābād, 1709)	Akbar (d. in Persia, 1704)

AUTHORITIES *

A. PRIMARY : 1. COURT ANNALS. (i) *Aml-i-Sālih* of Muhammad Sālih Kambu contains the history of the War of Succession. It continues the story to the death of Shāh Jahān but is considered more reliable in its earlier than in its latter part. It is also interesting for its biographical notices of eminent men of the period. (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 123-32.)

(ii) *Alamgīr-Nāma* of Mīrza Muhammad Kāzim was written (1688) by order of Aurangzeb, and is a courtly account of the first ten years of his reign. It is strange, however, that on its being shown to the Emperor, he forbade its continuation. "The Mughal Emperor professed as the cause of the prohibition that the cultivation of inward piety was preferable to the ostentatious display of his achievements.... It is strained, verbose, and tedious ; fulsome in its flattery, abusive in its censure." (Ibid., pp. 174-80.)

(iii) *Ma'asir-i Alamgīrī* of Muhammad Saki Mustaid Khān, written after Aurangzeb's death, but based on State papers. It is comparatively very brief as it deals with the history of 51 years in only 541 pages. The *Alamgīr-Nāma* covering only 10 years contains 1107 pages. (Both, *Bibliotheca Indica* Series). The author undertook the work by desire of his patron, and finished it in 1710 A. D., only three years after the death of Aurangzeb. 'He had been a constant follower

*On account of its complexity and vastness, as also from the wealth of material that is available for the reign of Aurangzeb, the compilation of a Bibliography becomes peculiarly difficult. Hence only the most important and indispensable sources have been indicated here. 'The attempt to write an epitome of the fifty years' reign of this illustrious monarch,' observes Khāfir Khān, 'is like trying to measure the waters of the sea in a pitcher ; the affairs of the last forty years in particular are a boundless ocean, which authors have shrunk from committing to the thread of narrative.'

of the Court for forty years, and an eye-witness of many of the transactions he records.' (Ibid., pp. 181-91.)

2. PRIVATE HISTORIES. (i) *Zafar Nāma* (also called *Aurang-Nāma, Hālat-i-Alamgīrī*, etc.) of Akil Khān Razi is a short history, beginning with the invasion of Bijapur (1650) and ending with the death of Mīr Jumla (1663). Prof. Sarkar observes, "The author writes with independence and in some cases reveals facts which could not have been pleasing to his master." (Copies at Rāmpur.)

(ii) *Tārīkh-i-Shāh-Shujāī* of Mir Muhammad Masum (1660) ends abruptly on the eve of Shuja's flight, but "mentions many facts not to be found elsewhere and seemingly true. For Shuja's doings he is our only authority and a very important one too. There is a striking agreement between him and Manucci in many particulars; evidently the two used the same source of information." (Sarkar).

(iii) *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb Muhammad Shāhi* of Muhammad Hashim Khāfī Khān is by far the most important. It is a complete history of the Mughal Emperors from Bābur down to Muhammad Shāh (1733). The author's father was an officer under Murād Bakhsh. Khāfī Khān himself conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1694. "His reflective style, description of the condition of society, and characteristic anecdotes," writes Prof. Sarkar, "save his work from the dry formality of the Court annals, and he is specially informing with regard to Deccan affairs."

This work is also frequently referred to as *Tārīkh-i-Khāfī Khān*...*Khāfī* ("concealed") is supposed by some to have been the title wittily conferred by Muhammad Shāh upon the writer, Muhammad Hashim *Khwafi*, for his having concealed his valuable work for a long time (owing to Aurangzeb's ban on histories). Others derive the word from *Khwaf*, a district of Khurasan near Naishapur. The historian was made *Diwan* by Nizāmu-l Mulk in the reign of Farrukh Siyar (Extracts in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 207-533).

There are also two valuable Persian histories written by

contemporary Hindus : (1) *Nurkha-i-Dilkasha* by Bhimsen Burhānpuri ; (2) *Fatuhāt i-Alamgīrī* by Ishwardās Nagar of Pātan (Gujarat). Both were in Imperial service. The former is important for affairs in the Deccan ; the latter for Rajputana.

3. MONOGRAPHS, STATE PAPERS, ETC. (i) *Ahkam-i-Alamgīrī* or *Anecdotes* of *Aurangzeb*—tr. by J. N. Sarkar.

(ii) *Ma'asirul-umara* or the biographical dictionary of the Mughal peerage is also a work of peculiar interest and value. It was begun about 1742 and completed in 1779. It was compiled by several writers from various authoritative histories, official accounts, letters, etc. "Its chief value lies in the many characteristic ancedotes it mentions and the light it throws on the manners of the age." (Sarkar ; E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 187-91).

(iii) For other authorities, particularly Aurangzeb's letters (more than a thousand in Sir J. N. Sarkar's possession alone) farmāns, Court bulletins, etc. see Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, vol. I, pp. xv-xxi ; vol. II, pp. 304-17 ; vol. III, pp. 444-46. Also see E. and D., op. cit., VII, pp. 198-206 ; V. A. Smith, *O. H.*, pp. 451-52.

(iv) "Imperial Mughal Farmāns in Gujarat," M. S. Commissariat (*Journal of the University of Bombay*, July 1940).

4. EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS. Of the European travellers, Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci have already been noticed in the previous chapter. The following critical observations of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar on the extent of their reliability, however, are worthy of attention :—

"Their works are of undoubted value as throwing light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry, and the history of the Christian churches in India. Moreover, the criticism of Indian institutions by foreign observers has a freshness and weight all its own. But of the political history of India, apart from the few events in which they took part or which they personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced the bazār rumours and the stories current among the

populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary histories and letters in Persian . . . . From their position these foreign travellers had no access to the best sources of information ; the State archives were closed to them. They visited the makers of Indian history only occasionally and as suppliants for favours ; hence they could not derive the oral information which only familiar intercourse with the highest personages in camp and Court could have given them. Finally, their imperfect knowledge of literary Persian prevented them from using the written annals of the time and checking the reports they had received orally." (*History of Aurangzib* I, pp. xxi-ii.) For the principal European authorities see Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*. In addition to Bernier, Tavernier, and Manucci, he mentions the following :—

(a) Dr. Fryer's *New Account of India* chiefly useful for the Maratha power under Shivāji. The author was in S. India 1672-81.

(b) Ovington's '*Voyage to Surat*'—visited only Bombay and Surat (1689-92).

(c) Hedges' *Diary* (Yule's ed.)—for Mughal provincial administration in 1682-4.

(d) Dr. Gemilli Careri's account of Aurangzeb's camp in the Deccan in 1695.—'throws light on an obscure portion of the reign.'

B. SECONDARY : (i) Orme, *Historical Fragments of the Mughal Empire* (London, 1782).

(ii) N. Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 603-75. Smith writes : "Elphinstone knew the Maratha country and people so intimately that his narrative counts as a primary authority for some purposes."

(iii) S. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, (Rulers of India, O. U. P., 1930). On the whole this is the most readable short account of the reign of Aurangzeb.

(iv) J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, 5 vols. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1912-24) is a monumental work based

on various original sources, not to be easily surpassed. An abridged ed. of this, entitled *A Short History of Aurangzīb*, is also available (1930).

(v) J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 33-249.

(vi) ,, *Mughal Administration.*

(vii) W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (Macmillan, London, 1923).

(viii) A. Butenschön, *The Life of a Mogul Princess* (Routledge, London 1931).

C. SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES : I. *Sikh History*—(i) Cunningham, J. D., *A History of the Sikhs* (2nd ed. Calcutta, 1911).

(ii) M'Gregor, W. L., *The History of the Sikhs* (London, 1846).

(iii) Payne, C. H., *A Short History of the Sikhs* (Nelson).

II. *Rajput History*—Tod, J., *The Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* (2 vols. Calcutta, 1898-9).

III. *Maratha History*—(i) Sarkar, J. N., *Shivāji*

(ii) Sen, S. N., *Military System of the Marathas* (Calcutta);

Foreign Biographies of Shivāji (Calcutta, 1927) ;

Administrative system of the Marāthas (Calcutta, 1925).

(iii) Rawlinson, H. G., *Shivāji the Marātha* (Oxford, 1915).

(iv) Vaidya, C. V., *Shivāji the Founder of Marātha Swarāj* (Poona, 1931).

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CHAPTER IX

POST MERIDIEM OF THE EMPIRE

'The history of Aurangzib is practically the history of India for sixty years.... Under him the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed.'

JADUNATH SARKAR.

'Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly.'

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

It is indeed difficult to say how long exactly the sun shines brightest after he has reached the zenith ; but it is common experience that the mid-day glow continues for quite a length of time before one is aware that afternoon has come and sunset must follow soon. So it was with the Mughal Empire at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign : The Golden Age was not yet quite past, but the long rule of Aurangzeb (1657-1707) saw it tarnish ; and the death of the last of the Great Mughals began to show the iron at its core. Indeed, to vary the metaphor, the gilded tomb did worms infold ; and all that had glistered was not gold. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's Imperial sway saw what one recent writer has aptly described as the "the turn of the tide".

Aurangzeb as Prince had shown great promise both as an administrator and as a general. On the throne he sat for quite as long a period as his great-grand-father Akbar. The half-century of rule in each case was full of incessant activity ; and of the two, Aurangzeb had certainly the better start in life. Akbar was a mere child when he succeeded to his father's precarious legacy ; his resources were scanty, his troubles great and many. Not so with Aurangzeb : his age was forty at the

time of his accession. His dominion was sure, his wealth great, and his army better equipped and larger. Internally the Empire was at peace, and the machinery of Government at work for over three generations. Still did Aurangzeb fail. The key to this failure is his character. Once more we find the oft-repeated experience : the fortunes of the Empire turning on the pivot of the Emperor's personality. Aurangzeb was as fanatical as Akbar was liberal ; but both were equally zealous in the pursuit of their respective ideals. Aurangzeb aimed at and fatally succeeded in undoing the great work of Akbar. In the present reign we but witness the untwisting of the chord of national life.

Aurangzeb has been described by some writers as a 'political paradox.' The unravelling of this enigma, however, requires a clear knowledge of the events of his reign. These, in our opinion, are better studied in a *logical* rather than a merely *chronological* order. The present chapter is arranged in the following wise :—

I. Early Career ; II. Frontier Wars ; III. North India ; IV. South India ; V. The Europeans ; and VI. The Riddle of Aurangzeb.

I. EARLY CAREER (1618-58)

Birth and Accession.

According to Khāfī Khān, 'Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A. H. (1619, A. D.) at Dhúd, which is on the frontiers of the *Subā* of Ahmadabad and Mālwa, whilst his father was *Subādār* of the Dakhin.'[1] Sir J. N. Sarkar gives the date more accurately as "the night of 15th *Ziqada*, 1027 A. H. (24th October, 1618 A. D., Old Style)."[2] Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb was the sixth among fourteen children of Shāh Jahān and Mumtaz Mahal. He first sat on his father's throne on 1st *Ziqada*, 1068 A. H. (21 July, 1658 A. D.) ; but his formal coronation took place on 24th *Ramzān*, 1069 (5 June, 1659), under the high-sounding title : Abdul Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahādur 'Alamgīr Pādshāh-i

1. *Muntakhabu-l-Lubāb* ; E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 213.
2. *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 7. The birth-place was Dohad (22-50 N. 74-20 E.) a town South of Dohad Rly. Station (B. B. & C. I. Ry. Panch Mahal District, Bombay Presidency).

Ghāzī.' *Alamgīr* or 'world-compeller,' the title by which he was more familiarly known, appears to have been suggested by the Persian inscription on a sword presented to Aurangzeb by Shāh Jahān.[1] It sums up correctly the spirit of the Emperor and forms the key-note of his ambition and rule.

The period of forty years inclosed by these two events was one of seed-time for Aurangzeb; the fifty years that followed only before the expected harvest. The mile-stones in Aurangzeb's progress towards the throne may be briefly recounted.

Hostage to Jahāngir.

In June 1626, at the age of eight, Aurangzeb was sent to Lahore, together with Dārā, as a hostage to Jahāngīr on account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion. He obtained his release only on the death of Jahāngīr and the accession of Shāh Jahān, on 26th February, 1628. With this year began his regular education, chiefly among others under Mīr Muhammad Hashim of Gilam. He soon familiarised himself with the *Kurān* and the *Hadis*, and became an adept at the writing of the *naksha* hand. 'His *nastaliq* and *shikasta* styles of writing were also excellent.' Though he had a dislike for poetry, the didactic variety was not neglected by him. His aversion to music, painting, and the fine arts has been made memorable in the familiar anecdote of the funeral of music: the mourners in the cortége being asked by Aurangzeb to bury her (the Muse) deep lest she should rise again! These puritanical traits of the later Emperor had their beginning in the early life and training of the young Prince.

Another incident of Aurangzeb's boyhood also indicated the promise of the cool courage and philosophical bent which were so characteristic of his manhood. In May 1633 the Prince was watching an elephant fight when one of the infuriated animals rushed at him. But the dauntless stripling of less than fifteen summers never budged an inch. On the contrary he wounded the elephant with his spear and evoked the admiration of all present. When Shāh Jahān chid him over his rashness, he only remarked: "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. *Death drops the curtain even on the Emperors; it is no dishonour!*"

First Rung of the Ladder.

On 13th December 1634 Aurangzeb first set his foot on the official ladder when he was made commander of Ten Thousand Horse. Next September he was sent to suppress the Bundela rebellion, at the head of three armies. The issue of that expedition again typified the character of the supreme commander: the survivors of *jauhar* were dragged to the Mughal *harem*; two sons and one grandson of Jajhar

1. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 359.

were converted to Islām; another son and minister of the Rāja, having refused to apostatise, were executed in cold blood. "The lofty temple of Bīr Singh at Urchha was demolished and a mosque was erected on its site. The fort of Jhānsi was taken (end of October) and the spoils of war, including the buried treasure of Bīr Singh, amounted to one *kror* of Rupees."[1]

Viceroy of Deccan and Gujarat.

The next step of Aurangzeb was nothing short of the viceroyalty of the Deccan to which he was appointed in 1636. The city of Aurangabad, which was named after him, was made the viceregal capital. The conquest of Udgir, Ausa, Baglana, etc., and the subjugation of the intrepid Maratha general Shāhji and Kheloji Bhonsle were effected during this period, 1636-44. In this last year (1644) Aurangzeb was called to Agra by the illness of his sister Jahānara. Within three weeks of this he was deprived of his southern viceroyalty, rank and emoluments, it is said, owing to Dārā's persistent hostility towards him. However, by the intercession of Jahanara he was appointed viceroy of Gujarat, 16 February, 1645. From here he was nominated to the command of the Balkh expedition in 1647. Within the short period of two years in Gujarat Aurangzeb had shown sufficient administrative capacity and firmness.

Frontier Command.

Though Balkh had to be restored to Nazir Muhammad, it was during this campaign that Aurangzeb distinguished himself by his cool and steadfast faith, kneeling for prayer in the midst of the raging battle. The enemy in generous admiration stopped fighting and exclaimed: "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin." Nevertheless, 'the war cost the Indian treasury four *kror* of rupees, while not an inch of territory was gained as the result of it.'[2]

From March 1648 to July 1652 Aurangzeb was Governor of Multan and Sindh, during which period also he was called upon to besiege Kandahar twice (1649 and 1652), with no better success, however, than in Balkh. But the failure was due to no fault of the commander.[3] The building of a new port in place of the silted Thatta

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 21.
3. Shāh Jahān was no doubt angry with Aurangzeb for what he supposed to prove the latter's incapacity. "But in truth," as Sarkar points out, "it is unjust to blame Aurangzib for the failure to take Qandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor from Kabul directed every movement through Sadullah Khān. His sanction had to be taken for every important step. Aurangzib's best justification was afforded next year, when a still vaster and costlier expedition against Qandahar led by Dārā Shikoh met with an even more humiliating defeat."—Ibid., p. 24.

was a sample of Aurangzeb's peaceful activities.

Aurangzeb was again sent to the Deccan (1652). Spending nine months, which are unique in the puritan's life,[1] at Burhanpur, he reached Aurangabad in November, 1653. The province had not prospered during his absence since 1644. A succession of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Aurangzeb and his revenue minister, Murshid Kulī Khān, the province more than recovered its lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of requisite stores and munitions, and the enforcement of proper training, etc. At the same time an annual saving of Rs. 50,000 was also effected. The conquest of Golkonda was pushed on until Shāh Jahān ordered capitulation and retreat (April, 1656). The services of the capable Mīr Jumla were enlisted for the Empire by creating him Prime Minister on the death of Sadullah Khān. Next year (1657) Bijapur was similarly invested. But the agents of Bijapur were busy at the Imperial capital. So at the moment of Aurangzeb's success, Shāh

Second Viceroyalty of Deccan.

1. Aurangzeb's love episode with Hirā Bāi (also called Zainābādi) finds no parallel in his puritanical life. This woman's 'supple grace, musical skill, and mastery of blandishments, made her the heroine of the only romance in the puritan Emperor's life.' She was a slave-girl in the keeping of Mir Khalil who had married a sister of Aurangzeb's mother. "The vision of her matchless charms," writes Sir Jadunath, "stormed Aurangzib's heart in a moment; 'with shameless importunity he took her away from his aunt's house and became utterly infatuated with her.' So much so, that one day she offered him a cup of wine,.... and the helpless lover was about to taste the forbidden drink when the sly enchantress snatched away the cup from his lips and said, 'My object was only to test your love for me, and not to make you fall into the sin of drinking!' Death cut the story short when she was still in the bloom of youth. Aurangzib bitterly grieved at her loss and buried her close to the big tank at Aurangabad."—Ibid., pp. 15-16; also see Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 41-46.

Aurangzeb's emotion at this time is enshrined in the words put into his mouth by Dryden in his tragedy, *Aurang-Zebe*. To Indumora (a fictitious character) he says:

'Love mounts, and rolls about my stormy mind,
Like fire that's borne by a tempestuous wind.
Oh, I could stifle you, with eager haste!
'Devour your kisses with hungry taste!
Rush on you! eat you! wander over each part,
Raving with pleasure, snatch you to my heart!
Then hold you off, and gaze! Then, with new rage,
Invade you, till my conscious limbs presage
Torrents of joy, which all their banks overflow!
So lost, so blest, as I but then could know!'

Jahān accepted the terms of Adil Shāh : Bidar, Kalyāni, and Parenda were to be ceded together with the payment of a war indemnity of one *kror* of rupees.

Thus both Golkonda and Bijapur were saved from complete annexation owing to Shāh Jahān's hasty overtures over the head of the Deccan Viceroy. To make matters worse, his illness in September 1657 plunged the Empire in civil war.

Fratricidal War.

Dārā Shikoh, the heir presumptive, had been his father's favourite all these years. It was owing to his influence over Shāh Jahān that Aurangzeb had been rather badly treated ; at least so the latter believed. His religious proclivities only alarmed Aurangzeb who was cherishing dreams of becoming the Defender of the Faith. His frequent transfers, disparagement, and interference by his father, irritated Aurangzeb beyond all patience. His suspicious nature more and more pointed to his eldest brother as the source of all mischief, present and potential. The censorship established by Dārā over all news from the capital, during Shāh Jahān's illness, made matters worse. Rumours of all variety escaped through the gagged silence. The jealous brothers only saw in this Dārā's sinister motives : to usurp the throne, to imprison, or possibly murder the Emperor ! What then of the fate of his distant brothers ? What above all, Aurangzeb must have thought, of the fate of Islām in India ?

Murād set the example by proclaiming himself Emperor, in Gujarat, under the title of Maruwwaju-d din (5th December). He was all haste and fire. But Aurangzeb was caution itself. They concerted many plans together, and finally by the beginning of 1658 set their armies in motion.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's displomacy had already begun to work. Before he quitted the Deccan he took due precautions to pacify both Golkonda and Bijapur. He urged, no doubt, Kutb Shāh to pay up his arrears of indemnity, but at the same time he ordered the Mughal envoy at Golkonda to do nothing that might jeopardise Mughal interests. To Adil Shāh he offered a bait to keep Bijapur friendly : 'Remain loyal and keep your promises,' he wrote. 'I agree that (1) the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan, and the *mahal* of Wāngi, which have been annexed to the Empire, together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late Adil Shāh, should be left to you as before ; and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one *kror* of Rupees, thirty *lakhs* are remitted. Protect this country ; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall

grant you all the territory up to the bank of the Banganga.'[1]

Aurangzeb was also actively intriguing, though with utmost secrecy, to enlist the grandees of the Empire on his side; they on their side knew how to secure their own interests, for it was well known that Aurangzeb was by far the most experienced and capable among the brothers.

How Aurangzeb triumphed in the War of Succession that thus started has already been told in some detail. Nor need the sorrowful tale of the fate of the defeated brothers be repeated here again. Success proclaimed Aurangzeb's diplomatic and military ability.

'Birth-right's a vulgar road to kingly sway;
'Tis every dull-got elder brother's way.
Dropt from above he lights into a throne;
Grows a piece with that he sits upon;
Heaven's choice, a low, inglorious, rightful drone.
But who by force a sceptre does obtain,
Shows he can govern that, which he could gain.
Right comes of course, whate'er he was before;
Murder and usurpation are no more.'

II. FRONTIER WARS

The principal wars of Aurangzeb's reign were waged to suppress the Hindu reaction to his oppressive religious policy. Apart from these there were also the political wars of conquest directed towards extension of territory. The frontier wars, in the north-east and the north-west, were more or less of a punitive character.

Assam.

Ever since the peace of 1639 there had been no trouble in the north-east of the Empire. But the inefficiency of Shuja's Bengal administration and the opportunity afforded by the Succession War encouraged the Ahoms to reassert their independence. In 1657 Prem Nārāyan, the ruler of Kuch Bihar, sent an army into Mughal territory, obstensibly in pursuit of a recalcitrant vassal. Next year Gauhati, the capital of Kāmrup, was plundered and occupied by the Assamese. But not until the end of the Civil war, in 1660, could the Mughals do anything to retrieve their position in this quarter. In that year Mīr Jumla, the redoubtable lieutenant of Aurangzeb, was appointed Governor of Bengal, and ordered to 'punish lawless *zamīndārs* of the province, especially those of Assam and Māgh (Arrakan).'[2]

1. Ibid., p. 55.
2. Ibid., p. 124.

On 1st November, 1661, Mīr Jumla started on his great campaign from Decca. His army consisted of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot, besides a flotilla of over 300 war-vessels.[1] In six day's time the capital of Kuch Bihar was taken and rechristened Alamgīrnagar; a mosque was built over its demolished temple, and the entire kingdom was annexed. Other victories soon followed: the enemy's fleet of 300 vessels was seized, and Jayadhwaj, Rāja of Garhgaon was expelled. The spoils taken were enormous:—"82 elephants, 3 *lakhs* of rupees in cash, 675 pieces of artillery, 1345 camel-swivels, 1200 *Ramchangis*, 6750 matchlocks, 340 maunds of gun-powder, a thousand and odd boats, and 173 store-houses of paddy, each containing from 10 to 1,000 maunds of grain."[2]

But the outbreak of an epidemic of fever and flux, in August, carried away vast numbers of both the people and the army. In one Mughal corps alone, out of 1,500 troopers under Dilir Khān, only 450 were left. In the whole of Assam no less than 230,000 people succumbed to the catastrophe, in a single year. "In the Mughal camp no suitable diet or comfort was available for the sick; all had to live on coarse rice; no wheat, no pulse, no *ghee*, no sugar, and no opium or tobacco except a little at fabulous prices. A pipe of tobacco sold at Rs. 3, a *tola* of opium at a gold *mohar*, a seer of *mung-dāl* at Rs. 10, and salt also at the same rate as the last. The Hindustāni and Turki soldiers languished for want of wheaten bread; the horses perished from eating rice."[3]

In all these trials and sufferings Mīr Jumla retained his equanimity and lived and ate like any common soldier. When the rains ceased, he resumed the offensive, but he was not destined to complete this conquest. He was seized with pleurisy and fever which soon became very serious. So a treaty was signed with the Ahom king, through the mediation of Dilir Khān, in December 1662. According to Khāfī Khān, the Rāja 'agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* of silver, and 2,000 *tolas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and *one of his ugly daughters* to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khān-Khānan, together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.'[4]

1. The most powerful of these, called *ghurabs*, carried 14 guns and 60 men each, and were towed by 4 *kosas* or long row-boats.
2. Ibid., p. 125.
3. Ibid., pp. 127-8.
4. E. & D., op. cit., p. 268. For further details see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 129-30.

Mīr Jumla died at Khizrpur, on the frontiers of Kuch-Bihar, on the 12th *Ramzān*, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of Aurangzeb (31st March, 1633). "No other general of that age," observes Sarkar in his well-merited encomium "conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 maunds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The stern punishment which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect. We realize Mīr Jumla's peculiar excellence more clearly by contrast with others. With a hero like Mīr Jumla, rhetoric of the historian Talish ceases to be extravagance; his eulogy of the general is not fulsome flattery but homage deservedly paid to a born king of men."[1]

Speaking of his campaign Prof. Bhattacharya writes: "It was the most daring and audacious piece of imperialistic venture, almost unparalleled in the annals of Mughal India, and has not probably been surpassed even in modern times."[2]

Despite these glorious exploits, however, the Mughals lost much at the close of the next four years. Under the ambitious Chakradhwaj, who ascended the throne in November 1633, the Ahoms reconquered their possessions. Gauhati fell in November 1667; and all the efforts of the Mughals to recover it proved vain. Then the Ahoms fell on evil days, Kāmrup having become prey to civil war. During the eleven years, 1670-81, seven kings sat on its throne, and not one of them died a natural death. The Mughals profited by this, and "took advantage of it to extend their sway over southern and eastern portions of the kingdom, conquering much of the present districts of Rangpur and Western Kāmrup, and forcing the Rāja in 1711 to confirm these gains by treaty."[3]

The Afghans.

The Pathāns of the north-western frontier have ever been a perpetual source of irritation to all Indian governments. They have always been independent, but hardly ever united. This dubious heritage of theirs has been our advantage as well as disadvantage. Like monsoon clouds sometimes they have gathered thick and poured

1. E. & D., op cit., pp. 130-31.
2. *Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, p. 395.
3. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 133.

into the plains of the Punjab ; but soon they have found themselves scattered by the strong winds of inter-tribal jealousy. A strong government at Delhi has always acted on them as the blaze of the summer sun.

1. The beginning of 1667 was one such season of storm and stress. The Yusufzais under a great leader named Bhagu had assumed kingship and crossed the river Indus, above Attock, with a force of 5,000 clansmen blessed by Mullah Chalak, a man of saintly reputation. They were soon followed by other bands of marauders who spread over Peshawar and Attock districts like swarms of pestilential locusts. But the Emperor took strong measures, and by October 1667 they melted away with heavy losses. Muhammad Amin Khān, son of Mīr Jumla, succeeded in quieting the frontier for a period of five years.

2. The next turn was that of the Afridis. In 1672 they rose under their tribal chief Acmal Khān, " a born general, who crowned himself king, struck coins in his own name, and proclaiming war against the Mughals, summoned all the Pathān clans to join the national movement and closed the Khaibar Pass."[1]

Muhammad Amin Khān was still in charge of Afghanistan, intoxicated with past success, failed to apprehend the force of the present rising. The result was the oft repeated tale of disaster. " Ten thousand men fell under the enemy's sword in the field, and above two *krores* of Rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. They captured twenty thousand men and women and sent them to Central Asia for sale." Even the family of M. Amin Khān was captured and had to be ransomed at a very heavy price. This victory fired the imagination of the tribsemen who now began to flock round the standard of Acmal Khān. The poet chieftain of the Khataks, Khush-hal Khān, also joined the rebels, inspiring them ' with his pen no less than his sword.'

" The danger to the empire was very great : the rising was a national one, affecting the whole Pathān land ' from Kandahar to Attock,' and its leaders were also men who had served in the Mughal army in Hindustan and the Deccan, and knew the organisation, efficiency and tactics of the imperialists."[2] But Aurangzeb was not the man to be cowed or baffled by such a danger. M. Amin Khān was at once replaced by the more experienced Mahābat Khān. In the middle of November, 1673, Suja'at Khān and Rāja Jaswant Singh were also sent with reinforcements. Though the want of co-operation among these generals led to another disaster in 1674, Mughal

1. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 141.
2. Ibid., p. 142 : cf. the Malbar rebellion of 1919.

prestige was soon vindicated. Aurangzeb himself proceeded to Hasan Abdāl (between Rāwal Pindi and Peshawar), in June 1674, and for a year and a half personally directed the operations. After much fighting, with reverses intermixed with victories, the Imperial forces finally emerged triumphant.

The result was as much due to diplomacy and intrigue, as to force and military tactics. "Many clans were won over by the grant of presents, pensions, *jāgīrs*, and posts in the Mughal army to their headman."[1] With the appointment of Amīr Khān, in march 1677, as Viceroy at Kabul, a period of peace and prosperity followed. This able officer was a son-in-law of Ali Mardān Khān, and was ably assisted in his administration by his wife, Shāhibi, who was a woman of great energy, tact, and wise counsel. Aurangzeb's policy of 'breaking two bones by knocking them together' (i.e., setting clan against clan and breaking both) was continued. The financial success of Amīr Khān regime is indicated by a despatch of his to Aurangzeb, dated 25th October, 1681, wherein he states, 'Six *lakhs* of Rupees were allotted by Government to be paid to the Afghans for guarding the roads. I have spent one and half *lakhs* and saved the remainder to the state.'

Still the Khataks continued to fight, and made the employment of Afghans against the Rajputs impossible; on the contrary they diverted much of the military force from the South to their own suppression, and thus allowed Shivāji comparative freedom to attain the climax of his career (1676-79).[2]

III.—NORTH INDIA

"The reign of Aurangzeb," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan. During the earlier of these two periods the centre of interest lies unmistakably in the North, not because the Emperor lived there, but because the most important developments, civil and military, concerned this region, while the South figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed : all these resources of

1. Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 144. The part played by one Aga Khān in the suppression of the Afghans was of such ruthless character that his name was invoked by Afghan mothers to frighten children for years afterwards.

2. Ibid., pp. 146-7.

the empire are concentrated in the Deccan ; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustān sinks back to a place of secondary importance."[1]

Apart from the two frontier wars already described, the disturbances in North India were of two classes : (*a*) revolts against Aurangzeb's religious policy ; (*b*) minor disorders created by pretenders, unsubmissive chieftains, or pirates. The latter may be disposed off with brief notices before proceeding to the former.

Minor Disturbances.

Throughout the reign a series of pretenders caused some temporary excitement in different parts of the Empire. There were : a false Dārā in Gujarat (1663), a false Shuja in Morang (west of Kuch-Bihar, 1669), another among the Yusufzai (1674), a third in Kashmir (1707), a bogus son of Shuja in Allahabad (1699), and a counterfeit Akbar in the Deccan (1699).

The principal chieftains or Rājas to cause the movement of armies were (1) Rao Karan of Bikanir, who submitted towards the close of 1660 ; (2) Champat Rai Bundela (a collateral descendant of Bīr Singh Dev), who after considerable fighting committed suicide together with his Rāni Kāli Kumāri, rather than submit to the Mughal (1661) ;[2] (3) the Chero Rāja of Palamau, whose kingdom was annexed to the *Subāh* of Bihar, (1661) ; (4) the rebel prince of Morang, who was forced into submission in (1664), and again in 1676 ; and (5) Rāja Bahādur Chand of Kumaon, who after a protracted struggle (1665-1673) also submitted. The Buddhist ruler of Tibet too acknowledged Mughal suzerainty in 1665, as the result of an expedition led from Kashmir. The pirates of Chatgaon will be dealt with later in the section on Europeans. We now turn to the principal disturbances in North India which were due to Aurangzeb's wanton attacks on the Hindus.

1. Sirkar, op. cit., p. 100.
2. Rāja Chhatra Sāl Bundela, was the son of these parents.

PERSECUTION OF HINDUS

The religious policy of Aurangzeb and his attitude towards non-Muslims in general, together with a discussion of all its implications, will be taken up at the end of this chapter. The persecution of the Hindus was the most momentous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his puritanism, his regime might have been one of the most glorious instead of being the most ominous and fateful. Despite the fact that Aurangzeb had in him nearly as much Hindu blood as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus. His grandmother (Shāh Jahān's mother) was a Hindu. Shāh Jahān's father was only half Muslim, inasmuch as his mother too was a Hindu. One of Aurangzeb's own principal queens (Nawab Bai, the mother of his successor Bahādur Shāh) was also a Hindu, being the daughter of the Rajput Rāja, Rāju, of the Rājauri State in Kashmir. So too was Aurangzeb's favourite Hirā Bāi with whom he fell head over heels in love at Burhānpur, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. Of his other wives, one was a Persian (Dilras Banu Begum), daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, a scion of the ruling house of Persia—the champion of the Shia sect; another (Udipuri Mahal, the mother of Kām Bukhsh) was, according to the contemporary Venetian traveller Manucci, a Georgian slave-girl captured from Dārā Shikoh's harem. What a long list of contaminating contacts! But Aurangzeb's fanaticism was certainly not born in the *harem*, as Akbar's eclecticism is supposed to have been, by some writers.

That this bigoted policy was not fitful, as in the case of Shāh Jahān's destruction of temples, but deliberate and relentlessly systematic, will be borne out by the following collocation of facts :—

1. Wholesale destruction of Hindu temples.
2. Re-imposition of the hated *Jiziya*.
3. Exaction of heavier customs duties from Hindus.
4. Dismissal of Hindus from Imperial services.

5. Prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites—*Holi* and *Diwāli*.
6. Prohibition of Hindu fairs.
7. Prohibition of wearing arms, fine dresses, and riding by Hindus.
8. Proscription of Hindu learning.

Destruction of Temples.

"Aurangzeb began his attack on Hinduism," observes Prof. Sarkar, "in an insidious way."[1] He pretended at first only to prohibit the building of new temples by the infidels.[2] Early in his reign local officers in every town and village in Orissa, from Cuttack to Medinipur, were asked to pull down all temples, great and small, built during the last ten or twelve years and *to allow no old temples to be repaired*.[3] The final step in this direction was the general order issued in April, 1669. 'On the 17th *Zi-l kada*, 1079, it reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their

1. Ibid., p. 155.

2. This is indicated by the Benares *Farmān* of Aurangzeb, addressed to Abdul Hasan, dated February 28, 1659, granted through the mediation of Prince Sultān Muhammad Sultān. It reads :—

'It has been decided according to our Canon Law that long-standing temples should not be demolished, but no new temple allowed to be built....Information has reached our....Court that certain persons have harassed the Hindus resident in Benares and its environs and certain Brahmans who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples there, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office. Therefore, our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindus resident in those places.'

(Cited by Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, III, pp. 319-20.)

3. Order issued on all *faujdārs* of *thānahs*, civil officers (*Mutsaddis*), agents of *Jāgīrdārs*, *krorīs*, and *amlas*,—

'Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also, do not allow the crushed (cursed?) Hindus and despicable infidels to repair their old temples. Report of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the *qāzis* and attested by pious Shaikhs.' (Ibid.)

schools, and that students and learners, Musulmans as well as Hindus, went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels ; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship.'[1]

Aurangzeb's inconoclastic zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujarat, he converted the temple of Chintāman into a mosque and named it *Quwat-ul-Islām*. He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the shrine. But the building was restored to the Hindus by order of Shāh Jahān. However, when Aurangzeb came to power, he issued a *farmān* (dated November 20, 1665) to the following effect :—

" In Ahmadabad and other *parganahs* of Gujarat in the days before my accession [many] temples were destroyed by my order. They have been repaired and idol worship has been resumed. Carry out the former order."[2]

Among the famous temples thus destroyed in this tornado of fanatical fury, were those of Somnāth (Kathiawar, rebuilt since Ghaznī destroyed it), Vishwanāth (Benares) and the *Dehra of Keshav Rai* (Mathura, built by Bīr Singh Dev Bundela, at a cost of 33 *lakhs* of Rupees). There was also wholesale demolition of temples in Kutch-Bihar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golkonda, Bijapur and Mahārāshtra.

A glint of the fanatical fervour is still preserved for us in the pages of the admiring chroniclers. The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* writes :—

'Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islām, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination ! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 183-84.
2. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 319.

the arrogance of the Rājas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The richly jewelled idols taken from the pagan-temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawāb Begam Sāhib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mattra changed its name into Islāmābād.'[1]

Similarly, of the achievements in Jodhpur, the writer says, 'Khān-i Jahān Bahādur returned from Jodhpur after demolishing its temples, and bringing with himself several cartloads of idols. The Emperor ordered that the idols, which were mostly of gold, silver, brass, and copper, or stone, and adorned with jewels should be cast in the quadrangle of the court and under the steps of the Jama mosque for being trodden upon.'

Only in Maharashtra Aurangzeb found the houses 'exceedingly strong and built solely of stone and iron.' He complains, 'The hatchet-men of the Government in the course of my marching do not get sufficient strength and power (i.e. time) to destroy and raze the temples of the infidels that meet the eye on the way.' 'So he ordered, you should appoint an orthodox Inspector (*darogha*) who may afterwards destroy them at leisure and dig up their foundations.'[2] How symbolic and ironical! The Marathas did the digging of the foundations at leisure not of temples, but of the Muslim dominion!

In 1674 lands held by Hindus in Gujarat, in religious grants, were all confiscated.

Jiziya.

'Fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *jiziya* with the hand in humility,' said the Prophet of Islām (*Kurān*, ix, 29). Yet this invidious tax had not been levied within the Mughal dominions since its abolition by Akbar more than a century before Alamgīr, the World-Compeller, revived it. In the words of the official history compiled from State papers: 'All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islām and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that from *Rabiu-l* (2nd April, 1679), *jiziya* should be levied from the *zimmis* in accordance with the Qurānic injunction.'

Sir Jadunath Sarkar from whom the above citation is taken, states, "The theory of some modern writers that the *jaziya*

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 184-85.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 323-24.

was only commutation money paid for exemption from military service is not borne out by history." He also observes, "We shall not be far wrong in holding that the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's *direct* contribution to the State."[1]

The enthusiasm with which the poll-tax was collected by the more fanatical officers is illustrated by the conduct of Mīr Abdul Karim, Prefect of the City of Burhanpur : he "increased the yield of the tax from Rs. 26,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1682)."

The Emperor's attitude with respect to this special imposition was—"You are free to grant remissions of revenue of all other kinds ; but if you remit any man's *jaziya* which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious change (*bidate*) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder."[2] So when thousands of Hindus gathered to remonstrate to the Emperor, he gave them an hour's time to disperse, and then simply rode his elephants through their protests.[3]

Customs Duties.

Unfortunately the *jiziya* was not the only invidious tax that Hindus had to pay. 'An order was promulgated,' says Khāfī Khān, 'exempting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of the revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musulmans, the price of which was not large should pass free ; but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Mussalmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they pass-

1. Sarkar, loc. cit., pp. 311-12.
2. Ibid., pp. 309-10.
3. See Khāfī Khān ; E. & D., op. cit., p. 296.

ed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakat* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, *according to the Law, two and a half percent should be taken from Musalmans and five percent from Hindus.*'[1]

Sarkar gives a slightly different version of this discrimination, but the basic fact to be noted is that distinction was made between subjects on account of their religious creed. To be a Hindu was a disability.

Other Anti-Hindu Measures.

In November, 1665, Aurangzeb issued a proclamation in Gujarat to the following effect :—'In the city and *parganahs* of Ahmadabad (i.e. Gujarat), the Hindus following their superstitious customs light lamps in the night of *diwāli*, and during the days of *holi* open their mouths in obscene speech and kindle the *holi* bonfire in *chaklas* and *bazārs*, throwing into the fire the faggot of all people that they can seize by force or theft. It is ordered that in *bazārs* there should be no illumination at *diwāli*, nobody's faggot should be taken by force or theft and flung into the *holi* bonfire and no obscene language used.'[2] Although the regulation regarding *holi* was undoubtedly a wholesome measure, its being coupled with the prohibition of *diwāli* illuminations, it was calculated to excite Hindu popular feeling.

Similarly, in 1668, following the example of Fīroz Shāh Tughlak in the 14th century, Aurangzeb also forbade Hindu *jatras* at which, as Khāfī Khān says, 'on certain days countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples, when *lacs* of rupees change

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 293. "By an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1665," writes Prof. Sarkar, "the customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ p. c. of the value in the case of the Muslims and 5 p. c. in that of Hindu vendors. This was called the *mahsul* or duty, and must not be confounded with the *zakat* or tithes which all Muslims had to pay on the *increase* of their wealth, and the proceeds of which could, by the Qurānic law, be spent on Muhammadans alone. On 9th May, 1667, the Emperor abolished the customs duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while on the Hindus was retained at the old level." (*Aurangzib, III*, p. 313 and p. 314).

2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 318.

hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries.'[1]

In 1671 it was laid down that all rent collectors in Crown-lands ought to be Muslims. The provincial viceroys and *tālukdārs* were also called upon to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*peshkars*) and accountants (*diwānian*) and to replace them by Muhammadans. And to crown all, in March 1695, 'all Hindus excepting Rajputs were forbidden to ride well-bred horses, elephants, or *pālkis*, and to wear arms.'[2]

Hindu Reaction

This arbitrary rule provoked even the meek Hindus to rebel, and a large crop of troubles sprang from this sowing of the dragon's teeth.

Jāt Rebellions.

The first reaction showed itself in a series of peasant risings round about Mathura. "Some frantic attempts were made on the Emperor's life, but they were childish and ended in failure." In June 1669 Qazi Abdul Mukaram was murdered by the disciples of a Hindu *sādhu* named Uddhav Bhairāgi, as the latter had been imprisoned 'for his seduction of men to false knowledge.' As a result both the murderers and the *sādhu* were put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

Abdun Nabi, *faujdār* of Mathura, had provoked the people by his destruction of a Hindu temple and the erection of a mosque on its site, in 1661-2. By order of Aurangzeb he had also forcibly removed, in 1666, the stone railing presented to the Keshav Rāi temple by Dārā Shikoh. Such acts became more and more frequent. Consequently, there was a rising of the Jāt peasants in 1669. In an attempt to put down the revolt under Gokla of Tilpat, Abdun Nabi was shot dead on 10th May, 1669. Reprisals followed, and towards the close of the year, or beginning of 1670, the rich temple of Keshav Rāi was razed to the ground, and a mosque erected in its place.

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1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 283.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 318.

'The den of iniquity thus destroyed,' writes Saki Musta'id Khān, 'it owed its erection to Nar (Bīr?) Singh Deo Bundela; an ignorant and depraved man.... Thirty-three *lacs.* were expended on this work.[1] Lawlessness increased and spread towards Agra, until Gokla Jāt's following numbered 20,000 strong. Finally, in one terrible engagement the rebel leader was taken captive and hacked to pieces. 4,000 of the victors and 5,000 of the rebels died fighting; 7,000, including Gokla's family, were arrested, and forcibly converted with the exception of those who were proved innocent and released. During the campaign the Emperor, with admirable inconsistency, 'humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them and taking any child prisoner." Yet in March, 1670, Hassan Ali Khān was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, *extirpating their families,* and dismantling their strong [mud] forts."[2] Again, in June 1681, a *faujdār* in the environs of Agra was obliged to lead an expedition against the Jāts, and got killed in the attempt. As late as 1688, the irrepressible Jāts once more raised the standard of revolt under Rājah-Rām, and after his death under Churāman Jāt. They carried on a desultory warfare until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, "and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decadent successors."[3]

Satnāmi Rising.

The *Satnāmis* (or followers of the True Name of God) were a strange sect with their stronghold at Narnaul (75 miles s. w. of Delhi). Ishvardās Nāgar, a contemporary historian, has described them as "extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it! In sin and immorality they

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 184.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 334.
3. Ibid., p. 336; for a fuller account of these and other minor disturbances in North India between 1685-1707, see Sarkar: *Short History of Aurangzib,* pp. 397-402.

see no blame."[1]

In like manner the author of the *Ma'asir-i Alamgīri* also fulminates against them :

'It is cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Mewat, collected suddenly as white-ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal; seventy lives was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 5,000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Narnaul, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Tahir Khān Faujdār, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, repaired to the presence. The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents....The royal forces marched to the encounter; the insurgents showed a bold front, and although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had ....The heroes of Islām fought with impetuosity, and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men.'[2]

Khāfī Khān's more sober narrative gives other details.

'One of the remarkable occurrences of this year (May, 1672)' he writes, 'was the outburst of the Hindu devotees called *Satnāmis*, who are also known by the name. of *Mundihs* (i.e. clean shaven fellows). There were four or five thousand of these, who were house-holders in the *parganas* of Narnaul and Mewat. These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name," this being the meaning of *Sat-nām. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it.* Many of them have weapons and arms.

'At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hasan Abdal, a strong altercation arose one day near Narnaul, between a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping watch over the harvest. The latter broke the *Satnāmi's* head with his staff. A number of *Satnāmis* then collected and beat the watchman, so that they left him for dead. When intelligence

1. Cited by Sarkar, loc. cit., p. 337.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 185-87.

reached the *shikdār*, he assembled his men and sent them to arrest those *Satnāmis*. Meantime numbers of the *Satnāmis* assembled. They attacked the *shikdār's* men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms. Their numbers went on increasing, and information was carried to Kar-talab Khān, *faujdār* of Narnaul.... ....To shorten a long story, suffice it to say that after several fights the *faujdār* was killed, and the town of Narnaul fell into the hands of the *Satnāmis*. They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own. When the Emperor reached Delhi, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. It was said that swords, arrows, and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. Thus they were credited with magic and witch-craft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones on which their women rode as an advance guard.

'Great *rājas* and veteran *amīrs* were sent against them with powerful armies. But the rebels were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen *kos* from Delhi. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them; but the *zamīndārs* of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rajputs, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then wrote some prayers and devices with his own hands, which he ordered to be sewn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Rāja Bishan Singh, Hamīd Khān, and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.'[1]

The Sikhs.

The Sikh religion, founded by Bābā Nānak (1469-1539 A. D.), was the outcome of the impact of Islām on Hinduism. In the words of Bhāi Gurudās: 'Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs.' The apostolate of the Sikhs, from Bābā Nānak the founder to Guru Govind Singh the last Guru, consisted of ten leaders. Their total regime lasted from 1469—1708, i.e., almost exactly

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 294-96.

synchronous with the Great Mughals, from Bābur to Aurangzeb. The second, Guru Angad (1539—52), was a contemporary of Humāyūn (1530-56). The fifth, Guru Arjun (1581-1606), had become so important that according to a contemporary, 'The Emperor [Akbar] and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him.' We have already observed the fate of this Guru under Jahāngīr: his sympathy with the rebellious prince Khūsrū ended in his virtual execution. His son and successor, Har Govind (1606-45), was cast in a martial mould. "I wear two swords," he said, "as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." He had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort for his father's non-payment of the fine imposed upon him by Jahāngīr. Early in the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628), Har Govind's pompous retinue came into conflict with the Imperial hunting party. This led to military retaliation, in which the Imperialists were routed with heavy loss at Sangrana, near Amritsar. But finally, the rebellious Guru was forced to take refuge at Kirātpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645. Dārā Shikoh paid frequent visits to Har Rai, the seventh Guru (1645-61), and was blessed by him. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he called upon Har Rāi to answer for this; but Har Rāi only sent his eldest son Rām Rāi to the Imperial Court. The latter having fallen into the Imperial trap, was disinherited by the father, who consequently, at the time of his death (in 1661), nominated his second son Har Kishen successor. Rām Rāi thereupon contested the *gādi* with the support of Aurangzeb. Har Kishen was sent for, but death snatched him away in 1664. However, the choice of the Sikh community now fell on Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of Har Govind. In 1668 this new Guru appears to have fought in the Mughal ranks in the Assam war, under Rām Rāja, son of Mīrza Rājah Jai Singh. But on his return to the Punjab, "he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places

desecrated."[1] So he threw himself heart and soul into the movement against forcible conversions that had been going on in Kashmir and other places. Such conduct was bound to arouse Imperial wrath sooner or later ; and when it happened the Guru ended his life as a martyr.

There are different versions of the details of this tragedy. Prof. Sarkar says, " Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islām, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."[2] According to M'Gregor, Tegh Bahādur was sent for by Aurangzeb at the instigation of Rām Rāi, as a usurper of the Sikh *gādi* : The Guru was told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Guru gave his answer, " Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will place a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it round his neck and then requested the emperor to order some one to cut it ! The blow was given, and the head of the Guru rolled on the floor ! The paper was then read and contained these words :—

" Sir dya aur Sirr ne dya."[3]

Cunningham, on the other hand, writes : " Tegh Bahādur followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Mahometan zealot, named Adum Hāfiz and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoos, while his confederate

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 354. The whole of the above account is abstracted from Sarkar, who quotes Khāfī Khān to show that 'Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (*masanns*) for collecting the titles and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities.'

2. Ibid., pp. 354-5.

3. i.e., " I gave my head, but not my secret."—M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, I. p. 67.

did the same upon wealthy Mussulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country ; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahometan saint was banished, but Aurangzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death." He was accordingly summoned to Delhi, where the incident described by M'Gregor took place. "Such is the narrative of a rude and wonder-loving people," concludes Cunningham ; "yet it is more certain that Tegh Bahādur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurangzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi." [1]

Finally, V. A. Smith gives a flattering anecdote in this connexion, for which, however, no definite authority is cited by him : "According to a famous story he (Tegh Bahādur) was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial female apartments. He replied to the charge by saying :

'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy hangings (*pardās*) and destroy thy empire.'" [2]

Tegh Bahādur, on his way to Delhi, anticipating his fate, had handed on the torch of hatred to his son and successor, Govind Singh. "Girding upon him the sword of Hur Govind, he hailed him as the Gooroo of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and *he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of revenge.*" At the time of these happenings Govind Singh was only fifteen years of age. "The violent end and the last injunction of the martyr Gooroo, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over

1. *A History of the Sikhs*, pp. 92-4.
2. *O. H.*, p. 454.

his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irreconcilable foe of the Mahometan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people."[1]

We need not trace in detail the personal history and training of Guru Govind for the task he had set himself :[2] "In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire. Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine ; but it is not necessary to suppose him either an unscrupulous impostor or a self-deluded enthusiast. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose,....and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primaeval seers and heroes ; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world, and his mind was perhaps unhinged with a superstitious belief in his own earthly destiny."[3] In short, Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and last of the Sikh Apostolate (1676-1708), was one of whom it had been said : 'he could convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' He inspired his followers with the belief that 'where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints ; where there are five Sikhs, there is God !' He made the Sikhs homogeneous by the abolition of all caste distinctions, and making them 'as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Musalman.' "I shall make men of all four castes lions," he said, "and destroy the Mughals." He drilled and disciplined his men into a body of ironsides. Indeed, as Prof. Sarkar has well observed : "If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the re-

1. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 93-5.
2. *The Vichitra Nātak*, which forms the Tenth Book of the *Granth*, is an autobiography of Guru Govind Singh.
3. Cunningham, loc. cit., pp. 97-8.

sult would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine."[1]

To oppose Mughal Imperialism he assumed the outward insignia of its grandeur. He lived in princely state, "kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His body-guards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs. 16 each ; and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal imperial band."[2] But among fellow Sikhs he lived on terms of perfect equality. When he introduced the new baptism, to the great astonishment of his disciples, he received it in ret. at their hands ! When he reorganised the Sikh community as the *Khālsa* (the pure, or God's own people), he gave them the appellation of Singhs or lions. They were always to wear the five Ks : *Kes*—long hair, *Kanga*—a comb, *Kirpan*—a sword, *Kaech*—shorts, and *Kara*—a steel bracelet. The nature of the transformation is well indicated in the Guru's first address to his disciples : "Since the time of Bābā Nānak," he said, "*Charan-pahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility ; *but Khālsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms.* Therefore, I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from *Sikhs* (disciples) to *Singhs* (lions)." Ere long he gathered together a formidable force of about 80,000 followers.

He had for a long time to contend with the local chieftains and *Rājahs* in Kashmir and the Punjab, then ultimately with the organised might of the Empire. In the course of these struggles, strongly reminiscent of the trials and tribulations, the fortitude and courage and determination of Rāṇa Pratāp Singh, he lost two of his sons in fighting, and two others gave their heads as the penalty for refusing to apostatise. On hearing of these losses the Guru uprooted a shrub by his side, and exclaimed, "As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall

1. Sarkar op. cit., pp. 358-9.
2. Ibid., p. 359.

the Turks be extirpated."[1] Of course he did not live to achieve this ambition. But as Cunningham truly points out, success is not always the measure of greatness. "The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty, although fitful, longing for social freedom and national ascendancy."[2]

The last act of Guru Govind breathing defiance was the letter he addressed to Aurangzeb, known as the *Zafar Nāma*. When the Emperor summoned him to his presence, he wrote to him declaring—

'I have not a particle of confidence in thee. I was forced to engage in the combat and fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the region of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars are under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of kings and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas! A hundred times alas! for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Smite not any one mercilessly with thy sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God. He is the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and destroyer of the reckless. What though my four sons were killed? I remain behind like a coiled snake! What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless; *this caravanserai is only for a few days.* People leave it at all times. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. *Lay not the axe to thy Kingdom.*'[3]

1. A similar ancedote is related of Chānakya re the Nandas.
2. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 123.
3. Abridged from *Ramanand to Ram Tirth* (Natesan, Madras.), pp. 155-57.

The Emperor, indeed, left this caravanserai in a few days, and the prophetic Guru was saved for the time being. When Prince Muazzam was on his way to secure Aurangzeb's throne, Guru Govind joined him. In recognition of the service rendered by the Khālsa army, Bahādur Shāh put Govind Singh in command of 5,000 horse. But during the campaign in the Deccan, whither Guru Govind had accompanied the Emperor, he was assassinated by a Pathān who had an ancient grudge to feed fat on him. This happened at Nānder on the Godāvari (150 miles north-west of Haidarabad) in 1708. With him ended the Sikh Apostolate of the Ten Gurus. His constant desire had been

Now be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands :
That when the end of life cometh, I may die fighting in a mighty battle !

His last message to his followers was : " I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Ever remain under His protection ; trust no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled, who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them....I have infused my soul into the *Khālsa* and the *Granth Sāhib*...Obey the *Granth Sāhib*. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns."[1]

RAJPUT RESISTANCE

Towards the close of Shāh Jahān's reign (1653-54 A.D.) Rāṇā Jagat Singh of Udaipur had made bold to restore the walls of Chitor, against treaty-stipulations since their destruction by Akbar. As the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* has it :

Chitor dismantled.

'From the time of the late Emperor Jahāngīr, it had been settled that no one of the Rāṇā's posterity should ever fortify it ; but Rāṇā Jagat Singh, the father of Rāja Jai Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very strongly anew.' Shāh Jahān, when he came to

1. Abridged from *Ramanand to Ram Tirth* (Natesan, Madras), 158.

know this, 'despatched Allāmi, with a large number of nobles and *mansabadārs* and 1,500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 30,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the fort of Chitor....He also directed him, if perchance the Rāṇa did not tender his obedience, to overrun his territory with the royal forces, and inflict suitable chastisement on him.' The Rāṇa having temporised, 'On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Rāṇa's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negotiations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depasturing his cattle on the crops. On the 5th of *Zi-l hijja*, this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pick-axes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. Accordingly in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and battlements in ruins, and having dug up and subverted, both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole to the ground. The Rāṇa having awoke from his sleep of heedlessness at the advent of the prosperous banners at Ajmir, the irresistible force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the humblest apologies to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shaikh 'Abdu-l Karim, the Prince Buland Iqbāl's *Mir-i buyutat*. A *farmān* was then issued to Jamdatu-l Mulk ('Allāmi), that since the fort had been demolished, and the Rāṇa had sent off his son to Court, *the pen of forgiveness had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies* at the Prince Buland Iqbāl's solicitation.'[1]

Lull before Storm.

Rajputana was at peace with the Empire for a quarter century since this happened. Rāja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) commanded Mughal armies against the Marathas, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter. During the fateful War of Succession, the former had, indeed, fought against Aurangzeb at Dharmat, and, betrayed him at Khajwah. But Aurangzeb finally won him over. The crafty Emperor, as Tod says, 'always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms' and 'addressed a letter to Jeswant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat if he would withdraw his support from Dārā, and remain neuter in the contest.' This

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 103-4.

was achieved through the mediation of Mīrza Rāja Jai Singh, after Khajwah and before Deorai (5th January—13th March, 1659). In spite of their good services, however, the two Rājas shared an equally disastrous fate. Aurangzeb suspected both of complicity with Shivāji, and ultimately got rid of both by poisoning the one and sending the other "beyond the Attok to die."[1]

Sighs never ceased from Aurangzeb's heart, it was said, while Jaswant Singh lived. In the estimation of the immortal historian of Rājasthān: "The life of Jeswant Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana..... Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb, ... to his conflicts with the Afghans. Although the Rāhtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shāh Jāhān, estimating the frank Dārā above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."[2]

Invasion of Mārwar.

The twenty-five years of Rajput acquiescence, following the dismantling of Chitor, therefore, formed merely the lull before a storm. The death of Jaswant Singh at Jamrud, on 10th December, 1678 was practically a signal for war. The valiant Rajput had been sent to fight the Afghans with the hope that he might not return. During his absence 'Maroo' (Mārwar) had been left in the charge of Prithvi Singh, Jaswant Singh's heir. Aurangzeb summoned Prithvi Singh to his Court and at the end of flattering entertainment presented him with a poisoned 'dress of honour'—"That day was his last!" This bereavement, together with the loss of two other sons at Kabul, hastened the death of Jaswant Singh who had been sufficiently worn out by the trials of the campaign. Before three weeks

1. Tod, *Rājasthan*, II, pp. 878-79 and 1207.
2. Ibid., pp. 879-80.

were out Aurangzeb's plans regarding Jodhpur had already been set in motion.

The State being virtually without a head, and Jaswant's best troops away in Afghanistan, the Mughals had an easy way to everything. Muslim officers were at once appointed to the posts of *Faujdār*, *Qilādār*, *Kotwāl*, and *Amīn* at Jodhpur. On 9th January, 1679, Aurangzeb himself set out for Ajmer to overawe opposition. On 7th February, Khān-i Jahān Bahādur was despatched with a band of high officers "to occupy the country, to demolish its temples, and seize the late Mahārājah's property."[1] On 2nd April Aurangzeb returned to Delhi and took the momentous step of re-imposing the *jiziya*. Evidently he was flushed with the triumph of having subjugated Jodhpur, the rallying centre of militant Hinduism in the North. Next month Khān-i Jahān returned to Court taking with him cart-loads of broken idols from Jodhpur to be trodden under foot by pious Muslims at the capital. To complete the work of humiliating Mārwar, the throne of Jaswant Singh was sold to the Chief of Nagar for 36 *lakhs* of Rupees, and the latter occupied it on 26th May, 1679, under Imperial escort.

Ajit Singh and Durgādās.

But soon a cloud appeared on the horizon. Two widowed queens of the dead Mahārājah had given birth to two sons at Lahore in February. Though one of these succumbed within a few weeks, the other lived to sit on his father's throne, at the end of a very romantic career. This was Ajit Singh the protégé of the heroic Durgādās, whom Tod describes as the Ulysses of the Rāhtores, and whom the Rajputs still adore as the epitomé of their chivalry :

"Eh! Mātā poot esa jin
Jessa Doorgā-dā!
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin thama ākhās!"[2]

1. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 370.
2. Tod, op. cit., p. 892. "Oh, mother! produce such sons as Doorgādās, who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens (without a pillar)!"

"This model of a Rajpoot, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation."[1]

Aurangzeb, when he heard of the posthumous children, at once thought of capturing them. They were brought to Delhi, but the strategy of Durgādās saved Ajit Singh for Mārwar. The narrative of how it happened may be told in the words of Khāfī Khān :—

'There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Rāja Jaswant Singh's tribute, which was aggravated by these posthumous proceedings of the Rajputs. He ordered the *kotwāl* to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdārs*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajputs, and keep guard over them.....

'Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Rāja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the *rānis*, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these women and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) *rānis*, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs, and made their way with all speed to their own country. The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Rāja were. After two or three watches, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the *rānis* and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking all the Rāja's followers into the fortress. The Rajputs and the disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Rāja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped.

'The flight of the *rānis* was not clearly proved (!) Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the *wazīr* had sent out a force to secure them. The royal forces went in pursuit twenty *kos* from Delhi, but they could not overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (substituted) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal *harem*, and were there brought up. The two boys whom the Rajputs carried off were for a long time *rejected by Aurangzeb, who refused to acknowledge that*

1. Ibid.

they were the sons of Jaswant, until all doubt was removed by the Rāṇa of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family.'[1]

The whole strategy had been planned and executed by Durgādās, a son of Jaswant Singh's minister Askaran, Baron of Drunera. "Fighting against terrible odds and a host of enemies on every side, with distrust and wavering among his own countrymen, he kept the cause of his chieftain triumphant. Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal arms could not daunt that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rāhtors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organising power of a Mughal minister of State."[2] The other death-loving Rajputs, who immortalised themselves by staying the Mughal pursuit of the fugitives at every step, at the cost of their own lives, were Raghunāth Bhatti and Ranchhordās Jodha. While the route from Delhi to Mārwar, up to the point of the pursuers' exhaustion, was being dyed with the blood of brave Rajput bands, the custodians of Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur with their precious charge (23rd July, 1679). Mārwar quickly rallied round its infant king.

Muhammadi Rāj !

But Aurangzeb, ever resourceful in political legerdemain, declared Ajit Singh a pretender, and proclaimed a milk-man's lad of equal age, in his own custody, the real heir of Jaswant Singh. This Imperial ward was brought up in the Mughal *harem* as a rival to Ajit Singh, under the sinister name of Muhammadi Rāj ! At the same time a strong force of Mussalmans was sent to Mārwar for the reconquest of that State. "Anarchy and slaughter were let loose on the doomed province."

Second Invasion of Mārwar.

On 25th September, Aurangzeb once again took up his headquarters at Ajmer. Prince Muhammad Akbar, who was soon to play the rôle of Destiny, was put in charge of the campaign, with Tahawwur Khān, *faujdār* of Ajmer, as second-in-command. The first scene of the tragedy opened with the

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 297-98.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 375-76.

slaughter of the brave band of Mairtia Rāhtors under Rāj Singh—the Leonidas of this Thermopylae—at the temple of the Sacred Boar, near lake Pushkar. Thereafter every house in Mārwar became a stronghold to be captured, and every Rāhtor a stubborn Hereward the Wake. 'Maroo' was transformed into one vast arena of blood-shed, pillage, and devastation. Mosques arose like mushrooms on the sites of temples to proclaim the triumph of Islām in this Jerusalem of the Hindus. The nest was scattered though the bird had flown!

Mewar Joins.

'As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzeb pour his barbarians over the land.' It was indeed not a calamity for Mārwar alone, but an imminent danger to Mewar and other Rajput States as well. "The annexation of Mārwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar."[1] Besides, the rage for temple destruction was not likely to be stopped by the Aravali range. Already the demand for *jiziya* had been made even from the Mahārāṇa. The Sisodias, therefore, had every reason to make common cause with the Rāhtors. The fact that Ajit Singh's mother was a Mewar Princess, made such a combination both easy and natural.

Mahārāṇa Rāj Singh, accordingly, began preparations for the defence of Mewar. He again fortified Chitor, and blocked the Deobari Pass leading to his capital. But Aurangzeb was too experienced a general to await developments. He left Ajmer on 30th November, 1679, for Udaipur. Deobari was occupied on 4th January, 1680. The Rājputs, finding themselves unequal to the enemy on the low lands, retired to the mountains, leaving even their capital deserted. So, Udaipur was occupied without much struggle. Its only defenders were in the great temple—'One of the wonders of the age and a building that had cost the infidels much money; but the Muslims made short work of them.' This and three more temples of Udai-Sāgar met with the same fate. Hassan Ali Khān, the Mughal commander, desperately in search of the fugitives,

1. Ibid., pp. 382-83.

found himself in a quandary for some time. The Rāṇa was, however, defeated on 22nd January. No less than 173 temples in the environs of Udaipur, and 63 in Chitor, fell under the strokes of the enemy. His work thus accomplished, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 22nd March. Prince Akbar, with his base at Chitor, was left in charge of the rest. The Mughals had to pay dearly for this hasty retreat of the Emperor. Akbar was either too ill-equipped or too incompetent to meet the situation.

The Sisodias began to harass the enemy with the elusive tactics of guerilla warfare. By May the Rāṇa inflicted heavy losses on the Mughals. "A few days later, the Rajputs carried off a convoy of *banjaras* with 10,000 pack-oxen bringing grain to the prince's army from Malwa." Bhīm Singh, the Rāṇa's son, inflicted swift and sudden blows at unexpected points. "Our army," Akbar complained, "is motionless through fear!"

Third Invasion of Mārwar.

With this confession of defeat, Akbar was transferred to Mārwar. The Mewar command was now entrusted to Prince Azam (26th June); the other two Princes were merely to co-operate with him in delivering a three-fold attack: Azam from Chitor, Muazzam from Rājsamudra, and Akbar from Deosuri. The plan, however, miscarried.

Akbar took up his headquarters at Sojat (in Mārwar) on 18th July, 1680. But the situation became so perilous that the Prince only made a show of movement without any real action. At the end of September he shifted to Nadol, and on 19th November, under impatient orders from Aurangzeb, like 'the whining schoolboy, with his satchel, ... creeping like snail unwillingly to school' (but without his 'shining morning face'), Akbar advanced up to Deosuri. But the result of this pressure in an impossible situation was far from what Aurangzeb had ever dreamt of. The year 1681 dawned with treason on its brow.

Akbar's Revolt.

On 1st January, Prince Muhammad Akbar donned the imperial robes, with the blessings of four *Mullahs* who declared Aurangzeb deposed

for '*violation of the Islamic Canon Law*!'[1] According to Khāfī Khān, Prince Muazzam was first tempted by the Rajputs, but he failed to respond to their seduction.

'When they despaired success in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his youth (he was only 23 years of age), and the favour of some of his friends. *Durgā Dās was their spokesman.* He was noted among them for his plausibility, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand Rajput horse, and with abundance of treasure. This so dazzled the Prince that he was deluded, and several of his evil companions (Tahawwur Khān among them) artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led astray from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snares of the Rajputs.'[2]

Prince Muazzam warned Aurangzeb of this defection, but he 'thought that Muazzam's letter about his brother Akbar was sheer calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and praying that the Almighty would keep him in the right course, and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of designing people.'

But, 'soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under *Durgādās* joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had ascended the throne, and that coins had been struck in his name; that Tahawwur Khān had been made a *half-hazāri*, and had received the title of *Amīru-l umra*; that Mujahid Khān and other great servants of State, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

'On the forces being sent off under the command of Prince Akbar, against the infidels,' Khāfī Khān continues, "only Asad Khān and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his retinue, counting the eunuchs and writers, did not exceed seven or eight hundred horsemen. A great panic fell upon the royal camp, and wild confusion followed. A letter under the royal signature was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, urging him to come with all his army, and

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 406.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 300-1.

with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb. ..... The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.'[1]

Meanwhile, there were a few important defections in the camp of the rebel Prince. Shihabu-d din Khān (father of the first Nizām of Hyderabad) was the first Mughal captain, after a hard two days' ride of 120 miles, to bring his brother Mujahid Khān from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Next was Akbar's right-hand man Tahawwur Khān, who was weaned away by a threatening letter from his father-in-law Inayet Khān (Aurangzeb's secretary). In it Tahawwur Khān was promised a pardon for his indiscretion, and failing response he was threatened that 'his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold into slavery at the price of dogs.' (What a contrast to the conduct of Durgādās, who, when Akbar was in flight, as we shall presently see, gave shelter to his family and provided for their education at the hands of Muslim tutors!) The fate of Tahawwur, for all his whimsical conduct, was terrible. When he reached Aurangzeb's camp, he asserted the dignity of a Mughal courtier to enter the presence without being disarmed. This insistence was looked upon with suspicion of designs on the Emperor's life. From words at last he came to blows. 'Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off.'[2]

Aurangzeb's Ruse.

However, this might have happened, says Khāfi Khān, 'his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his Rajputs, and they were much dispirited.' At such a moment Aurangzeb, it is alleged, thought of a ruse similar to that designed by Sher Shāh in his campaign against Mal Dev of Jodhpur: 'It was commonly reported,' says our historian, 'that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rajputs, as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies (viz., Akbar's and Aurangzeb's). This letter was the cause of great divisions among them.' In fact the plot eminently succeeded, and Prince Akbar awoke one morning to find himself deserted by his allies. The Rajputs discovered the reality too late. 'For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was soon informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durgā-

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 302.
2. Ibid., p. 303.

dās, two or three confidential officers of the Rāṇa, and a small force of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained. He lost all courage, self-reliance, and hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight .....Prince Muhammad Mazzam was ordered to pursue him.[1]

The rest of the story of Akbar may be very briefly told.

End of Akbar.

He made his way, in spite of being hotly pursued, ultimately to the Court of Sambhāji at Rāigarh in the South. There he was well received. Sambhāji 'came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Rāhiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[2] But Aurangzeb had issued orders to 'Khān-Jahān Bahādur, *Subādār* of the Dakhin, and to all the *faujdārs*, directing them to stop him, (Akbar) wherever he might come, to take him prisoner *alive if possible, if not, to kill him.*' When 'the report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Itikad Khān to effect the conquest of Rāhiri, Prince Muhammad Akbar.... thought it advisable to make his way as best as he could to Persia.' He embarked in February 1687, in a ship hired at Rajapur and commanded by the Englishman, Bendal.[3] But unfortunately, 'through the stress of weather,' Prince Akbar was stranded upon an island belonging to the Imām of Maskat, who 'affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect; but in reality kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imām promised to give up the Prince.'

'Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imām.' But, in the meanwhile, the Shāh of Persia (the overlord of the Imām of Masket) directed the Imām to render up 'the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imām. So perforce the Imām delivered up the Prince to the Shāh's Officers.' He was received well in Persia, where he conceived the high ambition of invading India, as Humāyūn had done before him, with Persian

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 304.
2. Ibid., p. 309. For Akbar's activities and disappointments in Mahārāshtra, see Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 290, 299-301.
3. Ibid., p. 307.

assistance. But at Garmsir in Khurasan he died 'towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb.'[1]

Peace with Mewar.

"Akbar's rebellion," as Prof. Sarkar has observed, "failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought unhoped for relief to the Mahārāṇa. It disconcerted the Mughal plan of war at a time when their net was being drawn closer round his State and even his hill refuge had been proved to be not invulnerable. Akbar's defection broke the cordon, and, by diverting all the untainted imperial troops into Mārwar, gave automatic relief to Mewar."[2] The valiant Rāṇa Rāj Singh had in the meantime died (22nd October, 1680); his successor, Jai Singh, was incapable of sustaining the struggle. Aurangzeb too now wanted to concentrate his attention in the South. Shivāji's death in April, 1680, had given rise to fresh hopes in that direction. The flight of Akbar (16th January, 1681) and the consequent pursuit had necessitated the diversion of the Imperial forces into the Deccan. Moreover, Sambhāji had provoked him by giving shelter to the fugitive Prince. So, all things pointed to the expediency of peace in the North. A welcome mediator was found in Shyām Singh of Bikānir who offered to hold the olive branch for either side.

Prince Muhammad Azam personally visited the Mahārāṇa on 14th June, 1681, near Rājsamudra, and the following terms were agreed upon between Mewar and the Empire :—

1. In lieu of the *jiziya* demanded from Udaipur, the *parganahs* of Mandal, Pur, and Bednor were to be permanently ceded to the Empire.

2. The Mughals were to withdraw all their forces from Mewar territory.

Jai Singh was recognised as Rāṇā, holding the rank of 5,000 horse in the Imperial peerage. Two months later Bhīm Singh, the hero of Mewar, entered Mughal service, was invested

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 308-9, 312-13.
2. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 419.

with the dignity of a Rāja and posted at Ajmer, for the war with the Rāhtors continued till August, 1709.

Mārwar continues the War.

This back-sliding of her ally did not affect the hostile attitude of Mārwar towards the Empire. For the Rāhtors there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Aurangzeb had, indeed, left for the South, but Mughal officers were still in charge of the State ; the army of occupation was still an eyesore to Maroo. The war of independence therefore, continued, until the death of Aurangzeb and the restoration of Ajit Singh.

Three definite stages may be marked out in this protracted struggle : (1) From 1681-87 it was entirely a people's war—kingless, leaderless and desultory ; (2) 1687-1701 under Durgādās and Ajit Singh, who now assumed the leadership but could not, despite their victories, oust the Muslims from the sacred soil ; and (3) 1701-7 during which period after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides, the Mughal policy of greed and aggression completely broke down, and Mārwar recovered her national ruling dynasty.

1st Stage : 1681-87.

Ajit Singh was still an infant and in concealment ; and Durgādās was away in the Deccan. But the Rāhtors continued to fight against the Imperialists in much the same manner as the Netherlands did against the Spaniards, or the Marathas against the Mughals after the death of Sambhāji. They took refuge in the hills and out of the way places, and as one of their own bards put it : 'An hour before sunset every gate of Maroo was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit....The roads were now impassable.' Their guerilla methods rendered them irrepressible and at the same time ruinous to the army of occupation. Their deadliest tactics were to cut off the Mughal supplies.[1]

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 392-93.

2nd Stage : 1687-1701.

The return of Durgādās from Mahārāshtra, in 1687, gave a fillip to the Rāhtor war of independence. A valuable ally was also just then gained in Durjan Sāl Hada of Bundi who strengthened the national army with an addition of a thousand horse. Though the great Hada chief died soon after, the united Bundi and Mārwar forces succeeded in driving away most of the Mughal outposts, and also raided Imperial territory almost to the gates of Delhi.

In 1690 Durgādās won a conspicuous victory over Safi Khān, the Governor of Ajmer. But in Shujaet Khān, the Viceroy of Gujarat, who was also now entrusted with the charge of Mārwar, the Rajputs found an adversary at once tough and subtle. With the help of the historian Ishwardās, a Nāgar Brāhman who had served in Jodhpur as revenue officer, Shujaet Khān induced Durgādās to send away Akbar's daughter (his ward) to the Imperial Court (1694). It was then that the fanatical Aurangzeb was awakened to the spirit of Rajput chivalry in contrast to his own bigotry ; for Durgādās had not even neglected the education of his Muslim ward,—she had been enabled to learn the Muhammadan scriptures in the very stronghold of the infidels ! But Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar was still in Durgādās's custody, and he was not restored until 1698, when Aurangzeb granted Ajit Singh the *pargaṇas* of Jhalor, Sanchod, and Siwana as his *jahgir* with a *manṣab* in the Imperial army. Though this might be looked upon as a humiliating compromise, it was highly expedient, and the two Rajput leaders only made use of it to gain time and opportunity for further advance. Durgādās himself was rewarded with the *faujdāri* of Patan and a *manṣab* of 3,000. This he kept until 1701-2, when he again rebelled. The opportunity was afforded by the succession of Prince Muhammad Azam as Viceroy of Gujarat. Durgādās set fire to his tents and baggage and immediately rode away towards Mārwar with all his followers, by forced marches."[1]

1. Ibid., p. 396.

With this event the Rāhtor struggle entered on its third and last stage. To his great chagrin, however, Durgādās found Ajit "impatient of advice, imperious in temper, and jealous" of his well-merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. The economic exhaustion of Mārwar, too, was complete, and war-weariness had seized the Rāhtors after a quarter century of incessant fighting. Once more, therefore, both Ajit and Durgādās bowed the head of submission to the proud Emperor (1704-5). But the final opportunity came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin fighters had again risen in revolt when the welcome news of the Emperor's demise reached their ears. On 7th March, 1707, Ajit was again on the march towards his ancestral capital. Jaffar Kuli, the deputy *faujdār* of Jodhpur, was soon expelled, and the son of Jaswant Singh at last set on his father's throne. Durgādās's herculean labours had not been in vain!

3rd Stage: 1701-1707.

III. SOUTH INDIA

When Aurangzeb marched South in pursuit of his fugitive son, Prince Akbar, he marched to his doom. The Deccan was to prove his grave yard; and when, in 1707, he was buried there, more things went under the stone than the body of the dead Emperor. But before we come to the denouément of the great drama of Aurangzeb's life, we have to resume the tangle of South Indian history where we left it, viz., at the commencement of the fratricidal strife in 1657.

A. FALL OF THE ADIL-SHĀHI

On 4th October 1657 Aurangzeb retreated from Kalyāni on account of happenings we have already narrated. The conquest of Bijapur was then deferred for more vital considerations. The peace that had been secured by the Adil Shāh, through the intercession of Dārā with Shāh Jahān, could not last, in the nature of things. The Bijapur ruler had promised to pay an indemnity of one *crore* of rupees and to cede the forts of Bidar, Kalyāni,

Introduction.

and Parenda. But no sooner than Aurangzeb turned his back on the Deccan, it became clear that Adil Shāh would not yield without further struggle. On 1st January 1658 Mīr Jumla returned to Aurangabad baffled in his attempts to secure fulfilment of the treaty with Bijapur. Then came Aurangzeb's engrossing pre-occupations in North India. The History of Bijapur in the intervening period is mixed up with that of the Marathas and is not relevant to our purpose here. We may, therefore, hasten to relate the tragedy of the two Muhammadan kingdoms of the south, viz., Bijapur and Golkonda ; for, once we have finished with them, we shall be free to consider undistracted Aurangzeb's last and fatal struggle with Mahārāshtra.

Jai Singh at Bijapur, 1665-6.

Jai Singh, who had been sent against Shivāji (about whom later), had, by June 1665, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Purandhar detaching the Marathas from their alliance with Bijapur ; nay more, he had secured from Shivāji, a promise to assist the Mughals with 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under his own and his son Sambhāji's leadership respectively, in the intended campaign against Bijapur. The Adil Shāh was further weakened by the enticement of his nobility (e. g. Mulla Ahmad, a Navāyat from Konkan who occupied the second place among the Bijapur nobles), by profuse bribery. Attempts were also made to induce Kutb Shāh to keep aloof in the coming struggle. Nevertheless, 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry from Golkonda threw in their weight on the side of Bijapur. Jai Singh had under him 40,000 Imperial troops, besides 2,000 Maratha cavalry and 7,000 infantry under Netāji Pālkar. The last played a truant and took bribes from both sides ; and although, therefore, Jai Singh came within 12 miles of Bijapur before the end of December (1665), after fighting a series of futile battles he was obliged to retreat.

Ali Adil Shāh II had made effective preparations for the defence. The regular garrison had been reinforced with 30,000 doughty Karnāṭakis, and the whole country around to

a radius of 6 miles had been rendered a desert, so that the enemy might find neither shelter nor provisions. The result was that Jai Singh had to retreat effecting worse than nothing. The campaign was a military failure. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, nor a piece of indemnity was gained by it. As a financial speculation it was even more disastrous. In addition to thirty *lakhs* of Rupees from the imperial treasury, Jai Singh had spent more than a *krore* out of his own pocket. Profuse as Jai Singh's payments were, they were exceeded by the engagements he made on behalf of his master."[1]

In October 1666 he was ordered to return to Aurangabad; next March he was recalled to Court. In May 1667 he made over charge of the southern command to Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh. On 2nd July, 1667, the broken-hearted general died at Burhānpur on his way to the capital.[2]

Anarchy in Bijapur.

Bijapur was no doubt saved for the time being. But the doomed city was a constant prey to rival factions. Afghans, Abyssinians and Deccani Musalmans vied with the Marathas in maintaining anarchy in the State. For the next ten years the Mughals carried on their depredations within the Adilshahi territory. "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Aurangzib's reign," observes Sarkar, "we find that he had in 1657 annexed Kalyāni and Bidar in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur; the fort and district of Parenda in the extreme north had been gained by bribery in 1660; Sholāpur had been acquired by treaty in July 1668; and now Naldrug and Kulbarga were annexed. Thus, the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and the Manjira east-wards up to an imaginary line joining Kulbarga to Bidar (77° E. longitude) passed into Mughal

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 245-6.
2. According to Abbe Carz and Manucci, Jai Singh was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb;—See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivāji*, p. 215 and n. 12.

hands, and the imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhīma, opposite Halsangi, within striking distance of Bijapur city,—while south-eastwards it touched Malkhed, the fortress of the western border of the kingdom of Golkonda."[1]

Ali Adil Shāh II died on 24th November 1672, and with him departed the glory of Bijapur. He was succeeded by his infant son Sikandar, a boy of four, and a period of anarchy ensued which ended only with the extinction of the dynasty and the independence of the kingdom in 1686. The weakness and humiliation of Bijapur during this period are illustrated by the defection, to the Mughal camp, of 10,000 Bijapuris (Afghans, Deccani Musalmans and Marathas), and the compulsory submission of the Sultan's sister Shahar Banu (Pādishāh Bībi) to the Mughal *harem*. The idol of her family and people alike, this Princess left the city of her birth, on 1st July 1679, amidst the wailings of her near and dear ones, to enter the hated Sunni's seraglio.

Dilir Khān's Campaign.

Shivāji came to the rescue of distressed Bijapur with an army of 30,000 horse and provisions. He raided the Imperial territory between the Bhīma and the Narmada, burning, slaying, and plundering on all sides. Dilir Khān, the Mughal general despite great handicaps, retaliated with worse horrors in the Adil-shāhi dominion. "The villages in his path were utterly sacked; all their men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoners for being sold into slavery; and the women committed suicide by jumping down into the wells with their children.... He next roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting with fiendish cruelty needlessly inflicting unspeakable misery on the innocent peasants, and turning into a barren wilderness the region from Bijapur city southwards to the Krishna and eastwards to the fork between the Krishna and the Bhima."[2] Despite all this, Dilir Khān could effect no more

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 252.
2. Ibid., pp. 256-7.

than Jai Singh before him. On 23rd Feb., 1680, he was recalled utterly discomfited.

Prince Muazzam's viceroyalty had proved a failure. His place was taken by Prince Azam to whom had been married the Bijapur Princess above referred to. Aurangzeb wrote threatening letters to Sultan Sikandar to make his submission and to allow the Mughal troops to march through his territory against the Marathas. But the Bijapur Prince answered these demands as the Belgians did the Kaiser at the commencement of the Great War (1914). The result was the utter devastation of Bijapur.

Fall of Bijapur : 12th Sept., 1686.

The desolation of the country all round and lack of supplies at first threatened the Mughal army with starvation. The price of corn rose at one time to Rs. 15 a seer! The army was in despair. But the courage and determination of Prince Azam steeled them : "You have spoken for yourselves," he said to his officers. "Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begum will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The council of war then responded as Bābur's men had done before Khānua.

The siege of Bijapur began on 1st April 1685. It dragged on for 15 months, till June 1686, when Aurangzeb appeared in person. A deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, remonstrating : "You are an orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the *Qurān* and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzeb silenced them saying, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infernal infidel (Sambhāji) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall

raise the siege." On neither side was there sincerity. The siege went on.

On Sunday, 12th Sept. 1686, the Adil-shāhis capitulated. At one o'clock in the afternoon the proud Sikandar Shāh, the last of the Adil Shāhs, went down before Aurangzeb in his camp in Rasulpur. His subjects with tears and lamentations lined the streets of Bijapur as he marched past. He was well received, but shorn of his royal dignity. Sikandar was enrolled in the Mughal peerage with the title of *Khān*, and given a pension of one *lakh* of rupees a year. The victorious Aurangzeb rested in the Sultan's palace for a few hours, rendered thanks to God for his triumph, and erased from its walls paintings drawn in violation of the Qurānic injunction not to vie with the Creator in depicting life. An inscription recording the victory was also put upon the famous cannon *Mālik-i-maidān*. Desolation stared at the city of Bijapur after this. Even the water seemed to dry up in the springs. Plague followed war and swept away more than half its population. Sikandar Sultan defeated, dethroned, imprisoned (in the fort of Daulatābad for some time), died near Sātārā on 3rd April, 1700, hardly 32 years of age. According to his last wish, "his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and there buried at the foot of the sepulchre of his spiritual guide Shaikh Fahimullah, in a roofless enclosure."[1]

B. Fall of the Kutb-shāhī

The Kutb-shāhī kingdom of Golkonda, though internally in no better condition than Bijapur,[2] had helped the latter more than once in the hour of trial. So long as Aurangzeb was engrossed with the task of extinguishing the Adil-shāhī, he thought it at least expedient to treat with Kutbu-l Mulk. But no sooner than his hands were free and strengthened by his conquest of Bijapur, he turned his earnest attention towards the annexation of the other Shia kingdom of the Deccan. In the eyes of Aurangzeb the worst offence of Kutb Shāh was

1. Ibid., p. 267.
2. For details see Ibid., pp. 268-9.

his fraternising with infidels. Shivāji, after his flight from Agra, in 1666, had received effective help from Golkonda in recovering his forts from the Mughals. In 1677 he had been again rapturously received at Haidarābād and promised an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* for the defence of his territory. Above all, the Brāhmans Mādanna and Akanna had been allowed to dominate the entire administration. Khāfī Khān thus describes the condition that justified interference by Aurangzeb :—

'It now became known to the Emperor that Abul Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom to Mādanna and Akanna, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musalmans, and brought great and increased troubles from them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery ....Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarābād, and the subjugation of Abul Hasan, he first sent Khān- Jahān Kokaltash ..... After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with.....were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingana.

Imperial Demands.

'Aurangzeb now sent Mīrzā Muhammad, the superintendent of his *ghusl-khāna*, to Abul Hasan Kutbu-l Mulk ; with a message to this effect : "It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him ..... Abul Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them.....Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor.....

'Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalilu-llah Khān (the Kutb-shāhī commander), offering peace on the following terms : *Abul Hasan must express regret for his offences and ask forgiveness. He must remove Mādanna and Akanna from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. The parganas of Siram, Rāmgir, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be*

forwarded without delay. The foolish *amīrs* of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.'[1]

Destruction of Haidarābād.

When, however, Abul Hasan saw that some of his trusted nobles deserted to the Mughals, he fled to the fort of Golkonda for refuge. Following this there was great destruction and plunder at Haidarābād. 'Before break of day,' writes our historian, 'the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were *lacs* upon *lacs* of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmans and Hindus were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shāh Alām appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The *kotwāl* of the army received orders to go with the Imperial *dīwān*, with an escort of four or five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abul Hasan.'

A Truce.

Then, Khāfī Khān proceeds to tell us, a deputation came from Abul Hasan to wait upon Prince Mu'azam 'most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed.....After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abul Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposals, upon certain conditions. *A tribute of one kror and twenty lacs of rupees was to be paid ; in addition to the usual annual tribute. Mādanna and Akanna, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Siram and the pargana of Khir, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abdul Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.*'[2]

While these negotiations were proceeding, 'some women of

1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb* ; E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 315.
2. Ibid., pp. 320-21.

great influence in the *harem*, without the knowledge of Abul Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Mādanna and Akanna... Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the *darbār* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them ..... Many *Brāhmans* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shāh Alam by the hands of a discreet person.'[1]

Siege of Golconda: 1687.

Shāh Alam returned to Aurangzeb's camp at Sholāpur on 7th June, 1686. Bijapur fell on the 12th September, and on the 28th January following (1687) the Emperor arrived within two miles of Golkonda. The fort, surrounded with a strong granite wall over four miles in length and of great thickness, was further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, 'each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton.' Within it were mansions of nobles, bazārs, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables, and cultivated fields, and space enough to accommodate the whole population of Haidarabad in times of danger. The whole was encircled by a deep ditch 50 feet broad.

Regular siege operations were commenced on the 7th February, 1687. Aurangzeb's charge-sheet against the ruler of Golkonda reads as follows :—

'*The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels; oppressing and afflicting the* SAIYIDS. SHAIKHS, *and other holy men; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day; making no distinction between*

1. Ibid., p. 321.

infidelity and Islām, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them; moreover it had lately become known that a LAC *of* PAGODAS *had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in his insolence and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next.'*

Whatever the plea, Aurangzeb was determined to lick up Golkonda. So, when Prince Shāh Alam showed inclinations to relent and intercede on behalf of Abul Hasan, he was ordered into the royal presence, his *mansabs* and *jāgīrs* were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. It was seven years before Aurangzeb's successor recovered his liberty.

'Day by day and week by week, the approaches (to the fort) were pushed forward under the direction of Ghāziu-d din Fīroz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizām, Mustafa Khān Lari, otherwise called Abdur Razzak, and others. The fighting was desperate and many were killed on both sides.... After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizām, and others deserted Abul Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles.'

The siege continued, for over eight months, the Mughals suffering heavy losses. Finally, when about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1687, the Imperialists entered and captured the fort, it was treachery that decided the fate of Abul Hasan and not the military superiority of the Mughals. As Khāfī Khān puts it, 'Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts; so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of Alamgīr at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands; *but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.*'

Fall of Golkonkonda: 21 Sept. 1687.

Abduallah Pani, surnamed Sardār Khān, who was a fortune-hunting Afghan, and had successively broken faith with Bijapur and the Mughals, now did the same with Abul Hasan, and opened the gates of Golkonda for a bribe. In noble and heroic contrast to this petty-fogging treachery stand the courageous loyalty of Abur Razzak, and the dignified nonchalance of Abul Hasan himself in the hour of utter discomfiture.

'Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan', writes Khāfī Khān, 'the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mustafa Khān Lari, or, as he was also called, Abdur Razzak. Springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, *like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun*, threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat.'

When at last he was borne down by sheer exhaustion, Abdur Razzak was picked up senseless by the Imperial officers. 'A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of Abdur Razzak's daring and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent Ruhullah Khān, and told him that if Abul Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abdur Razzak, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted seventy wounds, besides the many

wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son Abdul Kādir with his other sons, that they might receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service; but should he ever be capable of service, *he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abul Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of king Alamgīr* (Aurangzeb). On hearing these words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty; but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of Abdur Razzak's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.'

The Last Kutub Shāh.

If the account given by Khāfī Khān is true, the last king of Golkonda, whatever his other shortcomings, acted with a composure and dignity worthy of the master of such a servant. When he heard that all was over, 'He went into his *harem* to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sad, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the *masnad* and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests. When the time for taking his meals arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Ruhullah Khān and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance..... Abul Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the *amīrs*, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh he took off his neck-lace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it, and placing his

hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress of Daulatabad, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment and other necessaries. Officers were appointed to take possession of Abul Hasan and his nobles.

'The property of Abul Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*, and two *krors* and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six *krors*, eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles, and vessels of gold and silver. The total in *dams* was one *arb*, fifteen *krors*, sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.'[1]

C. Struggle with the Marāthas

In hastening to the fall of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) we anticipated the history of half a century. During this period the seeds of a mighty power were sown that was to prove fatal to the Empire whose history we have been tracing. Shāhji's capitulation, in 1636, before the joint forces of Khān-zamān, the Imperial officer, and Randaula Khān, the Bijapur commander, was indeed an act of expediency. This combination between the Empire and the Adil-shāhī, as we have already seen, was not to last long. The Marātha-shāhī that was to arise between these two powers was so placed geographically that it could successfully bargain with either to the final discomfiture of both. Shivāji, the embodiment of this new power, though he did not live to witness the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had, while making use of both against the Mughals, so harassed them that their fall was only a question of time. The history of this period taken in all its phases is very complex and intriguing. But we shall narrate here only such parts of it as have a direct bearing on our principal theme. It would be convenient to study the Mughal-

1. Ibid., pp. 331-36.

Maratha relations from the angle of Maratha leadership, which is the only way to avoid confusion. The rest of Maratha history is not relevant to our purpose.

1. Shāhji : 1636.

The personal history of Shāhji, father of Shivāji, need not detain us long. Abdu-l Hamīd Lahori introduces him to us in the following passage :—

'Nizāmu-l Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior, but *evil-minded Sāhu, and other turbulent Nizāmu-l Mulkis*, had found a boy of the Nizām's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizāmu-l Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Nizām's (Ahmadnagar) territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) was near Daulatābad, he determined to send Khān-daurān, Khān-zamān, and Shayista Khān, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels.....'[1] The upshot of the whole campaign was that Shāhu finally submitted with the young Nizām. 'He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khān and the Imperial general .....Accordingly the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund, and Harsiar, were delivered over to Khān-zamān .....Randula, under the orders of Adil Khān, placed the young Nizām in the hands of Khān-zamān, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sāhu.'[2]

2. Shivāji : 1646-80.

Shāhji's estate at this time, held under the Adil Shāh, consisted of the Poona district, "from Chākan to Indāpur, Supā, Shirwal, Wāi, and Jadgir, or a tract bounded on the west by the Ghāts, on the north by the Ghod river, on the east by the Bhīma and on the south by the Nīra river."[3] This was the nursery, seedbed or nucleus of Shivāji's future power and greatness.

1646 was a year of crisis in the history of Bijapur : it was also the year of Shivāji's opportunity. He seized Torna and its treasure of two *lacs* of *hun*, and five miles east of it built a new fort called Rājagarh. Further conquests, all in the Bijapur territory, followed, leading to Shāhji's imprisonment as a hostage. Shivāji in his dilemma approached the Mughal

1. *Bādshāh-nāma* ; E. D., op. cit., pp. 51-2.
2. Ibid., p. 60.
3. Sarkar, *Shivāji*, p. 22.

prince Murād Baksh to secure the release of his father. There was some diplomatic correspondence between prince Murād and Shivāji on the matter, in the course of the year 1649. Through whatever agency[1] Shāhji was released at the end of that year, and Shivāji kept quiet till 1655. During the latter year he captured Jāvli from the Morés, which considerably added to his power.[2]

Shivāji's activities are thus characterised by the hostile historian Khāfī Khān :

'He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode.....Adil Khān of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory.....Shivāji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other *jāgīrdārs*. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Dakhin.....He assembled a large force of Marātha robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses....Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar Ali Adil Khān II, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum tenens* of his father. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a Prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Shivāji day by day increased his strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means.....He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well

1. Sarkar thinks Shāhji's release was secured by the friendly mediation of Sarza Khān and the bail of Randaula Khān, two leading nobles of Bijapur, and not by the intervention of the Mughal Emperor or Prince Murād.—Ibid., pp. 40-1.

2. "The annexation of Jāvli not only opened to Shivāji a door for the conquest of the south and the west, but brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Māvle infantrymen from among the subjects and former retainers of Chandra Rao. In short, his recruiting ground for these excellent fighters along the Sahyādri range, was now doubled. The Morés had accumulated a vast treasure in eight generations of undisturbed and expanding rule, and the whole of it fell into Shivāji's hands."—Ibid., p. 47.

supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.'[1]

Nevertheless, the same sharp critic does not fail to add, '*But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurān came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until the relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people,* PAUL SIYAH (*copper money*), *and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Shivāji's Government.*'[2]

(i) First Clash with the Mughals :

Shivāji for a long time kept peace with the Mughals either because he did not feel strong enough to antagonise the Empire and Bijapur at the same time, or because of the vigilance of Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of the Deccan. When, however, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shāh (4 Nov. 1656), Aurangzeb began to mobilise for an attack on Bijapur, Shivāji offered to join the Imperialists on certain terms; evidently the legalisation of his usurpations in Bijapur territory. But Aurangzeb temporized, and when the war broke out, Bijapur won over Shivāji to its own side.

In March 1657 two of Shivāji's Maratha officers raided the Mughal territory and "carried devastation and alarm to

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 256-8.
2. Ibid., pp. 260-61.

the very gates of Ahmednagar, the most notable city in Mughal Deccan," while Shivāji himself stole into Junar city, slaughtered the guards, and carried off 300,000 *hun*, 200 horses, besides jewelry and rich clothing. Aurangzeb sent Nasiri Khān after Shivāji ordering him to "pursue the Marathas and extirpate them." The vigorous measures that were being taken were interrupted, first by the rainy season, and then by the War of Succession occasioned by Shāh Jahān's illness in September 1657. Bijapur made peace with Aurangzeb before he left for the north, and Shivāji also followed suit. In reply to Shivāji's embassy Aurangzeb wrote diplomatically : "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e., Shāhji's old *jāgīr*) together with the forts and territory of Konkan, after the Imperialists have seized the old Nizām-shāhī territory now in the charge of Adil Shāh,—you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my Court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me and you will protect the Imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Sonāji, and your prayers will be granted."[1] At the same time he wrote to Mīr Jumla and Adil Shāh : "Attend to it, as *the son of a dog* (meaning Shivāji) is waiting for his opportunity." Pedagon was also fortified as a base of operations against Poona. But the Succession War of 1658-59 gave Shivāji the needed respite, so far as the Mughals were concerned. It was during this period that the murder of Afzul Khān, the Bijapuri general sent against Shivāji, took place at Pratāpgarh. The controversy that has raged round this incident need not distract us here.[2] Our next incident is that relating to Shayista Khān.

(ii) Shayista Khān's Offensive.

Greatly encouraged by his triumph over Afzul Khān Shivāji continued his activities on all sides. Aurangzeb after his second coronation (July 1659) had appointed his uncle

1. Pārasnis MS., Letter 5—cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 61.
2. See Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 93, 81.

Shayista Khān viceroy of the Deccan. He now directed him to punish Shivāji and put him down. '*Amīru-l umara* (Shayista Khān),' according to Khāfī Khān, 'marched in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of *Jumada-l awwal* 1070 (end of January, 1660 A.D.), and marched towards Puna and Chākan, which in those days were Shivāji's places of abode and security.'[1] At the same time Siddhi Jauhar (now made Salābat Khān) launched another offensive on behalf of Bijapur from the south against Shivāji, and invested Panhāla (May, 1660). Though Jauhar proved 'both fool and traitor' in letting Shivāji escape from Panhāla, another Bijapuri force followed up and took Panhāla 'in a twinkle'. It was in the course of this flight of Shivāji from Panhāla to Viśālgarh the brave Bāji Prabhu *Deshpāndé* of Haridās *māval*) fought his heroic rear-guard action at the Thermopylae of Mahārāshtra and died with his brave seven hundred ! Where

> 'Death clamoured, and tall figures strewed the ground
> Like trees in a cyclone.'[2]

Shayista Khān, too, relentlessly pursued his campaign. But, 'the daring freebooter Shivāji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of *Amīru-l umara's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amīr* was informed of this, he appointed 4000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Shivāji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Puna and Shivpur, two places built by that *dog* (Shivāji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.'[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 261.
2. Aurobindo Ghose, *Bāji Prabhou*. In this ballad, however, the poet has changed the setting of the incident.
3. Khāfī Khān, E. & D., op. cit., pp. 261-2.

The next great fortress to be captured after a great struggle was Chākan (Aug. 1660) which was of considerable strategic importance to the Mughals as covering the retreat to Ahmadnagar. Then followed desultory warfare during the years 1661-63, ending with the famous *coup* of Shivāji on Shayista Khān's camp in Poona on 5th April 1663. On this occasion, says Prof. Sarkar, "Shivāji dealt a masterly blow at the Mughals, —a blow whose cleverness of design, neatness of execution and completeness of success created in the Mughal Court and camp as much terror of his prowess and belief in his possession of magical powers, as his *coup* against Afzul Khān had done among the Bijapuris. He surprised and wounded the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bed-chamber, within the inner ring of his body-guards and female slaves."[1] The details of this incident are only of legendary interest. The curious reader may find the Muslim account in Khāfī Khān's narrative[2] and the Maratha version in the Sabhāsad or Chitnis *bakhar*.[3] But there is one aspect of it which is worthy of being pointed out here, viz., the part played by Rāja Jaswant Singh.

Cosme da Guada, a Portuguese biographer of Shivāji, who wrote his account in 1695, states :

'Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous cannons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows : "Though Your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, if you recollect that I am a Gentio like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done, was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the gods of the world and even over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many times.... I offer you in the name of the gods

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 92.
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 269-71.
3. Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 201-07.

themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your high caste has, for honour and loyalty, to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know, moreover, that you hold the *jāgīr* of the Great Mogol and cannot, on that account, take the side of another, *but you may so behave that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your illustrious family (sangue) or in the respect due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan, to be able to do as I like (para ser senhor das accœns), and to do to him, without the knowledge of the Mouros, what I can.*"

'Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which *he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what he might design against the Mouros.*'[1]

The European version of the Shayista Khān incident is contained in the sequel to the above passage (pages 66-70). 'When this occurrence,' says Khāfī Khān, 'was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amīr* and Rāja Jaswant. The *Subadārī* of the Dakkhin and the command of the forces employed against Shivāji was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amīru-l umara* was recalled, but a subsequent order (1st December, 1663) sent him to be *Subadār* of Bengal. Mahārāja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.'[2] Does this acquit Jaswant Singh?

(iii) First Sack of Surat.

During the period of the change of viceroys and commanders, Shivāji indulged in another adventure, viz., a raid on Surat, the greatest emporium of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol.'[3] His object in doing this was, according to da Guarda, 'to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army.'[4] The same writer tells us, 'some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but

1. Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivāji*, pp. 64-6. Cf. Manucci, *storia do Mogor* II, p. 104.
2. E. & D., op cit., VII, p. 271.
3. Cosme da Guarda in Sen, op. cit., p. 73.
4. Ibid., p. 76.

caused a great laughter as hundred and eight thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevāgy had become master.' The Maratha, however, entered like 'a furious tiger in a herd of cows.' 'There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes, Guzarates, and all other Hindus as will not be easy to describe. Men, women, and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. *But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevāgy that unless resistance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished.*[1] Sevāgy's men then entered the houses and slighting the richest silk and silver coins, took only rupies of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver.... Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by 900 bullocks is credible.'[2]

M. de Thevenot observes, 'Sivāgy's Men entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the English and Dutch saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the cannon they planted, which Sivāgy would not venture upon, having none of his own.'[3]

The Mughal governor of Surat, Inayet Khān, shut himself up in the fort; and 'the governor's men continued to fire all night long, *but more damage was done to the town than the enemy*.....Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered, through this terrible fire, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Banian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 30 millions.... He (Sivāgy) and his followers appropriated only the most valuable spoils and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than they had lost through fire and pillage....(Sivāgy) departed at the first gleam of

1. For contrary accounts see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 99-110.
2. Sen, op. cit., pp. 74-6.
3. Ibid., p. 178.

daylight, delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail![1]

AFTER THE SACK

'The Governor of Surrate reported the above-mentioned incident to the Great Mogal in such a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage, the Great Mogal derived from Surrate, was enormous, and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevāgy and detain the merchants. He ordered that they should be excused duties for three years (?) during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour in view of the large capital employed by those Gentios in trade. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogal sent for a loan of four millions to Beneane Duracandas Vorase, he answered that His Majesty should name the Coin and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins: rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodas of gold and *larins* of silver, and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. *What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was invested at Surrate and this (offer) was (made) four years after the sack by Sevāgy.* So much had already been accumulated and so considerable had been the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. *The Mogal usually repays such loans with the taxes, and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the kings.*'[2]

In a letter to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664, their Governor-General states: 'King Orangech has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a stone wall and has granted a *year's* exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16th 1663, and we calculate that the Company will then gain

1. Sen, op. cit., Francois Valentyn's account, pp. 360-62.
2. Ibid. (Cosme da Guarda), pp. 79-80.

a sum of f. 50,000 (£ 4,200) so that *this catastrophe has brought us profit.*'[1]

The Governor Inayet Khān was replaced by Ghiasu-d din Khān. Shivāji had arrived in Surat at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 6th January 1664 ; he left the place at 10 a.m. on Sunday, the 10th. 'Thursday and Friday nights,' says one account, 'were the most terrible nights for fire. The fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud.'

(iv) Treaty of Purandhar : June, 1665.

These activities of Shivāji alarmed Aurangzeb who at once despatched abler generals to tackle with him. Khāfī Khān writes, 'Despatches arrived from Prince Muazzam to the effect that Shivāji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwal, Pābal and others near Surat, and attacked the pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Rājgarh. Mahārāja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Rāja Jai Singh (and Dilir Khān) were sent to join the armies fighting against him.'

This was indeed hard time for Shivāji, for both Jai Singh[2]

1. The Dutch losses amounted to f. 20,000 (£ 1,700), Ibid., pp. 371-2.

2. "Jai Singh's career," writes Sarkar, "had been one of undimmed brilliancy, from the day when he, an orphan of twelve[now he was 60], received his first appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then he had fought under the imperial banner in every part of the empire, from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the west to Mungir in the east.... in diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustānis, that followed the cre-

and Dilir Khān[1] were veteran generals and had come with an iron determination to subdue him. Jai Singh organised a whirlwind campaign so as to encompass Shivāji from every possible quarter. In this he tried to secure the co-operation of Adil Shāh, the Europeans on the west-coast, the petty *rājahs* and *zamīndārs*, the Siddis, and also tried to corrupt Shivāji's supporters. The heart and centre of this mammoth design was to capture Purandhar where Shivāji happened to be at this time.

'When he (Jai Singh) arrived there,' writes Cosme da Guarda, 'Even Sevāgy could not help being frightened, for besides the 400,000 cavalry, the number of men and animals that followed these (Mughal) armies, could neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it 500 elephants, 3 million camels, 10 millions oxen of burden, men of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevāgy did was to tempt this general in the same way as he had done in the case of the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Rāya refused both and ordered to inform Sevāgy that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him, and for (his own) good he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Sevāgy.' The siege went on, and Guarda continues, 'the Rāya had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use for bombarding a fortress of this kind; for it was not a handiwork of man, but of the author of Nature (God), and (because) it also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunderbolts. The plain at the top, where the men communed with the stars, was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that, after regaling men was precipitated through the hill to

scent banner of the sovereign of Delhi.....His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt straight-forwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the Rajput character."—*Shivāji*, pp. 112-13.

1. His proper name was Jalāl Khān Daudzai. He had served under Prince Sulaiman Shikoh during the War of Succession, and was with Mīr Jumla in the Assam campaign. He was the founder of Shāhjahānābād in Rohilkhand. He died at Aurangabad in 1682-3.

fertilise the plants with which it was covered.'[1]

It was in the defence of this fort that Murār Bāji, another heroic captain of Shivāji, to be remembered with Bāji Prabhu and Tānāji Malusaré, laid down his life together with three hundred lion-hearted Māvles. The garrison, says Sarkar, " with a courage worthy of the mother of Brasidas, the Spartan, continued the struggle, undismayed by their leader's fall and saying, ' What though one man Murār Bāji is dead ? We are as brave as he, and we shall fight with the same courage. (Sabhāsad, 43-44 ; T. S.)."[2]

But the struggle was in vain. Consequently, in the words of Khāfī Khān, Shivāji ' sent some intelligent men to Rāja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness for his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held and proposing to pay a visit to the Rāja. But the Rāja knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Shivāji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmans now came from him and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

' The Rāja promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter him into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Sivāji then approached him with great humility. Rājā sent his *munshī* to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The *munshī* carried a message to say that if Shivāji submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivāji received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rāja then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

1. Sen. op. cit., pp. 82-4. The highest point of this fort is 4,564 ft. above sea-level and more than 2,500 ft. above the plain at its foot. It is really a double fort—Purandhar and Vajragadh (also called Rudramāla). " It was by seizing Vajragarh that Jai Singh in 1665 and the English in 1817 made Purandhar untenable for the Marathas."—Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 124-5.

2. Ibid., p. 135.

'When Sivāji entered, the Rāja arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivāji then with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts with the country of the Kokan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send you my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required. I will, on receiving orders discharge my duty loyally." The Rāja cheered him up, and sent him to Dilir Khān.

'After direction had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Dilir Khān presented Sivāji with a sword, etc. He then took him back to the Rāja, who presented him with a robe..... and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment. Sivāji, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Sivāji was to remain under parôle, and of his return home, came under consideration, Rāja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivāji and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions....A mace-bearer arrived with the *farmān* and a robe,.... and Sivāji was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

'A decision then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues, were to remain in the possession of Sivāji's people. Sambha, his son, a boy of eight years old, in whose name a *mansab* of 5000 had been granted at Rāja Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Raja, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivāji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, etc.'[1]

In addition to the above terms, Shivāji further engaged : 'If lands yielding 4 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the lowlands of

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 271-75.

Konkan and 5 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the uplands (Bālāghāt Bijapuri), are granted to me by the Emperor and I am assured by an Imperial *farmān* that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Mughal conquest of Bijapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 *lacs* of *hun* in 13 yearly instalments.'

These lands were to be wrested from Bijapur by Shivāji himself, and Sarkar observes, "Here we detect the shrewdness of Jai Singh's policy in throwing a bone of perpetual contention between Shivāji and the Sultans of Bijapur. As he wrote to the Emperor, 'This policy will result in a threefold gain : *first*, we get 40 *lakhs* of *hun* or 2 *krores* of Rupees : *secondly*, Shivāji will be alienated from Bijapur ; *thirdly*, the imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungly regions as Shiva will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijapuri garrisons from them.' In return for it, Shiva also agreed to assist the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur with 2,000 cavalry of his son Shambhāji's *mansab* and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command."[1]

This splendid achievement was accomplished by Jai Singh in less than three months. In the Bijapur campaign of Jai Singh, which we have already described, Shivāji faithfully carried out his promises. Yet, distrustful of the wily Maratha chief, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Adil Shāh and Qutb Shāh have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shiva's heart by all means and to *send him to Northern India* to have audience with your Majesty."[2]

(v) Shivāji's Escape from Āgra.

To cut a long story short, after much diplomatic discussion and most solemn assurances on the part of Jai Singh as to his safety and honour, Shivāji set out for Agra, to the Imperial Court. His disappointment there and his romantic escape are familiar to every school-boy in India. There are

1. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 140-41.
2. Ibid., p. 151.

several versions of the details,[1] but the following account given by Khāfī Khān ought to serve our purpose :—

'After giving Sivāji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he (Jai Singh) made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivāji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession (9th year of the reign, 1666 A. D.) was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Rām Singh, son of Rāja Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khān, should go out to meet and conduct *that evil malicious fellow* to Agra. On the 18th *Zi-l kada*, 1076, Sivāji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazāri*. But his son, a boy of eight (?) years, had privately (previously?) been made a *punj-hazāri*, and Nāthuji, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Rāja Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur, had been advanced to the same dignity, *so that Sivāji had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a haft-hazāri* (7000). Rāja Jai Singh had flattered Sivāji with promises; but as the Rāja knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivāji, he artfully refrained from making known the hopes he had held out. The *istikbal*, or reception of Sivāji, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Rām Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect.[2] When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Rāja Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Rām Singh. A letter was sent to Rāja Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivāji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Rāja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rām Singh.....

'After Sivāji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwāl* to place

1. For a special study of this subject read Deshpande, *The Deliverance or the Escape of Shivāji the Great from Agra.* (Poona, 1929.)

2. It is said that when the Emperor enquired as to what was the matter, Kunwar Rām Singh diplomatically answered, "The tiger is a wild beast of the jungle, and feels oppressed by the heat of a place like this and has taken ill!"

guards round it. Sivāji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with *amīrs*, and with Kunwar Rām Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

'Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Brāhmans, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amīrs* and to the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretext of being presents to Brahmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivāji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a fine piece of muslim over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand; and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivāji with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *brāhmans* and *fakirs* of Mathura.'[1]

After various adventures Shivāji returned to the South via Mathura, Allahabad, Benares, and Telingana. The alarm was raised too late at Agra, and even then the Imperial sentinels were too tardy of motion.[2] 'The *kotwāl* and Kunwar Rām Singh were censured, and as Rām Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivāji, and to seize him and send him to the Em-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 276-81.
2. For an interesting version of the sequel, according to Cosme da Guarda, see Sen, op. cit., pp. 135-6.

peror. Rāja Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bijapur, and had arrived at Aurangābad, received orders.... *to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him.*'[1] But the old Rajput general was completely baffled ; he was recalled in May 1667, and died on the 2nd July following, at Barhānpur on his way to the capital.

The return of Prince Muazzam, as viceroy of the Deccan, together with Jaswant Singh, gave Shivaji the opportunity he needed. Though the Mughal arms were strengthened with the joining of Dilir Khān, in October 1667, Shivāji soon retrieved his lost position. The empire being threatened in the North-West at the same time (1667), and the Imperial officers in the Deccan quarrelling among themselves, a peace was patched up with the Marathas (9th March 1668) which lasted for two years. Shivāji's title of *Rājah* was recognised by the Emperor, and the English factory records of the time speak of the "great tranquillity," "Shivāji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." Sambhāji was again created a *mansabdar* of 5000, and was sent to the viceroy's Court of Aurangābād with a contingent of 1000 horse. It was during this period (1667-69) that Shivāji laid the foundations of his government, broad and deep, to the admiration of after ages.[2]

On the ostensible ground of Aurangzeb's campaign of temple destruction in 1669, Shivāji launched his offensive once again, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next. One of the great exploits of this campaign was the capture of Kondana (thenceforward called Simhagarh) by the brave Tānāji Malusaré. His exploits are still sung by rustic bards in Mahārāshtra, and one ballad reads :

> '*On pour the host in conquering might,*
> *Tear down the Mogul's ensign white,*

1. E. & D., loc. cit., VII, p. 281.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 185.

And o'er the fortress of their foes,
Their monarch's orange standard rose.

And now the cannon's thunder loud
Peal'd o'er the plain the conquest proud;
Five times they spoke in flame and smoke,
And Rājghur's distant towers awoke;
"Singhur is ours," proclaimed the king,
And bid ten guns his answer ring.

. . . . . .

And ye, Marāthas brave! give ear,
Tanaji's exploits crowd to hear.
Where from your whole dominion wide
Shall such another be supplied?'[1]

While Shivāji was thus conquering, reconquering, and consolidating, Prince Muazzam and Dilir Khān were again quarrelling and recriminating each other. In March 1670, consequently, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivāji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him."[2]

(vi) Second Loot of Surat.

On 3rd October 1670 Shivāji for a second time plundered Surat. The incidents of the previous raid repeated themselves in the course of three days. Property worth about 132 *lakhs* of rupees was carried away, and Surat remained in continuous dread of the Marathas until 1679. "But the real loss of Surat," observes Sarkar, "was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed..... Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India."[3]

1. Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, pp. 51, 55.
2. O. C. 3415, cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 197.
3. Ibid., p. 203.

(vii) Coronation to Death of Shivāji, (1674-80).

The rest of Shivāji's relations with the Mughals may be briefly enumerated. Between the years 1671-72, in addition to the recovery of most of the territory ceded by the treaty of Purandhar (1665), the Marathas annexed Baglana (north of Nasik district), and the Koli country (Jawhar and Rāmnagar or Dharampur), between Surat and Thāna. In 1673 Panhāla was annexed, and Kolhapur and Ponda in 1675. By this time Shivāji had also got himself crowned (1674) at Rāigarh, by which act he at once elevated himself from being a mere rebel or free-booter to the status of a crowned monarch. As Sarkar has well observed, "So long as he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his power, claim the loyalty and the devotion of the people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories conquered by his sword could not become his lawful property, however undisturbed his possession over them might be in practice. The people living under his sway or serving under his banners, could not renounce their allegiance to the former sovereign of the land, nor be sure that they were exempt from the charge of treason for their obedience to him. The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated as the act of a sovereign."[1]

During the last six years of his life (1674-80) Shivāji's conquests were mainly confined to the lands south of the limits already named. In a history of the Mughal Empire they have a place only as the future battle-ground between the Marathas and the Mughals, as the legacy of the fight with Shivāji after the death of the great enemy of the Empire. This comprised the southern division of Shivāji's *swarājya* (consisting of the Konkan south of Bombay, Sāvant-vādi and the North Kanara coast, the Karnatak districts of Belgaum and Dharwar to

1. Ibid., p. 239.

Kopal west of the Tungabhadra river, and lastly portions of Mysore, Bellary, Chittur, and Arcot districts up to Vellore and Jinji) ; the northern division consisting of the *Dang* and Baglana, the Koli country south of Surat, Konkan north of Bombay, and the Deccan plateau or *Desh* southwards to Poona, and the Satara and Kolhapur districts.

"Outside these settled or half-settled parts of his kingdom, there was a wide and very fluctuating belt of land subject to his power but not owning his sovereignty. They were the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (*Mughlāi* in Marāṭhī), which formed the happy hunting-ground of his horsemen," and whence he levied *chauth*.[1]

3. Sambhāji : 1680-89.

Shivāji died on 4th April 1680.[2] This event followed by the escape of the rebellious Prince Akbar into the Deccan, decided Aurangzeb to come to the South,[3] where he was destined to spend the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. Shivāji was succeeded by his reckless son Sambhāji, who though brave like his father was profligate to a degree. This prince, before his barbarous execution in 1689, followed the strategy of the great Maratha, and harried and plundered the Mughal territories

1. Ibid., p. 407.

2. He was hereby 53 years of age at that time. "Shivāji's real greatness," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "lay in his character and ability rather than in the originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements, and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances (*tact des choses possibles*)—these were the causes of his success in life. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Janjira.

'No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies ; they can conduct their own defence ; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry ; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.' (*Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 240)

3. Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March, 1682.

in the Deccan. He also, like Shivāji, befriended the Kutb-shāhi and Adil-shāhi Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals.[1] Thus in 1677 the Marathas had been promised 3,000 *hun* a day (or 4½ *lakhs* of rupees a month) and a contingent of 5,000 for the conquest of the Karnātak. The Kutb Shāh had also agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* regularly and to keep a Maratha ambassador at his Court. With this aid Shivāji had conquered, in the course of 1677-78, a territory 40 by 60 leagues estimated to yield 20 *lakhs* of *hun* a year, and including a hundred forts. Similarly, in 1679, Shivāji had gone to the succour of helpless Bijapur and "poured like a flood through the districts of Mughal Deccan, plundering and burning in their track and taking an immense booty in cash and kind". But this was Shivāji's last campaign.

i. 'When Shivāji was dead,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th *Muharram*, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A.H. (15th Feb., 1680), he attacked Karkar Khān, who acted as collector of the *zijiya* under Khān-zamān, the Subadār of the Dakhin .... he fell upon Bahadurpur, one *kos* and a half from Burhānpur. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found there in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, ... and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, ... that no one was able to save a *dām* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children .... Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasanpura, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places, were plundered and burnt.'[2]

ii. When Prince Muhammad Akbar sought shelter in the Deccan (1680), he found his way to Rāhiri (Rāigarh), the capital of Sambhāji. 'This chieftain,' says Khāfī Khān, 'came to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Rāhiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[3] This, as we have seen already, drew down the might of the Empire upon him, and Akbar finally escaped to Persia.

1. For a fuller study of the history of Golkonda read Bendrey, *Qutbshāhi of Golkonda in the Seventeenth Century*. (Poona, 1934.)
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 306.
3. Ibid., p.

iii. In the final campaign of Aurangzeb against Golkonda (1685-6), readers will remember that, among the Imperial charges against Abul Hasan, it was also stated : 'moreover it had lately become known that a *lac* of *pagodas* had been sent to the wicked Sambha.'

iv. All these were sufficient grievances for Aurangzeb to organise his forces to crush Sambhāji. So, 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was sent in the 34th year of the reign, 1101 A.H.[1] and some experienced *amīrs* to punish the infidels about Bahādurgarh and Gulshanābād. Fīroz Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rājgarh. Mukarrab Khān, otherwise called Shaikh Nizām Haidarābādi was sent against the infidel Sambha. Each of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service on which he had been sent. Mukarrab Khān distinguished above all the nobles of the Dakhin for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Parnāla, near Kolāpur, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Sambha, *who in his vile and evil course of life was ten times worse than his father Sivāji*...

'This ill-bred fellow left his old home at Rāhiri, and went to the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself of the state of its stores, and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of adverse fortune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces, he went to bathe in the waters of the Ban-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamnir (Sangameshwar in the Ghats), one day's journey from the sea-shore. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Kabkalas (Kalusha, Kavikulesh, or Kavikalas, a Kanauji boon companion of Sambhāji), the filthy dog, had built a house, embellished with paintings, and surrounded with a garden full of fruit trees and flowers. Sambha, with Kabkalas, and his wives, and his son Sāhu, went there, accompanied by a force of two or three thousand horse, *entirely unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny*.' So writes Khāfī Khān.

'After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees. *Unlike his father he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure.* Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khān ; but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin.....' The other details need

1. The Mughal offensive was opened at the end of the rainy season, about the middle of September 1683. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 302.)

not be followed. Sambhāji, and all his friends and family, were taken prisoners to the Emperor. The degree of rejoicing that accompanied this event may be fairly taken as the measure of the Imperial satisfaction at the triumphant termination of Aurangzeb's long drawn out struggle with Shivāji and his son.

'It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khān was known to be coming with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two *kos* to meet the prisoners, and gave expression to their satisfaction. In every town and village on the road or near it wherever the news reached, there was great delight; and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing ... (So says the Imperial historian.)[1]

'After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the state advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortresses held by Sambha .....the Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He therefore rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the tongues of both should be torn out. Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet. Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers (So says Khāfī Khān).[2]

'Sāhu, the son of Sambha, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace. Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a *mansab* of 7000 was granted to him.....

1. Mukarrab Khān was well rewarded for this 'splendid and unparalleled success....He granted to him an increase of 1000 horse, gave him the title of Khān Zamān Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc., etc. His son, Ikhlas Khān, who held a *mansab* of 4000 personal and 4000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khān-i Alam. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour.' (Khāfī Khān,—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 342.)

2. This tragedy was enacted at Koregaon, on the banks of the Bhīma, 12 miles N. E. of Poona, on 11th March, 1689.

Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambha, were sent to the fortress of Daulatābād.'[1]

Sambhāji's tragedy was the outcome of his own impolicy and ineptitude. As Sarkar has well observed, "While Aurangzeb was directing the full strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambhuji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccani Powers alike. His soldiers plundered places in the Mughal territory as a matter of routine, but these raids did not influence the military situation. Aurangzib disregarded such pin-pricks. The Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought-out plan for diverting the Mughals from the sieges of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) and averting their fall; his Government was also hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plots among his courtiers."[2]

4. Rājārām : 1689-1700.

The weakness of hereditary monarchy, in an unsettled country with no defined principles of succession, had been demonstrated in Marārāshtra as well, immediately after Shivāji's death. Rājārām, a lad of ten years (the younger son of Shivāji by another wife), had been preferred by some of the nobility to his profligate elder step-brother Sambhāji. But within a short time Sambhāji came into his own, with the results we have witnessed. Aurangzeb found hardly any respite even after the execution of Sambhāji. Rājārām immediately stepped into the shoes of his deceased step-brother. 'Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'that the forces of Rām Rāja (as he calls Rājārām) had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne.'[3]

The wearisome campaigning of the next ten years may be only very briefly told here. "The years 1688 and 1689 were a period of unbroken triumph to the Emperor. His armies took possession of the forts and provinces of the annexed king-

1. Ibid., pp. 337-42.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 307.
3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 346.

doms of Bijapur and Golkonda, e.g., Sāgar (the Berad capital), Raichur and Adoni (in the east), Sera and Bangalore (in Mysore), Wandewash and Conjeveram (in the Madras Karnatak), Bankāpur and Belgaum (in the extreme south west), besides Rāigarh (the capital) and many other Maratha forts. In Northern India, too, signal success attended his arms : the Jat rising under Rājārām was put down and that leader was slain (on 4th July, 1688)."[1]

The Marathas were past-masters in tactics. Rājārām under the advice of his minister (*Amātya*) Rāmachandra Nilkantha Bāvdekar, escaped to Jinji in order to divide the Imperial forces by creating a diversion in the eastern Karnātak. In the Maratha dominions nearer home the *Amātya* himself was appointed Dictator (*Hakhmatpanah*) with his headquarters at Vishālgarh. Between these two fronts the Mughal forces were frittered away. "The difficulties of Aurangzib," observes Sarkar, "were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or State army for him to attack and destroy."[2] "It was no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal empire and the indigenous people of the Deccan."[3]

(i) The first reverse of the Imperialist came in May 1690 when the Mughal general Rustam Khān was captured and his camp looted by the Marathas. This was the achievement of the Maratha general Suntāji Ghorpadé.

'Every one who encountered him,' says Khāfi Khān, 'was either killed or wounded and made prisoner ; or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever *the accursed dog* went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial *amīr* bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made boldest

kar, op. cit
2. Ibid., p. 316.
3. Ibid., p. 326.

warriors quake. Ismail Khān was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhin, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khān, otherwise called Sharza Khān, the *Rustam* of the time and as brave as lion, was defeated by him in the district of Sātāra, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. Ali Mardān Khān, otherwise called Husaini Beg Haidarābādi, ...was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees.'[1]

(ii) In 1691 the Mughal position at Jinji became very critical. Next year matters were made worse by the negotiations of Prince Kām Bakhsh with the enemy; so he was arrested by his colleagues (Dec. 1692 to Jan. 1693). Between 1691-96, the activities of Pidia Nāyak, the Berad chief, harassed the Imperial arms in the strategically important tract between Bidar and Bijapur and from Raichur to Malkhed.

(iii) "At last, by April 1695 Aurangzeb came to realize that he had really gained nothing by the conquest of the Adil-shāhī and Qutb-shāhī capitals and the extinction of their royal lines. He now perceived that the Maratha problem was no longer what it had been in Shivāji's time, or even in Shambhuji's. They were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but *the one dominating factor of Deccan politics*, the only enemy left to the empire, and yet an enemy all-pervasive from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power."[2] Giving up all hopes, therefore, of being able to return to the North, Aurangzeb in May 1695 sent his eldest surviving son, Shāh Alam, to govern and guard the north-west (Punjab, Sindh, and then Afghanistan). For the next 4½ years he settled down at Islāmpuri (Bahādurgarh) to conduct the operations. The chief incidents of this period were the destruction of two

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 347.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 317.

Mughal generals, Kāsim Khān (Nov. 1695) and Himmat Khān (Jan. 1696), the murder of Santāji Ghorpadé in a domestic feud, and the return of Rājārām as a result of the fall of Jinji in January 1698.

The circumstances attending on the defeat of Kāsim Khān are thus detailed by Khāfī Khān :

'In fine, for a month they were besieged within the four walls (of Danderi), and, every day affairs grew worse with them. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted....To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and trusted to the enemy's mercy....People brought fruit and sweetmeats from the enemy's *bazār* to the foot of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices....Reverses, disease, deficiency of water and want of grain, reduced the garrison to the verge of death. Kāsim Khān, according to report, poisoned himself, or died from want of the usual portion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.

'Ruhu-llah Khān and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation....Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom. Santā said, "Besides the elephants and horses, and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a *lac* of *huns*," equivalent to three *lacs* and 50,000 rupees. A Dakhini officer said, "What are you thinking of! this a mere trifle. This is a ransom which I would fix for Ruhu-llah Khān alone." Finally, seven *lacs* of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each one's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay as ransom, and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Santā as bail for payment. Santā's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed each officer to take his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms. Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc., were confiscated by Santā....*The Government and personal property lost during this war and siege exceeded fifty or sixty lacs of rupees.*"[1]

iv. With the flight of Rājārām from Jinji began the last phase of Aurangzeb's war in the Deccan. "The rest of his life (1699-1707) is a repetition of the same sickening tale : a

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 356-7.

hill-fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and its siege begun again by the Mughals a year or two later! His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships, in marching over flooded rivers,[1] muddy road, and broken hilly tracks; porters disappeared; transport beasts died of hunger and overwork; scarcity of grain was ever present in his camp. His officers wearied of this labour of Sisyphus; but Aurangzib would burst into wrath at any suggestion of return to Northern India and taunt the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love of ease. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his affairs as completely as the French cause in the Peninsular War was ruined by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done. The siege of eight forts—Sātāra, Pārli, Panhāla, Khelna (Vishālgarh), Kondana (Simgarh), Rājgarh, Torna and Wāgingera,—occupied him for five years and a half. (1699-1705)".[2]

v. The fact that, with the exception of Torna, all other forts yielded to the golden key of bribery throws a lurid light on the extent of demoralisation that had come over the successors of Bāji Prabhu or Tānāji. Out of this welter we might choose for description only the siege of Sātāra which is reminiscent of the siege of Chitor by Akbar, in its strenuous effort and appalling toll of destruction.

1. Here is a description of one such flood, given by Khāfī Khān: 'In the month of *Muharram* of this year (1695-6), the river Bharana (Bhīma) near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height, and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The *amīrs* had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep.... The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the king, and the princes and the *amīrs*; horses, bullocks and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture beyond all count. Numberless houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army.... *The King wrote out prayers with his own hand, and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside!*'—(Ibid., p. 361.)

2. Sarkar, op. cit., 319.

'At the end of *Jumada-s sani* (Dec. 1699) the royal army arrived opposite Sātāra, and the camp was pitched at a distance of a *kos* and a half. Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh encamped on another side, and the *amīrs* and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khān. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and carrying on other siege operations.... On both sides a heavy fire was kept up,....and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival of corn; the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty *kos* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay become very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (*dar'a*) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and *māwalis* of that country, who are very efficient in sieges.... Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power; all that they could do was to roll down stones from the walls....

'Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults in the side of the rock four yards broad and ten yards long, which were to be used as stations for sentinels. But when they were found not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder.... On the morning of the 5th *Zi-lkada* in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired. The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed boldly forward. At that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress, as was expected, it came down upon the heads of besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands were buried under it.... The garrison then set about repairing the walls, and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

'When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster, and of the despondency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other, and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamities; then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad Azam Shāh. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition.

'An extraordinary incident now occurred. A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to send and bring out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Musulman and Hindu, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (*marhala*), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Musulmans who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead.'[1]

Rājārām, who since his return from Jinji had occupied himself with inspecting his forts in Konkan and forming plans of extensive raids in Khāndesh and Berar, died at Simhgarh on 2nd March, 1700. He had left Satara on 26th October, 1699, in order to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The news of his death disheartened the besieged at Satara and led to the capitulation of that fortress in April 1700.

5. Last Phase: 1700-1707.

The nature of the struggle after the death of Rājārām is thus depicted by Khāfī Khān :—

When Rām Rāja died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Marathas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tārā Bāi, the elder wife (of Rājārām), made her son[2] of three years old successor to his father, and took the reins of government into her own hands.[3] She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six *subas* of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the *suba* of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes, the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 364-66.
2. This was Shivāji III. He had been preceded by Karna, a natural son of Rājārām, who had been crowned by the ministers as Shivāji II ; but he died of small-pox in three week's time.
3. Elsewhere the same writer speaks of Tārā Bāi as a clever and intelligent woman, who had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters. —Ibid., p. 367.

day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shāh Jahān, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Marathas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his armies and enterprising *amīrs* was staying in those distant mountains, the commanders of Tārā Bāi cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamaishdārs* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subādārs* (provincial governors), *kamaishdārs* (revenue collectors), and *rahdārs* (toll-collectors).....They attacked and destroyed the country as far as the borders of Ahmedabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastations through the provinces of the Dekhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fell upon and plundered large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure." Khāfī Khān winds up by saying, 'It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds: but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, *which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Marathas.*'[1]

There was corruption in both the camps, as well as feuds and defections among important officers. But this weakness was more than counterbalanced by the determination of Aurangzeb on the one hand, and the intrepid leadership of Tārā Bāi on the other. For a time the Emperor tried to make political capital out of Shāhu (Sambhāji eldest son) who was in the Imperial camp ever since the capture and execution of his father; but this proved of no avail. As Bhīmsen puts it, "As the Marathas had not been vanquished and the entire Deccan had come into their possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace?.....The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment, and Rāja Sāhū was again placed under surveillance in the *gulal bar*."[2]

1. Ibid., pp. 373-75.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 358.

So the laborious and endless task of capturing individual fortresses was continued. After Sātārā (1700) came Pārli (1701), Panhāla (1701), Khelna (1701), Kondana (1703), Rājgarh (1703) and Torna (1704),—all excepting the last being taken, not so much by assault, as by what Khāfī Khān calls 'negotiations with the commandants and promises of material advancement.'[1] The last expedition ever led by Aurangzeb in person was against the Berad[2] chief Pidiya Nāik. He proved the last political straw that broke the Imperial camel's back. The capture of Wāgingera, in April 1705, was a pyrrhic victory for Aurangzeb. "Wāgingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzeb's labours for these three months were lost."

DESOLATION AND DEATH

The ultimate result of Aurangzeb's nearly quarter century of compaigning in the Deccan is thus described by Manucci, a contemporary European observer: 'Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their place being taken by

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 377.
2. This is evidently a mistake for *Bedaru* or hunters. Sarkar uses the form as used in the text, I do not know for what reasons. The Persians used it as *be-dar*, i.e., fearless.' Khāfī Khān says, of their chief Parya Naik, as he calls him, 'Having taken up his residence at Wakinkera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores. Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly 14 or 15 thousand infantry of vigour and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and, collecting in a short time 4 or 5 thousand horse, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of *darbār* proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through; and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of *Zamindār* and punctual of revenue-payers. Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his powers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great and small. At last his place became well known as the fort of Wakinkara, and he became a fast ally of the Mahrattas, the disturbers of the Dakhin.'—Ibid., p. 378.

the bones of men and beasts. In stead of verdure all is blank and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand....In the Deccan provinces, from 1702 to 1704, plague[1] [and famine] prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls."[2] The retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmednagar brought no rest to his army or peace to his Empire. In April or May 1706 a great Maratha army under all its leaders appeared within four miles of his camp, and they were repulsed only after a very severe contest.

In a twinkle, in a minute, in a breath, the condition of the world changes.

The last moment of Aurangzeb's life came on the morning of Friday, 20th February 1707. The events leading up to it are thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

In April 1705, 'The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses so that very alarming reports spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself to the people in the public hall. The army was in the enemy's country, without house or home ;

1. Here is Khāfī Khān's account of the plague.

'The plague (*tá-ún*) and pestilence (*wabá*), which had for several years been in the Dakhin as far as port of Surat and the city of Ahmadabad, now broke out with violence in Bijapur, and in royal camp. It was so virulent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his nursing and mourning. The black-pated guest-slayer of the sky sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life from the surface of the world. The visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness was perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence (*waba*). It was the business of heirs to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of them had the means of burial.....It began in the 27th year of the reign and lasted for seven or eight years.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 337.

2. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 375-6.

and if the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels.' After his recovery he proceeded to Ahmednagar (20th Jan. 1706). 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh was in the province of Ahmedabad. When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Ahmedabad was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Shāh Jahān when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every air (*hawā*) was suitable to a man except the fumes (*huwā*) of ambition. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the *subā* of Malwa. He did not, however, go to Ujjain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The *subā* of Ahmedabad, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khān.....

'When Prince Muhammad Azam Shāh reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Ahmedabad, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Khān Bakhsh he looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state. His first thoughts fell upon Prince Muhammad Azim (Azimu-sh Shān, son of Muazzam), who was at Azimābad or Patna, in Bihar, where he had been sometime *Subādār*, and had obtained a repute for amassing treasures. Therefore he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court; and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor, that orders were issued for his recall,....and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grand-father.

'Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Multan, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar, in Garmsir, the report of which had been current for a year past.....

'Prince Azam Shāh....now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Kām Bakhsh. The Emperor slightly improved in health; but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly marked on his face. Prince Azam's feelings towards Prince Kām Bakhsh, who was a poet and learned man, now displayed themselves in various slights and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Kām Bakhsh was dear to his father, for it often hap-

pens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a nobleman to act as the *bakhshi* of Kām Bakhsh, and to him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him.....

'The foresight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing, and he saw that Prince (Azam's) pretensions increased daily. He knew that if two unchained lions were left together, after his decease there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people. His affection for Kām Bakhsh also worked upon him. He sent Kām Bakhsh with all the signs and honours of royalty to Bijapur, and the drums of the royal *naubat-khāna* were ordered to play as he departed. The sight of all this made Prince Azam writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not say a word. In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Malwa in charge of strict officers.

'After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and fever increased. But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers. In this state of things Hamīdu-d din Khān presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and a valuable diamond in charity. To that the Emperor wrote in reply, the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindus and of star-worshippers; but he sent four thousand rupees to the chief *kāzi*, for him to distribute among the deserving. In the same letter he wrote, saying, "*Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first (burial) place and consign him to the earth without any useless coffin.*" It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hamīdu-d din Khān.[1]

1. A translation of this alleged will as given in the *Āhkam-i-'Alamgīri* ascribed to Hamīdu-d din Khān Bahādur, is given by Sarkar. The following extracts from it may be noted:—'Four Rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aia Beg, the *mahaldār*. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five Rupees, from the wages of copying the Qurān, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death.... Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alijah (Azam), as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices of my funeral]; this helpless person (i.e. Aurangzeb) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors.... Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the coarse white cloth called *gāzi*. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (*Mauled*).'

'On Friday, the 28th *Zi-l ka'da*, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A.H. (February 21, 1707 A.D.), after performing morning prayers and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life. He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years, two months and a half. He was buried near Daulatabad (at Khuldābād) by the tombs of Shaikh Burhān-d din and other religious worthies, and of Shāh Zari Zar-bakhsh, and some districts of Burhānpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.'

Finally, Khāfi Khān winds up with the following estimate of the Emperor :—

The following (India Office Library MS. 1344, f. 49 b.), said to have been written with his own hand by Aurangzeb and left under his pillow on his death-bed, is also given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar :—

'I was helpless [in life] and I am departing helpless. Whichever of my sons has the good fortune of gaining the kingship, he should not trouble Kām Bakhsh, if the latter is constant with the two provinces of Bijapur and Haidarabad. There is not, nor will there [ever] be any wazir better than Azad Khān. Dianat Khān, the diwan of the Deccan, is better than other imperial servants. With true devotion entreat Muhammad Azam Shāh,—if he agrees to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime, then there will be no fighting between armies and no slaughter of mankind. Do not dismiss my hereditary servants, nor molest them. The occupant of the throne should have [one of] the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former [of these] will get four subahs of the old kingdom—Agra [*sic*], Malva, Gujarat, and Ajmir and the *chaklas* dependent on them,—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely, Khāndesh, Berar, Aurangabad and Bidar and their ports. And whosoever agrees to take the latter [i.e. Delhi] will get the eleven subahs of the old Kingdom—Delhi, Punjab, Kabul, Multan, Tatta, Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad and Oudh." [Another version is given in Fraser's *Nādir Shāh*, 36-37. See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, i. 6]—Ibid., pp. 387-90.

'Of all the sovereigns of the House of Tīmur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for devotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long suffering, and sound judgment, he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained.

Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that too only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.'[1] So passed away Aurangzeb whom Sarkar calls "the greatest of the Great Mughals save one."[2]

The last years of the Emperor were crowded with bereavements. "His domestic life," observes Sarkar, "was darkened, as bereavements thickened round his closing eyes. His best-loved daughter-in-law, Jahanzeb Banu, died in Gujarat in March 1705. His rebel son Akbar had died in exile in a foreign soil in 1704. Still earlier his gifted daughter, the poetess Zeb-un-nisa, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1702). And now Gauhar-ara Begum, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1706, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, 'She and I alone were left among Shāh Jahān's children!' In May 1706, his daughter Mihr-un-nisa and her husband Izid Bakhsh (Murād's son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Buland Akhtar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand-children died shortly before his own death (1707), but his ministers mercifully withheld the news from the sinking man."[3]

The pathos of this double tragedy, domestic and political, rings through Aurangzeb's last letters written to his sons. One may be quoted *in extenso* as a sample of the rest.

LAST LETTER TO AZAM

'Peace be on you!

'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong;

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 382-87.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 384.
3. Ibid., p. 381.

strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

'Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not; no trace is left of the days that are no more; and of the future there is no hope.

'My fever has departed, leaving only the skin and husks behind it. My son Kām Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shāh Alam is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Azim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hindustan (from Bengal).

'All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who having chosen to leave my Master, am now in a state of trepidation like quicksilver. They think not that we have our Lord Father (ever with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me? (Verse)

Whatever the wind may be,
I am launching my boat on the water.

'Though the Lord Cherisher will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my sons to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

'Convey to my grandson Bahādur (i.e. Bidar Bakht) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Begam is, as can be seen, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of our hearts. Shortness of sight bears no other fruit than dis-

appointment.

'Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!'[1]

IV. AURANGZEB AND THE EUROPEANS

Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, except when they were piratical or otherwise recalcitrant, were on the whole friendly. Though the days of active patronage of the Christians were over, they did not suffer as might have been expected under Aurangzeb's pontifical regime. Being strong where the Empire was weak, namely at sea, they were distinctly in a diplomatically advantageous position. Besides this, on the west coast, they could and did play a double game as between the Mughals and the Marathas; they tried to bargain with both. As artillerymen their services were greatly appreciated in that military age. Their contribution to the revenues of the Empire, by way of customs, was not negligible. If not kept friendly they were a source of great irritation and danger to the pilgrim and other traffic at the ports and in the sea. The principal nationals concerned in this were the Portuguese and the English; the Dutch and the French played only a secondary rôle, at least in their direct relations with the Empire.

A. The Portuguese.

Khāfī Khān gives the following account of the Portuguese in the time of Aurangzeb :—

'The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allotted a separate quarter for the Musulmans who dwelt with them, and appointed a *kazi* over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage. *But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements.* If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease.

1. Sarkar's translation from Br. Museum Addl. 26240.—Ibid., p. 385.

On the sea they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia and Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. *But their greatest act of tyranny is this.* If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the *pādris*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *saiyid* or a Hindu *brahman*. They also make them serve as slaves.

'In the Adil-shāhī Konkan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goa, their governor resides; and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the part of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourishing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from 14 or 15 *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshis, which is called the Nizām-shāhī Konkan. In the rear of the hills of Baglana, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanabad, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of these, by name Daman and Basi, which they obtained by fraud from Sultan Bahādur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about 40 or 50 *kos*; but they are not more than a *kos* or a *kos* and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice; and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue.

'They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *ashrafi*, worth nine *annas*. They also use bits of copper which they call *buzurg*, and four of these *buzurgs* pass for a *fulus*. *The orders of the King (of India) are not current there.* When the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the house and out of it, to their wives. They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion....'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 344-46.

(i) Pirates of Chatgaon.

The chief trouble to the Empire, as we saw under Shāh Jahān, was from the pirates of Chatgaon. Besides the Maghs and Arrakanese, they included among them a good number of Portuguese and half-cast adventurers. Evidently these had never been tamed by the severe measures taken by Aurangzeb's father. Indeed, when their captain was asked by Shayistha Khān, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, "What did the *zamīndār* of the Maghs fix as your salary?" the corsair-chief had the audacity to reply, "*Our salary was the Imperial dominion! We considered the whole of Bengal as our jagir.* All the twelve months of the year we made our collection [i.e., booty] without trouble. We had never to bother ourselves about *amlas* and *amins*; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was (land) survey. We never slackened the enhancement of *our* rents, viz., booty. For years we have left no arrears of [this] revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty, village by village, for the last 40 years."[1]

Mīr Jumla, on account of his preoccupation with the Assam campaign and his sudden death, having failed to suppress these *Feringi* pirates, Shayistha Khān (who succeeded to the viceroyalty of Bengal on 8th March, 1664) determined to suppress them once for all. Their cruelties had become intolerable. Manucci describes them as 'men hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without a regret.' The details of the campaign may be read in Sarkar.[2] On the morning of 26 January, 1666, the fort of Chatgaon, the nest of the pirates (Magh and *Feringi*), surrendered. 'Large numbers of the peasants of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoners here, were now released from the Magh oppression and returned to their homes' (*Alamgīr-nāma*). 'On 27 January, 1666, Buzurg Ummed Khān entered the fort of Chatgaon,

1. Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*, pp. 203-4.

2. From Shihabuddin Talish's account as preserved in the Bodlean MS. 589 and the *Alamgir-nāma*.—Ibid., pp. 205-26.

reassured the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade his soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well-populated and prosperous.' (Shihabuddin). The place was re-named Islāmābād.

(ii) Diplomatic Relations.

In the war with the Marathas, as already noticed, the Portuguese, being placed between two fires tried to receive warmth from both without getting scorched. By way of illustration may be cited the conduct of the Portuguese viceroy at the time of Jai Singh. In reply to letters from the latter, in 1665, the former replied assuring that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Shivāji, according to Jai Singh's request.[1] A treaty was signed, in January 1667, between the Portuguese and the Mughals, in which was agreed among other things that the 'Farangian should not protect (pardon, *lit.*) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King, and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King.'[2] Yet, before Aurangzeb made peace with Shivāji in March 1668, the Portuguese had already come to terms with the Marathas in December 1667, a year after the treaty above referred to.[3] But when Sambhāji invaded Goa together with the rebellious Prince Akbar, in 1683-4, the Portuguese again acted in concert with the Imperialists, and again came to terms with the Marathas.[4] Nor were the Mughals more consistent. Shāh Alam plotted to seize Goa by treachery. "This rupture with the Portuguese," observes Sarkar, "was the worst mistake that the prince could have committed, because it ultimately caused the annihilation of his army through famine.... The prince's only work in Konkan had been, as the English merchants remark, 'to range to and fro, as he pleases, with little resistance. He hath taken no stronghold but ruins the country, lays all waste, and burns all towns he comes near.' The scarcity in his camp reached an

1. Heras, *A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese*, p. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 7.
3. Ibid., p. 12.
4. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 299.

extreme point. The soldiers through fasting retained only the last breath of their lives. So, the baffled prince returned to the *ghat* on 20th February."[1] The friendliness of the Portuguese towards the Marathas once again brought down the Imperial arms into their Northern territory (i.e., Bassein and Daman), in 1693, when Matabar Khān (the governor of Kalyān) defeated their armies and made prisoners of their subjects. " The viceroy of Goa at last made peace by humble submission to the Emperor and the offer of presents."[2]

B. The English.

The first English factory within the Mughal Empire was established at Surat in 1612. From there goods were exchanged, by the land route, with Agra and Delhi. In the Golkonda kingdom they had an agency at Masulipatam. Further north they established a factory at Hariharpur, 25 miles s. e. of Cuttack, and another at Balasore in 1633. Outside the Empire they bought, in 1640, the site of Fort St. George (Madras), which was 'their first independent station in India. Hugli was opened in 1651, and a *nishān* (or order) was obtained from Prince Shuja (1652) permitting the English to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 annually in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues. " The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly : in 1668 the company exported from the province goods worth £34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £85,000, in 1677 to £100,000, and in 1680 to £150,000..... The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679."[3]

(i) War in Bengal.

On the strength of the *nishān* above referred to the English began to claim exemption from all duties, which led to friction and ultimately war. In March 1680 Aurangzeb had also issued a *farmān* allowing the English, on payment of a consolidated duty of 3½ p.c. at Surat, to trade freely within the Empire. This was differently interpreted by the two parties. Besides, the English refused to pay exactions like *rahdāri*, *peshkash*,

1. Sarkar, p. 303.
2. Ibid., p. 353.
3. Ibid., pp. 403-4.

farmaish, etc., and protested against the practice (*sauda-i-khas*) of Imperial and local officials, opening packages of goods in transit and taking away articles at less than market prices.

Commenting on this, Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "On 10th April 1665 Aurangzib issued an order that in all provinces there would be two uniform rates of customs duty on imports in future, namely 2½ p.c. for Muslims and 5 p.c. for Hindus. The Mughal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jiziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered them (March 1680) a compromise by turning the *jiziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter to 3½ p.c.

"*The claims of the English in Bengal (a) to escape the duty on the actual value of their imports by a fixed annual payment of Rs. 3,000 (as conceded by Shuja in 1652) and (b) to trade absolutely free in all other parts of India on payment of customs in Surat (in virtue of Aurangzib's farmān of 1680), are both false and indefensible on any reasoning.*"[1]

But the English were determined to defend their evasion by force. A sample of their attitude is seen in Job Charnock's refusal to pay the sum of Rs. 43,000 decreed by an Indian judge against claims put forward by the Indian merchants and brokers employed by the E. I. Co. at Kāsimbazār (1684-85); consequently Charnock's factory was invested by Imperial troops in August 1685. The malfactor escaped to Hugli in April Next. On 28th Oct. 1686, the English provoked a fight and sacked the Mughal town of Hugli. Shayistha Khān, on hearing of this, "decided to crush these disturbers of public peace." In December the English fell back on Sutanati (modern Calcutta). In February 1687 they seized the island of Hijli, where they assembled all their land and sea forces in the Bay of Bengal, and burnt and looted Balasore for two days. Finally, they were overwhelmed by Mughal troops, and on 11th June the English evacuated Hijli fort, "carrying off

1. For fuller discussion see Sarkar, pp. 405-6.

all their ammunition and artillery, their drums beating and their banners flying!" In 1688 Job Charnock's place as Agent in Bengal was taken by Captain Heath who disgraced the name of England by his great excesses, ill-treating Christians and non-Christians, men and women alike. Being foiled in his project of wresting Chatgaon from the Mughals, he sailed for Madras in sheer disgust (17th Feb. 1689).

The Emperor, on hearing of these hostile activities, at once ordered the arrest of all Englishmen, the seizure of all their factories, and the prohibition of all trade and intercourse with them. Within a year (Feb. 1690), 'The English [of Surat] having made a most humble, submissive petition.... and [promised] that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000....and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner,.... His Majesty pardoned their faults and agreed....that they follow their trade as in former times.' After this the English were allowed to return to Bengal and trade freely without any further trouble. Job Charnock came back from Madras to Sutanati as Agent on 24th August. "This was the foundation of Calcutta and of the British Power in Northern India. On 10th February 1691 an imperial order (*hasb-ul-hukm*) was issued by the grand wazir to the diwan of Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province without molestation on paying Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues."[1] Although this was apparently a victory for the English it was evidently the outcome of the intercession of Ibrahim Khan, the new *Subāh-dār* of Bengal, who was friendly to the English and had taken charge of the province in May 1689.

(ii) War on the West Coast.

Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the E. I. Co. in London, had been responsible for the ignominious war in Bengal. He was ambitious, as we have pointed out elsewhere in this book, to lay 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' In the result, "The

1. Sarkar., p. 409.

expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure."[1] Sir John Child, General and Director-in-Chief of English Factories in India, acting under instructions from home, led a similar expedition with no more honourable results. On 25th April, 1687, he abandoned Surat ("a fool's paradise") for Bombay ("the key of India"). He demanded from the Mughal Governor of Surat "compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges." The Mughal reply to such conduct was the obvious. The English factory at Surat was invested by Imperial troops, and the English factors, including among them Benjamin Harris, the Chief of the Surat Council, were imprisoned and kept in irons for 16 months (Dec. 1688—April 1690). At the same time the Siddis of Janjira, as allies of the Mughals, attacked Bombay (May 1689) and confined the English within their fort. "Governor Child, therefore, made an abject appeal for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzib under G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro (10th Dec. 1689). The Emperor pardoned them, by an order dated 25th December 1689. The English were restored to their old position in the Indian trade on condition of paying a fine of one-and-half lakhs of Rupees, and restoring the goods taken from Indian ships."[2]

(iii) English Piracy.

European piracy in the Indian Ocean had commenced with Vasco da Gama at the close of the 15th century. "It excited no moral reprobation in Christendom."[3] In 1635, Cobb, captain of an English ship licensed by Charles I, plundered two Mughal vessels at the mouth of the Red Sea; and in 1638, Sir William Courten, with a similar charter from the King of England, sent out four ships which robbed Indian vessels and tortured their crews." For these misdeeds the E. I. Co. at Surat was obliged to pay an indemnity of Rs. 1,70,000.

"In the second half of the 17th century," writes Sarkar, "an even more lawless race of men than the old Buccaneers

1. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 449.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 411.
3. Ibid.

appeared and extended their operations to the Indian Ocean, acting generally in single ships and plundering vessels of every nationality. 'Of these men, chiefly English, the most notorious were Teach, Evory, Kidd, Roberts, England and Tew, and many others less known to fame.... Roberts alone was credited with the destruction of 400 trading vessels in three years.... The chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was business of nobody in particular to act against them.... Their friends on shore supplied their wants and gave them timely information of rich prizes to be looked for, or armed ships to be avoided. *Officials high in authority winked at their doings, from which they drew a profit....* Not only were the greater number of pirates of English blood, but pirate captains of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The native officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the E. I. Co's servants responsible for their misdeeds."[1]

In 1681 two pirate ships flying English colours secured a booty of 6 *lakhs* of Rupees in the Red Sea. The most notorious among these buccaneers was Henry Bridgman (*alias* Evory). His crowning achievement, the capture of the *Ganj-i-Sawāi*, is thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

'The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-sawāi*, than which there was no larger in the fort of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat 52 *lacs* of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda. The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Khān ....There were 80 guns and 400 muskets on board, besides other implements of war. It had come within 8 or 9 days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i-sawāi*. When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship. By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the main mast, on which the safety of the vessel depends. The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on

1. Sarkar., op. cit., p. 412.

board of their opponents. The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many vessels on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated. But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khān ran down into the hold. There were some Turki girls whom he had bought in Mocha as concubines for himself. He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and incited them to fight. These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to their own ship. When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching for plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

'This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the newswriters of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their impure King. Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to Itimad Khān, superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sidi Yakut Khān, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatenings. They knew that Sidi Yakut was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. Itimad Khān saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that one rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time.'[1]

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 350-51.

(iv) Khāfī Khān's Embassy.

The sequel is of peculiar interest as the author of the narrative, on which we have so much depended, was himself one of the persons employed in the negotiations.

'During these troubles,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for Abdur Razzak Khān at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two *lacs* of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to Abdur Razzak, the *fauzdār* of Rāhiri.[1] My route was along the seashore through the possessions of the Portuguese and the English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Abdur Razzak, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sidi Yakut Khān. Abdur Razzak had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haidarabad days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his *diwan*, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the *diwan's* brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's *vakil* advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

'When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrements and dress. After that I saw musketeers (*barkandaz*), well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome, and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly 7,000 musketeers dressed and accoutred as for a review.

1. This was the identical Abur Razzak of Golkonda fame who had since reconciled himself to the Imperial service.

'I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abdur Razzak. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with his rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances, and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sidi Yakut, but to-day the scars have been removed from our heart.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

'On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakut Khān, were taken prisoners by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmans. They stayed with Yakut Khān some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingenars*, or *sakanas*, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea; and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

'I smilingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an exculpatory and sensible answer! But you must recall to mind that the hereditary kings of Bijapur and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Sambha have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees!"

'He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindustan are of short weight, and much debased; and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him; but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of Abdur Razzak Khān, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion; but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pān*, and was glad to escape.'

Khāfī Khān concludes this account with the following note :—'The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betel-nuts and cocoa-nuts, does not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. *The balance of the money acquired for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year.* When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jadda laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them; but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibrahimi* and *rial*, their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.'[1]

(v) Mughal Failure.

The culprits when they could be caught were imprisoned, the E. I. Co's factors and officers were indemnified, imprisoned or threatened with extradition, but European piracy continued triumphant in Indian waters in the absence of a strong Indian navy. After the *Ganj-i-sawāi* incident, in September 1695, the Dutch proffered to clear the seas in return for exclusive rights of trading within the Empire free of all duty; but the Emperor declined the offer. An agreement, on the other hand, was made with the English for a similar responsibility in return for half the running cost of each double voyage of the

1. Ibid., pp. 351-54.

escorting ship. Consequently all the English prisoners were set at liberty on 27th June, 1696. But the same year saw the renewal of piracy in a more virulent form under Captain William Kidd, "destined to blossom into the most redoubtable pirate who ever besmirched the honour of England."[1] He had been sent out by a syndicate of English noblemen on the *Adventure*, a very strong 30-gun vessel, to destroy piracy in the Indian Ocean! "Arriving off Calicut early in 1697, he took to a life of piracy, shamelessly describing his robberies as legitimate acts of privateering authorized by the King of England. Kidd's success drew many restless English seamen into his party. 'Distributing his forces with the skill of a sea-strategist,' Captain Kidd dominated the Indian Ocean, with his munitions and stores drawn from a base in Madagascar. 'All told, the pirate fleet mounted 120 guns, and was manned by not less than 300 Europeans, of whom the great majority were Englishmen.'"[2]

Finally, in December 1698, Amānat Khān, the Mughal governor of Surat, surrounded the European factories and gave them an ultimatum either to give an undertaking to guard the seas or to leave the country within ten days. Consequently, "the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they *jointly* engaged to make good all future losses. On receiving this agreement, Aurangzeb reversed his embargo on European trade in the Mughal dominions, and he wrote to the Surat governor to settle the matter in his own way. In the terms of this agreement, 'the Dutch convoyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the governor of Surat; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patrolled the South Indian seas, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf.'"[3]

Nevertheless, "a return prepared in January 1702 showed that the captives at Surat numbered 109 persons, including 21

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 415.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 416.

English officials of the Company....and 15 seamen." Sir John Gayer was imprisoned for 6 years from February 1701, with a few intervals; but this was mainly due to the machinations of Sir Nicholas Waite, President of a new rival English Company established at Surat on 8th April 1699. An ambassador from the King of England, Sir William Norris, waited upon Aurangzeb for 16 months (from 27 Jan. 1701-18 April 1702), but with no result. Another piratical outrage was committed off Surat, on 28th Aug. 1703, when two ships returning from Mocha were captured. By way of indemnity, Itibar Khān, the governor of Surat, extorted, from Vittal and Keshav Parekh (the Old English Company's brokers), 3 *lacs* of rupees, and another 3 *lacs* similarly from the Dutch. But when Aurangzeb heard of this, he disapproved of Itibar's action and set aside the agreement of 1699 under which the indemnity was demanded. Misadventures of this nature with consequent punishments, followed by piratical reprisals, continued, and Aurangzeb realised the helplessness of the situation in the absence of a strong Imperial navy. But he was too much preoccupied with his Deccan war. Khāfi Khān notes with much concern, 'The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khānderi, Kolābā, Kasa, and Katora, in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshis*. Their warships cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The *sakanas* also, who are sometimes called *bawaril*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmadabad, are notorious for their piracies and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbasi and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The reprobate English act in the same way as the *sakanas*.'[1]

V. THE RIDDLE OF AURANGZEB

A Great Enigma.

Aurangzeb's character was a great enigma even to his contemporaries; we are hardly in a better position to correctly understand him. His reign was a riddle in contrasts. To borrow

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 355.

the familiar antithesis from Dickens, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

Only, on the throne of Delhi, instead of there being 'a king with a large jaw,' there was one with a large nose[1] and an itching jaw; the queen with a plain face' was simply out of the picture.

A modern writer has pronounced Aurangzeb "a puzzling compound of contradictions."[2] Bernier found him, 'reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation.' He further said that 'every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dārā, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character.'[3] This should be sufficient caution for all modern critics of Aurangzeb's strange enigmatic character. We shall here only make an attempt to present this Imperial chameleon in all his changing colours, instead of trying to dogmatise.

Aurangzeb's letters, of which over 2,000 are extant, are an invaluable document throwing abundant light upon his manifold character. In one of these, written to his father Shāh Jahān, he writes, "*It is clear to your Majesty that God Almighty bestows His trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear*

Aurangzeb's Ideal of Kingship.

1. Dr. Gemelli Careri, who saw Aurangzeb on 21st March, 1695, in the Deccan, speaks of his white beard, trimmed round, contrasting vividly with his olive skin; 'he was of a low stature, *with a large nose;* slender and stooping with age.'—Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 197.
2. Lane Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 87.
3. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.

to wise men that a wolf is not fit for a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism."[1]

To an officer who suggested to Aurangzeb that, for consideration of health, he should spare himself, he is reported to have said :

'Being born the son of a King and placed on the throne, *I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others; . .it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State.*' He also added, 'There can surely be but one opinion among wise men as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care .... Alas ! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives, too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury.'[2]

Again, in another letter to his father, Aurangzeb expressed his sense of the responsibilities of kingship thus :—'My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know, by more than forty years' experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and aching an heart a monarch retires from the public gaze .... *the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings.* The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilised barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. *He is the*

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 253.
2. Bernier, loc. cit., pp. 129-30.

truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity.'[1]

Benevolent Intentions.

That these were no idle sentiments diplomatically expressed to deceive the world is borne out by the wise regulations he made for the guidance of his revenue officials. That he had also striven to act according to them has been amply demonstrated by his own civil achievements as Viceroy of the Deccan. We have space only for a few of these by way of illustration.

REVENUE REGULATIONS[2]

I

'The officers of the present and future *amils* of the Empire of Hindustan from end to end, should collect the revenue and other [dues] from the *mahals* in the proportions and manner fixed in the luminous Law and shining orthodox Faith, and [according to] whatever has been meant and sanctioned in this gracious mandate in pursuance of the correct and trustworthy Traditions,—

'And they should not demand new orders every year, but should consider delay and transgression as the cause of their disgrace in this world and the next.

First.—'They should practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition, and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage.

[*Commentary* on the margin :—'Concerning what has been written in the first clause the wish of the just Emperor is, "Display friendliness and good management which are the causes of the increase of cultivation. And that [friendliness] *consists in this that under no name or custom should you take a dām or dirham above the fixed amount and rate. By no person should the ryots be oppressed or molested in any way.* The manager of affairs at the place should be a protector [of rights] and just [in carrying out these orders.]"

Second.—'.....If you find that the peasants are unable to procure the implements of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the form of a taqāwi after taking security.

1. Bernier., loc. cit., pp. 167-8.
2. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 197-223. The *farmān* containing these was issued in 1668-69 A. D.

Third.— .....[*Commentary* :—..... 'As the Emperor likes leniency and justice, [he here orders] that the officers should kindly wait for one year [for the return of a fugitive ryot] and, in the case of [direct] cultivation or lease, they should pay to him any surplus left above the Government revenue.'].....

Sixth.—'In places where no tithe or revenue has been laid on a cultivated land, fix whatever ought to be fixed according to the Holy Law. If it be revenue, *fix the revenue at such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined by the payment of it : and for no reason exceed half [the crop], even though the land may be capable of paying more.* Where the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it *kharaj, the* Government share should not exceed one-half, lest the ryots be ruined by the exaction. *Otherwise reduce the former kharaj and fix whatever the ryots can easily pay.* If the land is capable of paying more than the fixed [amount] do not take more.

Seventh.—'You may change fixed revenue (*Muzzaf*) into share of crop (*Muqasema*), or *vice versa, if the ryots agree to it : otherwise not.*

Ninth.—'In lands subject to fixed land revenues, *if any non-preventable calamity overtakes a sown field you ought to inquire carefully, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity,* as required by truth and the nature of the case. And in realising produce from the remnant, *see that a net one-half [of the produce] may be left to the ryots.*[1]

[*Commentary* :—'....In the case of fields which have been flooded, or where the rain-water has been exhausted, or any non-preventable calamity has over-taken the crop before reaping, so that the ryot has secured nothing, nor has time enough left for a second crop to be raised before the beginning of the next year,—consider the revenue as remitted.....

II

'Rasik-dās, thrifty and obedient to Islām, hope for Imperial favours and know—

'That all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large, who are the marvellous creation of and a trust from the Creator (glorified be His name).

1. I.e. If the normal produce is 10 maunds, and 4 maunds have been destroyed by any calamity, take only *one* as revenue. (10—4= $=6\frac{1}{2}^{0}-1$.)

.....(Similar regulations).....

Twelfth.—'Report the names of those among the *amins* and *koris* of the *jāgīrdārs*, who have served with uprightness and devotion, and by following the established rules in every matter have proved themselves good officers,—so that as the result may be rewarded according to their attention to the gain of the State and their honesty. But if any have acted in the opposite manner, report the fact to the Emperor, that they may be dismissed from the service, put on their defence and explanation [of their conduct], and receive the punishment of their irregular acts.'

Thirteenth.—'With great insistence gather together the papers of the records at the right time. In the village in which you stay, every day secure from the officers the daily account of the collection of revenue and cess and prices current, and from the other *parganas* the daily account of the collection of revenue and cash (*maujudāt*) every fortnight, and the balance in the treasuries of *fotahdārs* and the *jam'a wāsil bāqi* every month, and the *tumār* of the total revenue and the *jama bandi* (annual revenue settlement) and the incomes and expenditures of the treasuries of the *fotahdārs* season by season. After looking through these papers demand the refunding of whatever has been spent without being accounted for, and then send them to the Imperial Record Office. Do not leave the papers of the spring harvest uncollected up to the autumn harvest.'

It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Aurangzeb had the right perspective for the ruler of an agricultural land like ours. Despite the loss in revenue it involved, Aurangzeb, it is well known, soon after his accession, remitted no less than 80 different taxes and duties. 'The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts,' observes Khāfī Khān, 'had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdāri* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the green-grocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Some-

thing was paid according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses lawful and unlawful, as the *sur-shumāri, buz-shumāri, bar-gadi,* the *charāi* (grazing tax) of the *Banjaras,* the *tuwa'ana,* the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krors* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted to alleviate the heavy cost of grain.'[1]

Aurangzeb's Mildness.

In spite of stringent orders, however, many of these forbidden dues continued to be exacted by selfish local officials, or *jāgīrdārs.* Khāfī Khān gives two reasons for this : '*Firstly,* because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of *jāgīrdārs, faujdārs and zamīndārs. Secondly,* because the revenue officers, through inattention, or want of consideration or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* accounts of the *jāgīrdārs.* So the *jāgīrdārs,* under the pretext that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwah* papers, continued to collect the *rahdāri* and many other of the abolished imports, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab,* and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imports for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons

1. E. & D, op. cit., VII, pp. 246-7.

or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amounts. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect.'[1]

Lane-Poole's comments on this are worthy of attention. "Cynical critics," he observes, "have explained Aurangzib's ineffectual generosity as an ingenious contrivance to carry favour with the people without impoverishing the treasury. Dr. Careri seems to incline to the opinion that the Emperor connived at his Amir's misdeeds in order to gain their support. A certain amount of conciliation of powerful chiefs, and even winking at their irregularities is inseparable from a quasi-feudal administration, and Aurangzib may have felt himself compelled sometimes to shut his eyes lest worse things should happen. The plain interpretation, however, of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty dictated by the Korānic injunction of benevolence to 'the needy and the son of the road,' is simpler and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition. *He was not the man to connive at illegal extortion or the oppression of the poor.*"[2] We are disposed to agree. Aurangzeb's wise counsel to his son Shāh Alam may be taken as representing his correct attitude in such matters: 'An Emperor ought to stand midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scares away heart.'[3]

Aurangzeb's Justice.

Not merely Indian writers but also foreigners bear testimony to the fair administration of justice under Aurangzeb. Ovington, "who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzib's 'least partial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat,' says that the Great Mogul 'is, the main ocean of

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 248.
2. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 82-3.
3. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 58. Or, as he expressed it in other words:— 'Don't be so salt that [your subjects] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down.' Ibid., p. 61.

justice. . . . He generally determines with exact justice and equity; for there is no pleading of peerage or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzib as the chief Omrah : which makes the Omrahs very circumspect of their actions and punctual in their payments.'[1] The author of the *Mirāt-i' Alam*, Bakhtawar Khān, gives us the following picture of Aurangzeb the judge :—

'In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of back-biting or of falsehood is allowed. His courtiers on whom his lights is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and at full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his Court of Audience with a pleasing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows. His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined by the Muhammadan law. *Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death.*'[2]

This character is further confirmed by Dr. Careri, who saw him in the Deccan in 1695. Seated upon a square gilt throne, raised two steps above the dais, inclosed with silver banisters, 'they gave him his scimitar and buckler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near; who being come up, two secretaries, standing, took their petitions, which they delivered to the King, telling him the contents. I admir'd to see him indorse them which his own hand,

1. Ovington, p. 198, cited by Lane-Poole, loc. cit., p. 81.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 158.

without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment.'[1]

Aurangzeb's Activity.

Great and incessant activity is a desideratum to great achievement. Aurangzeb shared this quality of his forefathers. Both Akbar and Shāh Jahān never spared themselves; Humāyūn's and Jahāngīr's love of ease were the cause of their comparative failure. Sher Shāh made his mark by his watchful and unceasing labours. Aurangzeb, if ever he needed the lesson, knew his history well. "An emperor," he told his son Muazzam, "should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal cause of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible.

It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place,

The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his control."[2]

His motto appears to have been like that of his great western contemporary Louis XIV, whom he resembled in many ways (except in his Puritanism),—"One must work hard to reign, and it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards man, to wish to reign without hard work." Aurangzeb himself wrote, 'So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work.'[3] Here is his daily routine as given by Prof. Sarkar :—

A. M.

5 ... Wakes—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.
7-30 ... Justice in Private Chamber.
8-30 ... *Darśan*—Review—Elephant Fights.
9-15 ... Public Darbār.
11 ... Private Audience.
11-50 ... Harem—Siesta.

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 198.
2. Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 59.
3. Ibid., p. 107.

P. M.

2 ... *Zuhar* Prayer.

2-30 ... Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.

5-30 ... Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.

6-40 ... *Soiree* in the *Diwān-i-Khās*.

7-30 ... Court dismissed—*Isha* Prayer.

8 ... In the Harem—Religious meditation—Sleep.

"This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. Wednesday was sacred to justice, and no public *darbār* was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the *darśan* to the Private Audience Hall, thronged with the Law Officers, *qāzis*, *muftis*, scholars, theologians (*ulema*), judges, and the Prefect of Police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon.

"On Thursday he gave his Court a half-holiday, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon; but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Diwān-i-Khās* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

"If we may believe the Court historian (*Alamgīr-nāma*), Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four."[1]

Through half-a-century of Imperial rule, through war and peace, through sickness and health, through sunshine and rain, Aurangzeb strictly adhered to his sense of duty and passion for work. Bernier records a wonderful illustration :—

'Aureng-zebe, *notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of Government*, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Muzum, *in the event of his death, to release the King from confinement*; but *he was constantly dictating letters* to Etbar-kan, urging him to be faithful and rigid in the discharge of his duty; and *on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs*, for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which *Shāh-Jehān* might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit that assembly on the 7th, 9th and 10th days; and, *what appears almost incredible, on the 13th day, when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported*, he sent for the *Rāja*

1. Sarkar., *Anecdotes*, pp. 177-84.

Jesseingue, and two or three of the principal *Omrahs*, for the purpose of verifying his existence. *He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed; called for paper and ink that he might write to Etbar-kan, and dispatched a messenger for the Great-Seal,* which was placed under Rauchenara-Begam's care enclosed in a small bag, which was impressed with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm; *wishing to satisfy himself that the Princess had not made use of this instrument to promote any sinister design.*' 'I was present,' continues Bernier with great admiration, 'when my *Agah* became acquainted with all these particulars, and heard him exclaim, "what strength of mind! what invincible courage! Heaven reserve thee, Aureng-zebe, for greater achievements! Thou art not yet destined to die."[1]

Sarkar remarks, "Historians have observed that though he died in his 90th year, he (Aurangzib) retained to the last almost all his faculties unimpaired. His memory was wonderful: 'he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard.' All his physical powers retained their vigour to the end, except a slight deafness of the ear, which afflicted him in old age, and a lameness of the right leg, which was due to his doctor's unskilful treatment of an accidental dislocation."[2]

Elphinstone writes, "In reviewing these laborious undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which Aurangzib bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was *near sixty-five when he crossed the Narbada* to begin on this long war and *had attained his eighty-first before he quitted his cantonment at Birampuri.* The fatigues of marches and sieges were little suited to such an age; and, in spite of the display of the luxury in his camp equipage, he suffered hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man.... The impassable streams, the flooded valleys, the miry bottoms and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties.... The violent heats, in tents and during marches, were distressing at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water: general famines and pestilences came more than once, in addi-

1. Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 125-6.
2. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 462.

tion to the scarcity and sickness to which his own camp was often liable; and all was aggravated by accounts of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in the countries beyond the reach of those visitations. *But in all these discouragements Aurangzib retained his vigour.* He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts sent for him to fix on the points of attack; his letters embrace measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghan country, for quelling disturbances at Multan and Agra, and even for recovering possession of Candahar; and, at the same time, there is scarcely a detachment marches or a convoy moves in the Deckan without some orders from Aurangzib's own hand.

"The appointment of the lowest revenue officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office, is not beneath his attention; and the conduct of all these functionaries is watched,[1] by means of spies and of prying inquiries from all comers, and they are constantly kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information. This attention to particulars is not favourable to real progress of business, any more than it is indicative of enlarged genius; but combined, as it was in Aurangzib, with unremitting vigilance in all the great affairs of the State, *it shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful at any age.*"[2]

Aurangzeb's Contrasts.

All that has been stated above should go to substantiate Lane-Poole's just estimate of Aurangzeb being "incomparably his father's superior—a wiser man, a juster king, a more clament and benevolent ruler." "His greatest calumniator Manucci," he adds, "admits that his heart was really kind."[3] "He fur-

1. In his last will and testament Aurangzeb wrote,—'The main pillar of government is to be well informed in the news of the kingdom. Negligence for a single moment becomes the cause of disgrace for long years. The escape of the wretch Shiva took place through [my] carelessness, and I have to labour hard [against the Marathas] to the end of my life, [as the result of it].'—Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 55.
2. Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 665-6.
3. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 86.

ther states, "All we know of his methods of government,.... goes to prove that his fine sentiments were really the ruling principles of his life. No act of injustice *according to the law of Islām,* has been proved against him."[1] Even Bernier does not fail to observe, 'yet even those who may maintain that the circumstances of country, birth and education afford no palliation of the conduct pursued by Aurang-zebe (towards his father and brothers), *must admit that this Prince is endowed with a versatile and rare genius, that he is a consummate statesman, and a great King.*"[2] If the writer of his *Anecdotes* is true, Shāh Jahān too appears to have foreseen that 'the resolution and intelligence of Aurangzib make it necessary that he (alone) would undertake this difficult task (of ruling India).[3] Dryden only translates this sentiment into verse when he writes :

'This Atlas must our sinking state uphold ;
In counsel cool, but in performance bold :
He sums their (his brothers') virtues in himself alone....'

Despite this, however, it is also true as V. A. Smith holds, "When he is judged as a sovereign he must be pronounced a failure." He quotes Khāfī Khān to emphasize "his merits as an ascetic and his demerits in the practical government of an empire." Hence, 'in spite of his devotion, austerity, and justice, courage, long-suffering, and sound judgment,' every plan and project that he formed came to little good, and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed of its object' (Khāfī Khān). Smith adds, "The censures of the friendly Muhammadan critic do not exhaust the list of Aurangzib's defects as a ruler." But we may not agree with him in his enumeration of all the details.

"He never trusted anybody, and consequently was ill served. His cold, calculating temperament rarely permitted him to indulge in love for man or woman, and few indeed were the persons who loved him. His reliance on mere cunning

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., p. 80.
2. Bernier, *Travels,* p. 199.
3. Sarkar, *Anecdotes,* pp. 40-41.

as the principal instrument in statecraft testified to a certain smallness of mind, and, moreover was ineffective in practice. *Although he had many opportunities for winning military distinction, he failed to show ability as a general whether before or after his accession.* His proceedings in the Deccan during the latter part of his life were simply ridiculous as military operations. *In fact, nothing in the history of Aurangzib justifies posterity in classing him as a great King.* His tricky cunning was mainly directed, first to winning, and then to keeping the throne. He did nothing for literature or art. Rather it should be said that he did less than nothing, because he discouraged both."[1]

To completely deny Aurangzeb all title to greatness sounds fanatical. The dissipation of his last campaigns need not blind us to his earlier military achievements, both as Prince and as Emperor. Aurangzeb's great weakness was, indeed, his suspiciousness, the natural corollary to which was over-centralization in administration, both civil and military. But given his energy and intellectual power, this need not have proved fatal; it was a weakness common to his tribe—men of power and overmastering ambition. There was undeniably a certain lack in his character—"a certain smallness of mind," indeed,—the generosity and openness of mind common to all his predecessors. It was on account of this that "all his self-restraint, his sense of duty, his equity, and laborious care of his people, counted for nothing in their hearts *against his cold reserve and distrust.*" "His very asceticism and economy and simplicity of life were repugnant to a nation accustomed to the splendour of Shāh Jahān's magnificent court. The mass of his subjects felt that if they must have an alien in race and religion for their king, at least let him show himself a king right royally, and shed his sovereign radiance on his subjects, even while he emptied their purses upon his stately pleasures. *This was just what Aurangzib could not do. The very loftiness of his nature*

1. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 447-48.

kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and frigid virtue chilled their hearts."[1]

Aurangzeb's Puritanism.

In the ultimate analysis, it is possible to attribute all Aurangzeb's failures and defects to his religious character. "His character," says Lane-Poole, "is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and duty; and also with its cold severity, its curbed impulses, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature,' its essential unlovableness. Aurangzib possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues; *but he was lacking in the one thing needful in a leader of men: he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire, but he cannot rule the hearts of men.*"

IDEAL MUSLIM MONARCH

The reader will be amply rewarded for his patience to go through the following description of the Emperor, dwelling on the arch-trait of his character :—

'Be it known to the readers of this work,' writes Baktawar Khān, author of the *Mirāt-i Alam*, 'that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abu-l Muzaffar Muhiu-d din Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgīr, according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes. This Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of the Imām Abu Hanifa (may God be pleased with him!), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz*. Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jami Masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity....

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 86-7.

'In privacy he never sits on the throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse.....and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

'From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire ravishment in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self denial, and observance of the tenets of the great Imām (Shafi'ī), (may God's mercy be on him!), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance.

'He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he even use vessels of silver or gold.....In consideration of their rank and merit he shows much honour and respect to the Saiyids, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanifa and of our pure religion have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

'Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with the *khilats* and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this foundation of generosity in such abundance, that the emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of *Ramzān* sixty-thousand rupees, and in the other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating-houses have been established in the capital and other cities at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the

Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at public expense. Imāms, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the *khutba*, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

'As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muhammadans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hanifi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *kāzis* and *muftis* which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his enquiries on any disputed point, therefore His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindustan should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard cannon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizām, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of 200,000 rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than 100,000 lines. When the work (*Fatwā i Alamgīrī*) with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammadan doctors. Another excellence attending this design is, that, with a view to afford facility to all, the possessor of perfections, Chulpi Abdu-llah son of the great and the most celebrated Maulāna Abdu-l Hakim of Sialkot, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian.....

'The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law. He always studies the compilations of the great Imām Muhammad Ghizali (may God's mercy be on him!), the extracts from the writings of Shaikh Sharaf Yahya Muniri (may his tomb be sanctified!), and the works of Muhi Shirāzi, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the *Kurān* by heart.

Though in his early youth he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after ascending the throne. He took great pains and showed much perseverance in impressing it upon his mind. He writes a very good *Naskh* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of 7,000 rupees, he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also wrote an excellent *Nastalik* and *Shikastah* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God—"Poets deal in falsehoods"—he abstains from practising it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

'The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his fortunate and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in rectitude, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instruction they have learnt the book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turki and the Persian languages.

'In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of the Deity, to reading the sacred *Kurān*, and performing virtuous and pious acts. *The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression.* As long as nature nourishes the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful!'[1]

This eulogium, fulsome as it may appear, from a strictly Muslim view-point, was not altogether undeserved by Aurangzeb. "It is not," as Lane-Poole properly observes, "more adulatory than Bernier's letter to Colbert of the same period.....There is nothing in the portrait which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of Aurangzib's career or with the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Exaggerated as it must seem to a western reader, the Indian historian's picture of his revered Emperor does not present a single touch which

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 156-62.

cannot be traced in the writings of contemporary French and English travellers, and in the statements of other native chroniclers who were less under the influence of the sitter for the portrait. Dr. Careri draws a precisely similar picture of the Emperor as he was in his old age in 1695." [1]

If Aurangzeb had shared the eclecticism or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire. He was more Hindu in blood than any of them had been ; but his Islamic conscience rebelled against all the traditions created by them in India. "For the first time in their history the Mughals beheld a rigid Muslim in their Emperor—a Muslim as sternly repressive of himself as of his people around him, *a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of the faith* .....He was no youthful enthusiast when he ascended the throne of Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of the various sections of his subjects. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a-tilt against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideas, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a jovial court, was to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unbending resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty. The flame of religious zeal blazed as hotly in his soul when he lay dying among the ruins of his Grand Army of the Deccan, an old man on the verge of ninety, as when, in the same fatal province, but then a youth in the springtime of life, he had thrown off the purple of viceregal state and adopted the mean garb of a mendicant fakir." [2]

The Ruin of Aurangzeb.

A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangzeb in his closing years. His pathetic letters to his sons, cited already, breathe regret and disappointment ; there is also in them a

1. Lane-Poole, op. cit., pp. 66-69.
2. Ibid., p. 70.

note of uncertainty and disillusionment. But in his lifetime he had no misgivings as to his goal ; he had pursued what he considered to be his God-appointed task, relentlessly and with great zest. He sought to convert *Dar-al-Harb* (land of infidelity) into *Dar-al-Islām* (land of the true faith). It was obstensibly for this that he dethroned his father, murdered his brothers, exiled his son Akbar, antagonised the Rajputs, Jāts, Sikhs, and Marathas, suppressed the two Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, levied the *jaziya*, forbade the writing of court-chronicles, banished music, changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system (in place of the solar innovations), discontinued the *Nauroz* celebrations and anniversary-weighings of the Emperor against gold, silver, etc. and substituted true Hanifi Muslims in place of Hindus, Shias, and other infidels and heretics in his service wherever he could. Some of his measures were really good, such as the condemnation of *bhāng*, prohibition of liquor and gambling, forbidding of *sati*, banning of obscenities in the celebration of *Holi*, and the compulsion of public women to choose between marriage and exile, etc. But what enraged large masses of his subjects was the wholesale destruction of places of worship, exaction of invidious taxes like the *jaziya* and extra-customs duties from Hindus, and their humiliation, not merely by dismissal from high service, but also by prohibition against riding on good horses, wearing of good dresses, etc. These were not the acts of a righteous ruler or a constructive statesman, but the outbursts of blind fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangzeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Nor does any religion demand from its most devoted votaries the savage treatment that Aurangzeb needlessly meted out to his father and brothers. The fact is that, apart from his natural propensity and zeal for religion (Islām?), Aurangzeb—or better Alamgīr, the "world-grasper," also possessed a certain strong machiavellian trait in his character which made him believe

> 'How vain is virtue, which directs our ways
> Through certain danger to uncertain praise !
> Barren, and airy name ! the fortune flies,
> With thy lean train, the pious and the wise....

The world is made for the bold impious man,
Who stops at nothing, siezes all he can.
Justice to merit does weak aid afford;
She trusts her balance, and neglects her sword.
Virtue is nice to take what's not her own;
And while she long consults, the prize is gone!'[1]

This is the key to his puzzling character which led his European contemporaries to suspect him a dissembling consummate villain. Bernier, as we have already pointed out, speaks of him as "reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further amplifies, "When at his father's Court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn *fakir*, that is to say, a beggar, a Darwish, or one who had renounced the world; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrank from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life has been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the Court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character."[2] Tavernier, likewise, wrote, "Aurangzib especially shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is a faithful follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in *external observation of the law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom*....To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Fakir*,.....and *under this false mantle of piety made his way cleverly to the Empire*."[3]

At least two of his contemporaries warned Aurangzeb of the consequences of his purblind policy—their motives we

1. Dryden, *Aurang-Zebe*.
2. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.
3. Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 177.

need not discuss here— ; but, in the nature of things, they could expect no response. His rebellious son Akbar wrote the strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's rule ever penned by critic.

"Verily, the guide and teacher of this path [of rebellion against a reigning father] is Your Majesty; others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called 'the path of ill-luck?

My father bartered away the garden of Eden
for two grains of wheat;
I shall be an unworthy son if I do not sell it
for a grain of barley!
Hail, centre of the worlds, spiritual and temporal!
Men draw hardship and labour of themselves....
[Then follows a vindication of the Rajputs.]

"Former emperors like Akbar had contracted alliance and kinship with this race and conquered the realm of Hindustan with *their* help .... This is the race who, when Your Majesty was adorning the throne at Delhi, and the Rajputs [there] did not number more than three hundred men, performed heroic deeds, whose narrative is manifest to the age; such heroism and victory [were theirs] as the commanders of the age have not heard of..... Blessings be on this race's fidelity to salt, who, without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Emperor of India, his mighty sons, famous ministers and high grandees have been moving in distraction [against them], *though this is only the beginning of the contests.*

"And why should it not be so, seeing that in Your Majesty's reign the ministers have no power, the nobles enjoy no trust, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employment, the traders are without means, and the peasantry are down-trodden? So, too, the kingdom of the Deccan which is a spacious country and a paradise on earth, has become desolate and ruined like a hill or desert; and the city of Burhānpur,—a mole of beauty on the cheek on earth,—has become ruined and plundered; the city of Aurangābad, glorified by connection with Your Majesty's name, is perturbed like quicksilver at the shock and injury given by the enemy's armies.

"*On the Hindu tribes two calamities have descended*, (first) the exaction of the *jaziya* in the town and (second) the oppression of the enemy in the country. When such sufferings have come down upon the heads of the people from all sides, why should they not fail to pray for or thank their ruler? Men of high extraction and

'pure' breed belonging to ancient families, have disappeared and the offices and departments of Your Majesty's government and the function of Your counselling on the affairs of the State, are in the hands of mechanics, low people and rascals,—like weavers, soap-vendors and tailors. These men, carrying the broad cloaks of fraud under their arms, and the snare of fraud and trickery, (*to wit, the rosary*) in their hands, *roll on their tongues certain traditions and religious maxims.* Your Majesty trusts these confidants, counsellors and companions as if they were Gabriel and Michael, and places yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing wheat (as samples) but selling barley, by such pretexts make grass appear as a hill and a hill as grass [to you].

In the reign of King Alamgīr, the Holy Warrior,
Soap-vendors have become Sadaṛ and Qāzi !....
Low people have gained so much power
That cultured persons have to seek shelter at their doors !....
God protect us from this calamitous age,
In which the ass kicks at the Arab steed !
The supreme magistrate is [vainly] treading on the wind,
While justice has become [as rare] as the phoenix itself !

"The clerks and officers of State have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar. *The day seems near when the palace of the State would be cracked.*

"When I beheld this to be the state of affairs [in the realm] and saw no possibility of Your Majesty's character being reformed, kingly spirits urged me to cleanse the realm of Hindustan of the brambles and weeds (viz., oppressors and lawless men), to promote men of learning and culture, and to destroy the foundations of tyranny and meanness.....

"Hitherto Your Majesty has spent all Your life in the quest of things of this world—which are even more false than dreams, and even less constant than shadows. Now is the proper time for You to lay in provisions for the next life, in order to atone for Your former deeds, done out of greed for this transitory world against Your august father and noble brothers in the days of Your youth.

O ! thou art past eighty years and art still asleep !
Thou wilt not get more than these few days."[1]

1. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 100-105.

The whole letter sounds insolent and, doubtless, is guilty of exaggerations, but in its main charge quite true and wonderfully prophetic. Similar in import and appeal, but certainly more dignified in its tone and sincere in its fervour, is Shivāji's letter to Aurangzeb, addressed to him after the Agra adventure.

"To the Emperor Alamgīr—

"This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor which are clearer than the Sun, begs to inform Your Majesty that—....

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty! That architect of the fabric of empire [Jalāluddin] Akbar Pādishāh, reigned with full power for 52 [lunar] years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dādu's followers, sky-worshippers (*falakia*), *malakia*, materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*) Brahmans and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all the people. So, he became famous under the title of *Jagat-Guru*, 'the World's spiritual Guide.'

"Next, the Emperor Nuruddin Jahāngīr for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart to his friends and his hand to his work, and gained his desires. The Emperor Shāh Jahān for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life, which is only a synonym for goodness and fair fame, as the result of his happy time on earth.

> He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
> Because after his death, the recital of his good deeds keeps his name alive.

"Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he [Akbar] bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered [by him]. The state and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact *Alamgīr Pādishāh has failed and become distracted in the attempt to merely follow their political system.* They, too, had the power of levying the *jaziya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God to be [living] examples of the nature of diverse creeds and tempera-

ments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these [three] pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety [under the rule], and their undertakings succeeded.

"*But in Your Majesty's reign*, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden; the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one *lakh* [of Rupees] only one thousand, and in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, the condition of the Grandees and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled, most men lack bread at night and in the day inflame their own cheeks by slapping them [in anguish]. How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jaziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jaziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, *yogis*, *sannyāsis*, *bairāgis*, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars, that he dashes down to the ground the name and honour of the Timurids!

"May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (i.e., the *Qurān*), you will find there [that God is styled] *Rabbi-ul-alamin*, the Lord of all men, and not *Rabb-ul-musalmin*, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are terms of contrast. They are [diverse pigments] used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines [of His picture of the entire human species]. If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw new lines on a picture is equivalent to finding fault with the painter.....

"In strict justice the *jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it can be allowable only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one province to another without fear or molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered, what shall I say of the open country? Apart

from its injustice, this imposition of the *jaziya* is an innovation in India and inexpedient.

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy the *jaziya* from Rāṇā Rāj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."[1]

Ages earlier, if Hindu traditions are to be trusted, wiser counsels had been lavished upon another ruler of Delhi (*Hastināpura*),— viz., *Dhrita-rāshtra* (Pillar of State) stricken with a fatal blindness and at the mercy of his avaricious sons chief among whom was *Duryodhana* of evil mind. Shri Krishna, 'with sweet and soft persuasion,' addressed him thus :—

"Listen mighty Dhrita-rāshtra, Kuru's great and ancient king,
Seek not war and death of Kinsmen, word of peace and love I bring!.....
For thy sons in impious anger seek to do their kinsmen wrong,
And without the throne and kingdom which by right to them belong,
And a danger thus ariseth like the comet's baleful fire,
Slaughtered kinsmen, bleeding nations, soon shall feed its fatal ire!
Stretch thy hands, O Kuru monarch! prove thy truth and holy grace,
Man of peace! avert the slaughter and preserve thy ancient race,.....
'Tis thy profit, Kuru monarch! that the fatal feuds should cease,
Brave Duryodhan, good Yudhishthir, rule in unmolested peace,
Pandu's sons are strong in valour, mighty in their armed hand,
Indra shall not shake thy empire when they guard the Kuru land!....

1. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 325-29.

Who shall then contest thy prowess from the sea to farthest sea,
Ruler of a world-wide empire, *King of kings and nations free?*
Sons and grandsons, friends and kinsmen, will surround thee in a ring,
And a race of loving heroes guard their ancient hero-king,
Dhrita-rāshtra's lofty edicts will proclaim his boundless sway,
Nations work his righteous mandates and the kings his will obey!
If this concord be rejected and the lust of war prevail,
Soon within these ancient chambers will resound the sound of wail,.....
Father of a righteous nation! Save the princes of the land,
On the armed and fated nations stretch, old man, thy saving hand! .....
Slaughter not the armed nations, slaughter not thy kith and kin,
Mark not, king, thy closing winters, with the bloody stain of sin,
Let thy sons and Pandu's children stand beside thy ancient throne,
Cherish peace and cherish virtue, for thy days are almost done!"

Alamgīr *the world grasper's* reply to all the claims of reason and statesmanship was as blind and blunt as that of *Dhrita-rashtra's* unrelenting sons. He was learned, too, and could quote Sa'di, emphatically exclaiming,—

"*Cease to be kings! Oh, cease to be Kings!*
Or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves."

Aurangzeb was thereby sowing the dragon's teeth; but he never thought of the future. With Louis XV he only declared, "After me will come the deluge"—"*Az-ma-ast hamah fasad baqi*"!

Mr. Pringle Kennedy wisely observes, "What Akbar had gained, what Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān with all their vices had retained, he (Aurangzeb) lost, viz., the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be acquired for a Muhamma-

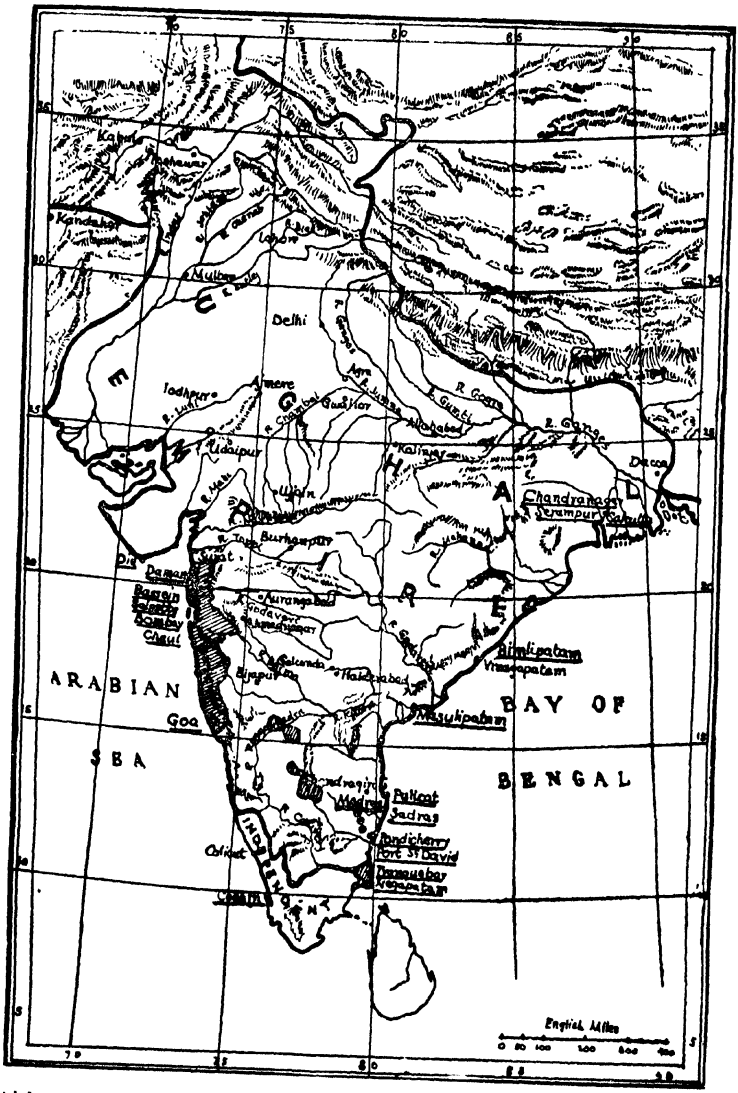
dan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not acquired the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Impatience at opposition, a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all these are a form of intolerance and one that at times can be seen in the statesmen of the present days. But the warning of history stands ever there, so that he who runs may read : *The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb.*"[1]

WASTED OPPORTUNITY

It is vain to speculate what might have been if Aurangzeb had not been a fanatical *Namāzi* (as his latitudinarian brother Dārā called him), if he had befriended the Rajputs instead of alienating them, if he had not antagonised the Sikhs, Satnāmis, Jāts, and other sections of his non-Muslim subjects, and above all, if he had not roused the Marathas to deadly combat, and had won the sympathy and support of the Shia kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, etc., etc. But when we remember Aurangzeb's unquestionable merits, his administrative abilities, his benevolent intentions regarding the welfare of the peasants and Muslim subjects, his tireless energy, and his sense of the responsibilities of a monarch, we cannot help sighing with the repentant Emperor crying from his death-bed : "*I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing, ...and of the future there is no hope.*"[2]

Our regret is rendered all the more acute when we turn our eyes to the successful administration of parts of his vast dominion, like Bengal under Shayista Khān and Konkan under

1. Kennedy, *The History of the Great Moghuls*, II, pp. 155-56.
2. Letter to Azam, already cited.



ch by Mr. V. N. Ambdekar

THE EMPIRE UNDER AURANGZEB

Matabar Khān. The latter was a *Navāyat Sayyid* of Kalyān, first employed as a *thānādār* in the Nasik District. He first distinguished himself in 1688, "by his enterprising spirit and far-sightedness." He enlisted a strong infantry force of local hillmen to fight the Marathas. After the fall of Sambhāji, it was on account of him that all North Konkan from Surat to Bombay passed into Mughal hands. "Most parts of the district had been ruined by twenty years of Maratha predominance and frequent warfare. He established Mughal rule over them, restored order, and planted colonies of peasants so as to revive their cultivation and prosperity..... The news-letters of Aurangzib's Court contain many examples of Matabar's vigilant care for his charge, his strict maintenance of efficiency in the administration, and his assistance to the Siddi chief of Janjira in the military operations south for upholding the imperial power. Death overtook this able and faithful servant at the end of February 1704."[1]

Shayista Khān's administration of Bengal was equally successful and prosperous. His first viceroyalty of Bengal extended over 14 years (1664-77). "During this unusually long period of office in our province, he first ensured the safety of the Bengal rivers and sea-board by destroying the pirates' nest at Chatgaon, won over the Feringi pirates and settled them near Dacca. His internal administration was equally mild and beneficent. He immediately stopped the resumption by the State of the old rent-free lands which the local officers had begun during the inter-regnum following Mīr Jumla's death. Every day he held open Court for administration of justice and redressed wrongs very promptly. This he regarded as his most important duty. Shayista Khān restored absolute freedom of buying and selling, and also abolished two illegal exactions of his predecessors, namely, a tax of one-fortieth (*zakāt*) on the income of merchants and travellers, and as excise duty (*hasil*) from every class of artificers and tradesmen, the latter tax yielding 15 lakhs of Rupees a year in his

1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 352-53.

own jāgīrs alone. The long interval of peace secured by his arms to Bengal was employed by him in adorning his capital Dacca with many fine buildings and constructing *sarais* all over the country. On the whole, he was a generous nobleman of the grand old style..... His second term covered the nine years from 1680 to 1688; the most noticeable event of this period was the war with the E. I. Co., already described. The popular tradition is that during his governorship rice sold in Bengal at the incredibly cheap rate of eight maunds to the Rupee."[1]

That the country possessed able rulers even among the enemies of the Mughal Empire is illustrated by the career of Bakht Buland, the rebel chief of Gondwana. "During Bakht Buland's reign the rich lands to the south of Deogarh, between the Wainganga and Kanhan rivers, were steadily developed. Hindu and Muhammadan cultivators were encouraged to settle in them on equal terms with Gonds, until this region became most prosperous.' Industrial settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gondwana, many towns and villages were founded, and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce made considerable advances."[2] But the best illustration of administrative talent outside the Empire is that of Shivāji.

"It is commonly believed," writes Prof. S. N. Sen, "that this vast empire (whose foundations were laid by Shivāji) existed merely by plunder and robbery. An eminent English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and scoundrels.' *But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a surer and firmer basis of good government.*"[3] This is not the place to describe in details the splendid government set up by Shivāji. We must content ourselves here with reminding the reader of the tribute paid to him by Sir Jadunath Sarkar the historian of Aurang-

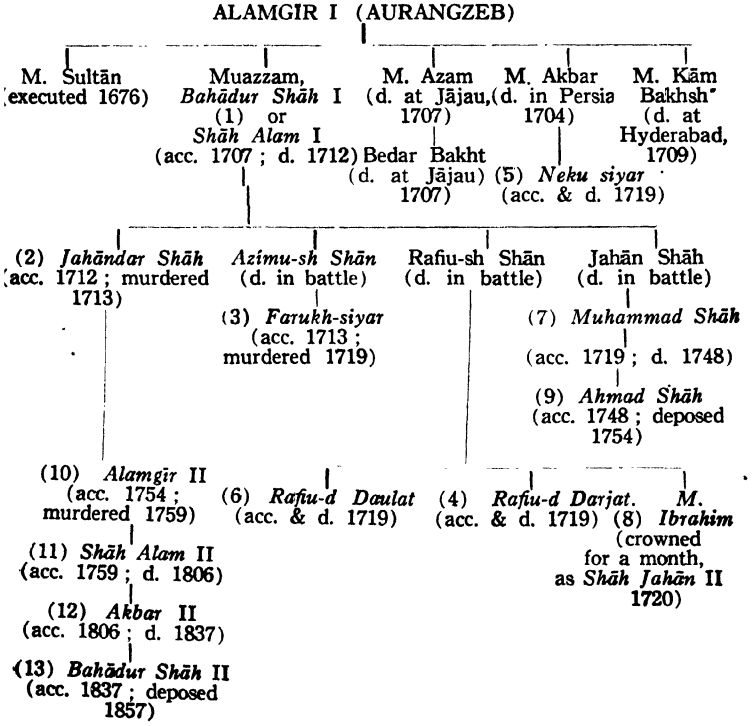
1. Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 420-21.
2. Ibid., pp. 432-33.
3. Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Preface to the 1st ed., p. 8.

zeb's reign :—" The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people ....No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times.....He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth." [1]

Aurangzeb could easily have become an '*Ornament to the throne*' (as indeed his name signified), had he not bent his dynamic energy and genius into channels destructive of both himself and the Empire that was his glorious heritage. Instead, he set himself the vain task of becoming *Alamgir* or '*world-grasper*' and was content to be *Zinda Pir* or '*living saint*' to his orthodox Muslim contemporaries. He also set to posterity a purplexing puzzle in the strange compound of his character : " Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed," as Lane-Poole observes, " but he had failed grandly.....His glory is for himself alone....To his great empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse." [2]

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 240.
2. Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, pp. 204-5. The same writer has also observed, " Aurangzib has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his Ludlow among his biographers, and his Baxter, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue vitiated by success ; he has also been slavered with the panegyrics of Muhammadan Flecknoes and Dawbeneys. These opposite views, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian bigotry and Muhammadan bigotry.....They did not understand the nature of the religion which could be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzib, any more than the royalists of the Restoration could discover in the ambitious regicide the sincere Christian that Cromwell really was.....Like Cromwell, he (Aurangzib) may not have been 'a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things, but he undoubtedly put himself forth for the cause of God, like the great Protector, a mean instrument to do God's people some good, and God service.'—Ibid., pp. 60-61, 64.

GENEALOGY OF LATER MUGHALS


ALAMGIR I (AURANGZEB)
M. Sultān (executed 1676)
Muazzam, Bahādur Shāh I (1) or Shāh Alam I (acc. 1707 ; d. 1712)
M. Azam (d. at Jājau, 1707)
M. Akbar (d. in Persia 1704)
M. Kām Bakhsh (d. at Hyderabad, 1709)
Bedar Bakht (d. at Jājau) 1707)
(5) Neku siyar (acc. & d. 1719)
(2) Jahāndar Shāh (acc. 1712 ; murdered 1713)
Azimu-sh Shān (d. in battle)
Rafiu-sh Shān (d. in battle)
Jahān Shāh (d. in battle)
(3) Farukh-siyar (acc. 1713 ; murdered 1719)
(7) Muhammad Shāh (acc. 1719 ; d. 1748)
(9) Ahmad Shāh (acc. 1748 ; deposed 1754)
(10) Alamgir II (acc. 1754 ; murdered 1759)
(6) Rafiu-d Daulat (acc. & d. 1719)
(4) Rafiu-d Darjat. (acc. & d. 1719)
M. (8) Ibrahim (crowned for a month, as Shāh Jahān II 1720)
(11) Shāh Alam II (acc. 1759 ; d. 1806)
(12) Akbar II (acc. 1806 ; d. 1837)
(13) Bahādur Shāh II (acc. 1837 ; deposed 1857)

AUTHORITIES *

A. PRIMARY :—1. *Muntakhabu-l Lubāb* by Khāfī Khān, already cited, continues the story up to the beginning of the 14th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. In the reign of Farrukh-siyar, the author was made a *dīwān* by Nizāmu-l Mulk, and " writes with interest and favour in all that concerns that chief. For this reason he is sometimes designated *Nizāmu-l Mulki.*" Extracts E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 387-531.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Irā'dat Khān* by Mir Mubārakullah Iradat Khān Wāza, whose grand-father and father had held important offices under Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, respectively. Iradat Khān was a *faujdār* under Aurangzeb, and *governor* of the Doab under Bahādur Shāh. He died in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. Dowson observes, " This is a good history of the Mughal Empire from the close of Aurangzeb's reign to the commencement of Farrukh Siyar's. It has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott.... The book is written in a plain straight-forward style, and it never wanders beyond the sphere of the author's own observation ; but it is full of spirit, and has all the vigour and vividness of a personal narrative." ' As I was a sharer as well as a spectator of all the dangers and troubles,' Iradat Khān himself writes, ' I have therefore recorded them. My intention, however, not being to compile a history of the kings or a flowery work, but only to relate such events as happened in my own knowledge, I have therefore, preferably to a display of learning in lofty

* The principal *Authorities* for the remaining chapters, excepting only the last, have all been given here together. The reader will bear in mind, with increasing complexity, it is impossible to be exhaustive. Other sources may be traced in the works here cited.

phrases and pompous metaphors, chosen a plain style, such as a friend writing to a friend would use, for the purpose of information. Indeed, if propriety is consulted, *loftiness of style, is unfit for plain truth, which pure in itself, requires only a simple delineation.*'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 536-64.

3. *'Ibrat-Nāma* by Muhammad Kāsim, also called *Tārīkh-i Bahādur-Shāhi,* " is a well written history," commencing with the death of Aurangzeb, and closing with the death of *Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid Abdu-llah.* Extracts relating to the great Saiyids of Barha, whose dependent the author was, are given in E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 571-73.

4. *Tazkira-i Chaghatai* of Muhammad Hádí Kámwar Khān sometimes called *Tārīkh-i Chaghatai,* is a general history of the Mughals, closing with the 7th year of Muhammad Shāh, A. H. 1137 (1724 A.D.). The author held important offices under Bahādur Shāh, and " was in a position to know what was going on ; and the apparently straight-forward manner in which he has written his history inspires the confidence of the reader." Extract relating to the situation at the death of Bahādur Shāh in E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 19-20.

5. *Tārīkh-i Chaghatai* of Muhammad Shāfī, Teharani, not to be confused with the above work of the same name, " is written in an elegant, but somewhat difficult style." It begins with Bābur and concludes with the withdrawal of Nādir Shāh in 1739. The work closes with the following interesting observation :—

' After the departure of Nādir Shāh, a Royal Order was issued to the following effect : " All public officers should occupy themselves in the discharge of their ordinary duties, *except the historians.* These should refrain from recording the events of my reign, for at present the record cannot be a pleasant one. *The reins of Imperial or Supreme Government have fallen from my hands. I am now the Viceroy of Nādir Shāh.*" Notwithstanding that the nobles and great officers of the Court, hearing these melancholy reflections of the Emperor, in many complimentary and flattering speeches recommended him to

withdraw this order, His Majesty would not be satisfied. Consequently, being helpless, all the historians obeyed the royal mandate, and laid down their pens.' Extracts, ibid., pp. 22-24.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Hindi* of Rustam Ali was composed in the year 1154, A.H. (1741-42 A.D.). It closes with the 24th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign. "It may be considered altogether a useful compilation, writes Dowson, 'as it is not copied verbatim from known authors and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends." His object in composing the work is stated by the author to have been a desire to commit to writing a brief account of just kings, and how they controlled oppressors and tyrants, in the hope that, while it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world. Extracts, ibid., pp. 42-69.

7. *Jauhar i-Samsām* of Muhammad Mushin Sādik-í, closing with the departure of Nādir Shāh, is useful for a description of the anarchy of the times, though "it is written in a very ambitious extravagant style with a great tendency to exaggeration." Extracts, ibid., pp. 73-5.

8. *Tazkira* of Ānand Rām Mukhlis is invaluable for its account of Nādir Shāh's invasion. "The author was an eye-witness of much that passed during Nādir Shāh's stay in India, and suffered from his exactions." Extracts, ibid., pp. 76-98.

9. *Tārīkh-i Ahamad Shāh*, anonymous, "terminates abruptly about six months before the deposition of Ahmad in 1754 A.H." Gives a good account of the anarchy of the time. Extracts, ibid., pp. 104-23.

10. *Bayan-i Waki* of Khwaja 'Abdu-l Karim Khān, "contains a very full account of the proceedings of Nādir Shāh in India, and of the reigns of Muhammad Shāh and Ahmad Shāh." Extracts, ibid., pp. 126-39.

11. *Tārīkh-i Alamgīr-Sāni*, anonymous, "begins with the accession of the Emperor, and terminates at his death, recounting all the events of the reign very fully, and in plain language." Extracts, ibid., pp. 140-43.

12. *Tārīkh-i Manāzilu-l Futuh* of Muhammad Jáfar Shamlu is the account of an eye-witness of the battle of Pānīpat and the events leading thereto. The author states that 'during the prime of life' and 'for the space of five-and-twenty years, he was constantly with Ahmad Sultān Abdāli, more commonly styled Durrāni, and having accompanied him several times to Hindustan, became well acquainted with the whole series of royal marches from the city of Kandahar to the metropolis of Shāh-Jahānābād. At the battle which was fought at Pānīpat with Wishwās Rao and his deputy Bhāo, the author was himself present on the field, and witnessed the circumstances with his own eyes. Other particulars too, he learnt from persons of credit and sagacity, and having written them down without any alteration, designated the work by the title of *Manâzilu-l Futúh*, or Victorious Marches.' Extracts, ibid., pp. 145-57.

13. *Farhātun Nāzirin* of Muhammad Aslam was concluded in the year 1184 A.H. (1770-1 A.D.). "This History is somewhat ambitious in style, but of no value for its contents." It deals with the Durrāni invasion and of Alamgīr II and Shāh Alam II. Extracts, ibid., pp. 166-74.

14. *Siyaru-l Muta-akkhirin* ("Review of Modern Times") or *Siyaru-l Muta-akkhirin* ("Manners of the Moderns") of Ghulām Husain Khān is a general history of India from 1700 to 1786 A.D. "It contains the reigns of the last seven Emperors of Hindustan, an account of the progress of the English in Bengal up to 1781 A.D., and a critical examination of their government and policy in Bengal. The author treats important subjects with a freedom and spirit, and with a force, clearness and simplicity of style very unusual in an Asiatic writer, and which justly entitles him to pre-eminence among Muhammadan historians." (Dowson). The citations in this book are

from Col. Briggs' (Panini office, Allahabad, 1924) translation, entitled *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin.*

15. *'Ibrat-Nāma* of Fakir Khairu-d din Muhammad (Allahabadi). It is mainly the history of the reigns of Alamgir II and Shāh Alam II. "The history is well written, in simple intelligible language, and deserves more notice than the limits of this work will allow." Extracts, ibid., pp. 238-44.

16. *Tārīkh-i Ibrahim Khān* of Ali Ibrahim Khān was completed at Benares in 1201 A.H. (1786 A.D.). "This work is very valuable for the clear and succinct account it gives of the Marathas." Extracts, ibid., pp. 257-84.

17. *Tārīkh-i Muzaffari* of Muhammad Ali Khān is, according to Dowson, "the most accurate of General Histories of India." The work was composed about 1800 A.D. This is the principal authority on which is based Keene's *Fall of the Moghul Empire.* Extracts, ibid., pp. 317-30.

18. *Nigār-Nāma-i Hind* of Saiyid Ghulām Ali covers the ground traversed by *Tārīkh-i-Ibrahim Khān* but in much greater detail. For the battle of Pānīpat "the author informs us that his authority was a *brahman* of the Dakhin, named Rao Kāshi Rao, who was in the service of Nawāb Shuja'u-d daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Mahratha envoy Bhawāni Shankar had with him." (Dowson). Extracts, ibid., pp. 398-402.

19. *Kāshi Rāj Pandit's* account of the Pānipat events, as found in Col. James Browne's translation has been edited, with valuable notes and appendices, by Principal H. G. Rawlinson (O. U. P., 1926). "The literature of this campaign is immense," writes Rawlinson, "and a study of it, even from Marathi documents, would alone occupy a large volume. The Persian sources have yet to be adequately catalogued and examined." In their absence Kāshi Rāj's "is the most detailed account we possess of the battle, and is the work of an eyewitness who evidently desires to give an impartial narrative of what he saw and heard. He had many friends in both

armies and he was equally impressed by the gallantry of the Marathas and by the masterly strategy of their opponent, the Abdāli monarch." (Introduction)

20. An equally valuable contemporary account in Persian has been reently translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the pages of the *Islamic Culture* (Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 431-56, July 1933, Hyderabad Deccan). It is entitled, "An Original Account of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's Campaigns in India and the Battle of Pānīpat"—from the Persian Life of Najib-ud-daulah, (Br. Museum Persian MS. 24, 410).

21. James Fraser's *History of Nādir Shāh,* published in 1742. (Reprint, Panini Office, Allahabad.)

B. SECONDARY :—1. *The Fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan* by H. G. Keene, New Ed. London, 1887 (Allen).

2. *The Turks in India* (1526-1761) by the same writer, London, 1879 (Allen).

3. *The Fall of the Mogul Empire* by Sidney J. Owen, London, 1912 (Murray).

4. *History of India* by Elphinstone, Bk. XII, pp. 675-753.

5. *Later Mughals* by William Irvine, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar—Vol. I, 1701-1720 ; Vol. II, 1719-1739. (Calcutta, Sarkar & Sons).

6. *Fall of the Mughal Empire* by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Vol. I, 1739-1754. (Calcutta 1932 Sarkar & Sons) ; Vol. II, 1934.

7. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* by Sir Edward Maclagan, Ch. VII, pp. 12143 ; Ch. XII, pp. 181-87.

8. '*Dona Juliana Dias Da Casta*—Her Influence in Later Mughal History' by Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Bandra 1929.

9. *Rise of the Peshwās* by H. N. Sinha. Allahabad 1931 (The Indian Press).

10. *Life and Times of Shivāji* by M. W. and R. G. Burway. Indore 1932.

11. *A History of the Maratha People* by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. II, O. U. P. 1922.

12. *The Main Currents of Maratha History* by G. S. Sardesai, (Calcutta 1926, Sarkar & Sons).

13. *The Battle of Pānīpat—Its Causes and Consequences,* by the same writer,—The Modern Review for Sept. 1933. pp. 269-74.

14. *The History of the Great Moghuls* by Pringle Kennedy Vol. II, Calcutta 1911 (Thacker Spink & Co.).

15. *A History of the Mogul Rule in India,* (1526-1761) by K. H. Kamdar and R. M. Shah, Baroda 1928. (pp. 189-266)

16. *A History of the Sikhs* by J. D. Cunningham, Calcutta 1911. (pp. 95-157).

CHAPTER X

SUNSET OF THE EMPIRE

'For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahādur Shāh in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Tīmūr. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shāhi-i be-Khabr*, "*Headless King.*"—KHĀFĪ KHĀN.

The afternoon blaze of Aurangzeb's power had mellowed into a softer glow in the declining years of the aged Emperor. The tedious war in the Deccan had "exhausted his armies and destroyed his prestige, and no sooner was the dominating mind stilled in death than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult. Even before the end of his reign Hindustan was in confusion, and the signs of coming dissolution had appeared. As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls into dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Moghul when the great name that guarded it was no more. It was as though some splendid palace, reared with infinite skill with all the costliest stones and precious metals of the earth, had attained its perfect beauty only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the insidious roots of the creeper sapped the foundations." So writes Lane-Poole. He further adds, "Even had Aurangzib left a successor of his own mental and moral stature, it may be

doubted whether the process of disintegration could have been stayed. *The disease was too far advanced for even the heroic surgery.*"[1]

Things were not so hopeless at least during the five years of Bahādur Shāh's rule (1707-1712). We might agree with Keene who states, "As there was a period of consolidation between the first adventure (of Bābur) and the mature glory (of Shāh Jahān), so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and the fall.....Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the bystanders, and even now, in looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of Aurangzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling; and the accounts of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the *future of his empire* in the mind of the dying despot. *Nor was the character or the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign.* The emperor still gave audience, and redressed grievances, seated on the peacock throne; and the rulers of all provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials."[2]

"But" as the same writer well observes, "the air was full of change."[3] It would not, therefore, be improper to call this reign *the sunset of the Empire*: the sun of Imperial glory was still to sink below the horizon; if the rays of its power were not piercing and sharp as in the days of Aurangzeb, they had a peculiar charm of their own. Though this moment of passing grandeur was short like a real sunset, few that enjoyed its soothing light thought of the darkness that was to follow.

"The new emperor, in spite of his advancing years," says Keen, "displayed a sumptuousness which caused his court to

1. *Mediæval India*, pp. 410-11.
2. Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 170-71.
3. Ibid.

rival the memory of Shāhjahān's."[1] In the words of Iradat Khān,

'Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above, their merits; so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor .....His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shāh Jahān. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne,.....Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar Ali Shāh of Bijapur, and Kutb Shāh, King of Golkonda; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails.....On the *ids* and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the *betel* and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal....In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men....He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some overstrict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics; for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points.' The writer concludes: 'But how can I enumerate all his perfections. It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist.'[2]

Tod, the historian of Rājasthān, is equally encomiastic, saying that the Emperor Bahādur Shāh had many qualities that endeared him to the Rajputs. He was also of opinion that "had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Shāhjahān, the House of Taimūr, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi." The bigotry of Aurangzeb spoilt the opportunities of this Emperor, who like Shāh Jahān was "almost a pure Hindu." Keene adds, "Had Aurangzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief; had Bahādur Shāh succeeded Shāhjahān he would have postponed the catastrophe. As things happened (however) the carefulness of one ruler was as fatal as the levity of the other; and *the*

p. 1

2. *Tarikh-i Iradat Khān*, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 551-52.

qualities of each combined in unhappy co-operation, like two compounds whose chemical union makes a deadly poison."[1]

We might divide the present chapter under the following heads :—I. Personal History of Bahādur Shāh ; II. Relations with the Rajputs ; III. Relations with the Marathas ; IV. Relations with the Sikhs ; and V. Conclusion.

I. PERSONAL HISTORY

Antecedents.

Muhammad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, was styled *Shāh Alam* in his father's lifetime. He was born at Burhānpur on 30th *Rajab* 1053 A.H. (14th Oct. 1643). His mother was Nawāb Bāi, daughter of Rājah Rāju of Rājauri in Kashmir. His elder brother, by the same mother, Prince Mohammad Sultān, having died (14th Dec. 1676) at the age of thirty-nine, Prince Muazzam (Shāh Alam) was recognised heir-apparent. For twelve years from 1667 A.D. Shāh Alam was *Subādhār of the Deccan.* About the end of 1677 he was sent to Rajputāna, against his rebellious brother Akbar (4th son of Aurangzeb by his principal wife Dilras Banu Begam, born at Aurangabad —11th Sept. 1657). In 1683-4 he led his Konkan expedition, with doubtful results, and was thence directed against first Bijapur and then Golkonda. On 4th March 1687 he was arrested with all his family for suspected contumacy with Abul Hasan, ruler of Golkonda, and kept in close confinement for seven years. He was released on 24th May 1695 and sent as Governor to Akbarābād. Thence he was transferred to Kabul which he reached on 4th June 1699. "For eight years the hot season was spent in Kabul and the cold weather at Jalalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country." He got the news of Aurangzeb's death, in his camp at Jamrud, on 22nd March 1707, only 20 days after the event![2]

War of Succession—1707.

Then followed the race for the throne ; M. Azam, the third son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu, daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān Safawī—born 9th July 1653) and Shāh Alam being nearly equidistant from Agra. The former was at Ahmed-

1. Keene, op. cit., pp. 178-79 and 167.
2. "An instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried the distance from Ahmednagar to Jamrud being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being thus 70 miles a day."—Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, I, p. 18.

nagar (700 miles from Agra), and the latter at Jamrud (715 miles from Agra).[1] The contest is well depicted in the pages of contemporary chroniclers. According to Khāfī Khān, who was then *faujdār* of the *sarkār of Thānesar* and Khudra, 'On the 10th *Zi-l hijja* (14th March 1707) Azam Shāh, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dakhin by coins struck in the name of Azam Shāh (the title he assumed was *Abul-fayez Qutb ud-din, Muhammad Azam Shāh, Ghāzī*).[2] Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of *mansabs* and promises, he set off, about the middle of *Zi-l hijja*, to encounter Shāh Alam accompanied by *Jamdatu-l Mulk Amīru-l umara* Asad Khān (his son) Zu-l fikar Khān Bahādur *Nusrat-Jang* and [many other Persian nobles.] He marched to *Khujista-bunyād* (Aurangabad),.... and thence arrived at Burhānpur. After leaving that place, he was abandoned by Muhammad Amin

1. Aurangzeb, on his death-bed, had foreseen the impending struggle and tried in vain to avert it (1) by his last will and testament, already cited, inculcating a definite division of the Empire between his three surviving sons; and (2) by trying to keep his three sons at a safe distance, both from himself and from one another, at the time of his death. Muazzam the eldest was in distant Kabul. The other two, Kām Bakhsh and Azam, both being near him, he had ordered to go to Bijapur and Mālwa respectively, with strict and specific instructions as to the time and route to be followed by each. The *Siyār-ul Mutākherin* observes, 'The object of such precise instructions was to place the young (Kām Bakhsh) out of the power of his elder brother M. Azam. Seven days after, having taken that precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his government of Mālwa four hours after sunrise, with injunction to make short stages of about 5 *kos* daily, and to halt two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the emperor told him that it was to put it in his power to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country in case of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's demise, and take possession of his inheritance. *But the emperor's real object was to keep so enterprising a prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his availing himself of his feeble state of body to seize and confine him, in the same way as Aurangzib had confined his own father Shāhjehān.*'—*Siyār-ul Mutākherin*, pp. 1-2 (Briggs).

2. The coin struck by him bore the inscription—

Sikkah-zad dar jahan ba daulat o jah,
Padshah-i-mamalik Azam Shah.

'Coin was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the kingdoms, Azam Shāh.'—Irvine, op. cit., p. 11.

Khān, and Chin Kalich Khān (leader of the Turāni party), who had received the title of *Khān-daurān*. They were offended by the treatment they received from Azam Shāh, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.'[1] Azam had also ordered his son Bedar Bhakt from Ahmedabad to join him. The latter on hearing of the death of his grandfather is reported to have exclaimed, "You know full well that *the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy*. People do not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father."[2]

In the meanwhile, 'On the 7th *Zi-l hijja* the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Peshawar, and the Prince (Shāh Alam) immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from Munim Khān, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty (presumed), and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except Fathullah Khān, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kabul, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that Jan-nisār Khān, who was only second in courage to Fathullah Khān, should go with 5,000 or 6,000 horse to the neighbourhood of Agra to join Prince Azimu-shān (Shāh Alam's son, who had come from Bihar to support his father). Orders also were sent calling Prince Muizu-d din from Thatta, and Aazzu-d din from Multan, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for.

'Shāh Alam proceeded by regular marches to Lahore. Munim Khān came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered 40 *lacs* of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzeb.[3]

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 391.
2. Ibid., pp. 388-89.
3. Both Khāfi Khān and Iradat Khān speak highly of Munim Khān's royalty and ability. 'The late Emperor,' says the former,

Shāh Alam appointed him *wazīr*. At the end of *Muharram*, 1119 (April, 1707),[1] the Prince encamped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of *Safar*, and gave orders for the coining of money[2] and reading the *khutba* in his

'had appointed Munim Khān, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Shāh Alam, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his jagirs in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the *dewani* of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Munim Khān received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, in his faithfulness to Shāh Alam, he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.'—Ibid., pp. 391-92. Iradat Khān, likewise, speaks of Munim's 'great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution and unbending of integrity of mind.....when he heard of Aurangzeb's illness, in order to prevent plots in favour of Azam Shāh, he circulated a report that Shāh Alam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. This step appears to have been suggested to him by Shāh Alam himself: "*In this rumour*," Shāh Alam is alleged to have told him, "*lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First*, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement; and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. *Secondly*, my brother and M. Azam Shāh, who is my powerful enemy and valiant even to the point of rashness, would exert all his force against me. *From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security; but by the Almighty God who gave me life* (laying his hand on the *Kurān*), *and on this holy book I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azam Shāh in single combat, wherever he may be.* This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it!" 'When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Munim Khān at Lahore, he wrote immediately by express to Shāh Alam, conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies.'—Ibid., pp. 547-49.

1. Irvine gives the date as 1st *Safar* (3rd May, 1707), Irvine, op. cit., p. 20.

2. Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *māsha* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight; but as in the payment of *tankhwah*, and in command of commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new law was discontinued. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 393.

name. The nobles in his retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage.....

'On Shāh Alam arriving at Delhi,.....the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of *Rabiu-l awwal* (5th May, 1707) he left for Agra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month (12th June, 1707), where he was met by his son M. Azim, and by M. Karim, the son of Prince Azim. Baki Khān gave up the keys of the fortress, with treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards.[1]

'According to one account there were nine *krors* of rupees in rupees and *ashrāfis*, besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the 24 *krors* of rupees amassed by Shāh Jahān after what had been extended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Dakhin. According to another account, including the presentation money, which consisted of *ashrāfis* and rupees of 100 to 300 tolas' weight, especially coined for presents,[2] and the *ashrāfis* of 12 *māshas* and 13 *māshas* of the reign of Akbar, the whole amounted to 13 *krors*. An order was given for immediately bringing out 4 *krors* of rupees. Three *lacs* were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether 9 *lacs*; 3 *lacs* to Khān Zamān and his sons; one *lac* to the Saiyids of Barha; one *lac* to Aghar Khān and his Mughals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers, [and others, received gratuitous additions of pay and donations]. Altogether two *krors* were distributed....

'Azam Shāh (by this time had) passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gwalior....Shāh Alam....wrote him a letter of expostulation, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the kingdom, and said, "Of all the six *subas* of the Dakhin, I will surrender to you four *subas*, as well as the suba of Ahmadabad, and besides these I will present you with one or two other

1. At first Baki Khān who was the commandant of the fort of Agra, had refused to surrender his charge, pleading that 'although the fort and the treasures belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first.' Ibid., see also *Siyār-ul Mutākherin*, p. 5. (Briggs).

2. See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings*, p. 423.

subas, for *I do not wish that the blood of Musalmans should be shed*.... You ought therefore to be content with the will of your father, accept what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife." It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect : "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father, but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the matter should be submitted to the arbitrament of courage and valour, *what is the necessity that we should doom a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel?* It is better that you and I should stake our individual lives and contend with each other on the field of combat."....When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the lines of Sa'di, which say that "Two kings cannot be contained in one country, though ten darweshes can sleep under one blanket.' "[1]

'Empire having been decreed to Shāh Alam,' writes Iradat Khān, 'from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azam Shāh, that he was convinced by

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 396-97. A slightly different version is given by Iradat Khān :—'At length Shāh Alam, having reached Mattra, sent by a celebrated *darwesh* the following message to Azam Shāh : "By the divine auspices we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, not consent to shed blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice in your favour." Azam Shāh, vainglorious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 542.

How could two swords be kept in one scabbard ?
Az farsh-i-Khanata balab-i bam azan-i-man,
Az ban-i-Khana to ba sariya az an-i-tu.

"My share is from floor to the roof of the house, yours from the roof upto the firmament !"—See Irvine, op. cit., p. 22.

Cf. Duryodhana's reply in the *Mahābhārata* :—

"Take my message to my kinsmen, for Duryodhana's words are plain,
Portion of the Kuru empire sons of Pandu seek in vain,
Town nor village, mart nor hamlet, help us righteous gods in heaven,
Spot that needle's point can cover shall not unto them be given !"

his brother, though supported by the myriads of Tur and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth ; *as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humāyūn during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shāh.* Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence ; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.'[1]

'The spies of Shāh Alam Bahādur Shah,' writes Khāfī Khān, 'brought intelligence that the advanced guard of Azam Shah had marched with the intention of taking possession of the river Chambal, which is eighteen *kos* from Agra. So he gave directions that Khānazad Khān, Saf-shikan Khān the commander of the artillery, with an advance guard, should go and take possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was next reported to be Azam Shāh's intention to cross the river at Samer-garh, and leaving Agra in his rear, to turn and give battle. Orders were then given for moving Shāh Alam's tents *Jaju Sarai*.....Azam Shāh also prepared for battle, without heeding the superior force of his brother, or settling any plan of action, went boldly forward like a fierce lion dashes upon a flock of sheep.....

'On the 18th *Rabiu-l awwal*, 1119 A.H. (10th June 1707 A.D.),[2] the two armies joined battle at Jaju (Jajau) seven or eight *kos* from Agra.....Matters now looked ill in every way for Azam Shāh.... and a great number on the side of Azam Shāh were slain. Zu-l fikar Khān received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that Azam Shāh's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he went to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies ; but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The best course for you now

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 541-42.
2. 18th June, 1707.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 25.

is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." Azam Shāh flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can; it is impossible for me to leave this field: for Princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier (*takht yā takhta*)." Zu-l fikar Khān, accompanied by Hamidu-din Khān, then went off to Gwalior. The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of his enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "*It is not Shāh Alam who fights against me; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me.*"[1]

From this we might hurry on to the close of the battle as described by Iradat Khān who was present on the scene :—

'*His* (Zu-l fikar Khān's) *flight determined the rout of our army.* The principal followers and personal attendants of Azam Shāh now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. *Saiyid Abdullah and his brother, Husain Ali Khān, of the illustrious house of Barha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed most gallant actions, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot.* The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Husain Ali Khān received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood.....At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedar Bakht, and he sank down dead on the elephant.

'Azam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shāh Alam. From this now issued with a select band the Princes Azimu-sh Shān, Muizzu-din Jahāndar Shāh, and Jahān Shāh. Azam Shāh soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Walajah (Azam's second son) also sank down in the sleep of death. I (Iradat Khān) now made my escape to Agra, not chosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

'Rustam-dil Khān, who commanded the escort of Shāh Alam's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops,....

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 398-99.

cutting off the head of the corpse (of Azam Shāh)....hastened to the camp of Shāh Alam. With exulting hopes of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet; *but the compassionate Shāh Alam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil Khān nothing but reproaches.* He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten. Munim Khān took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their *harems* with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder.....Without doubt Shāh Alam's successes, and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister.'[1]

Gifts and Offices.

'Next day Shāh Alam went to visit Khān-khānan (Munim Khān), and raised him to highest rank, with the title of *Khān-khānan Bahādur Zafar Jang* and *Yār-i wafadār* (faithful friend). He presented him with a *kror* of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty than had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Tīmūr. His *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*. He also received two *krors* of *dāms* as *inam*, and he was confirmed in the office of *wazīr*. Of the ten *lacs* of rupees which he offered as *peshkash*, one was accepted.....Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab increased* to 30,000 and 20,000 horse'.... A gracious *farmān*, summoning *Amīru-l umara* Asad Khān, Zu-l fikar Khān, Hamidu-d din, who had repaired to Gwalior before the battle, was sent, promising them safety and favour and asking them to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with

1. Ibid., pp. 546-47, 549. "It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story," observes Irvine, "that Azam Shāh brought on his own defeat by his overhaste and excessive rashness. Having failed to reach Agra in time to occupy that city before his rival, his chance of success was reduced enormously. He had little or no money, in comparison at least with the large resource thrown open to Bahādur Shāh; he had left much of his equipage behind him in the Dakhin; and his army was largely composed of fresh and untrained troops; while many of his chief men, such as Zulfiqar Khān and Rāja Jai Singh Kachhawāha seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause."—Irvine, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

their establishments. '*Amīru-l umara* accompanied the retinue of Nawāb Kudsiya Zebu-n Nissa (sister of Azam Shāh), who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begam did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. *But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of Pādshāh Begam.* All the other ladies of Azam Shāh were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany Pādshāh Begam to the capital.

'To Asad Khān was given the title *Nizāmu-l Mulk Asafu-d daula.* He was also made *Vakīl-i mutlak,* as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *wazirs* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., *and was allowed the privilege of having his drums beaten in the royal presence*[1]..... Zu-l fikar Khān's *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse. He received the title of *Samsāmu-d daula Amīru-l Bahādur Nusrat Jang,* and was reinstated in his office of *Mīr-bakhshi*....In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *lacs* of rupees in *inām,* four-fold and six-fold augmentations of their *mansabs,* and presents of jewels and elephants.

'Although the office of *wazīr* had been given to Khān-khānan (Munim Khān), *it was deemed expedient,* in order to conceal Asad Khān *Amīru-l umara* and Zu-l fikar Khān, to elevate Asad Khān to the position of *wazīr.* To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khān-khānan did not communicate it to Asafu-d daula[2]..... With the exception

1. 'Some envious spirits privately observed that the *Amīru-l umara* had been the close friend and trusted adviser of Azam Shāh; but the Emperor answered that if his own sons had been in the Dakhin, the exigencies of the position would have compelled them to join their uncle.'—Ibid., p. 402.

2. 'On the day that Asafu-d daula acted as *dīwān,* it became incumbent upon Khān-khānan to wait upon him as other ministers did, and to obtain his signature to documents; but this was disagreeable to him.'—Ibid.

that the seal of Asafu-d daula was placed upon revenue and civil *parwānas* and *sanads*, he had no part in the administration of government..... Khān-khānan discharged his duties as *wazīr* with repute, integrity and impartiality and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his seat, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unnoticed. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khān-khānan was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *mansabdārs*.'[1]

An Innovation.

'Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *ashrāfis* no verse should be used, but that the name, "Shāh Alam Bahādur Shah" and the name of (mint) city should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutba*, the name "Shāh Alam" should be embellished by the title "Saiyid." It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Tīmūr—nay, even from the foundation of the Ghori dynasty—no one of the monarchs had ever used the title of Saiyid in the *khutba*, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khizr Khān.'[2]

Prince Kām Bakhsh, the youngest and favourite son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu Begam)—born at Delhi, 24th February 1667—also followed in the footsteps of his elder

1. 'To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the *akhta begis* and other rapacious officials had so contrived that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *mansabdārs*.....Although a *jāgīr* might be lying waste, and its total income would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the animals, and leave a little to supply the necessaries of life to the holder's wife and family, the officers imprisoned his *vakīls*, and with violence and insult demanded contributions for the food of the cattle.'—Ibid., p. 403.

2. According to Keene, Bahādur Shāh assumed this title in right of his mother Nawāb Bāi. "This lady was the descendant of a hermit named Saiyid Mīr Shāh, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the Rāja of Cashmere. This Rāja adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Aurangzeb in his youth, was in one respect of Saiyid origin, though in another she might be looked upon as Hindu. Her title, after her marriage, was Nawāb Bāi, a mark, perhaps, of her double nationality."—Keene, *The Turks in India*, p. 199 n.

brother Muhammad Azam, and got himself crowned in the wake of his father's death. According to Iradat Khān, 'Kām Bakhsh was a prince of an excellent memory ; was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree ; *but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached to insanity*. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined ; some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me.....What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries !.....His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb ; however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments, on the ladies of his *harem*, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard....'[1]

The story of his rebellion may be briefly told in the words of Khāfī Khān.—

Rebellion of Kām Bakhsh.

When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached him, Kām Bakhsh was engaged in the capture of Bijapur from its commandant Niyaz Khān. 'Negotiations were opened, and through the exertions and skilful management of Ashan Khān, the keys of the fortress were given up by Saiyid Niyaz Khān, who waited on the Prince and made submission. At the end of two months the city and environs were brought into a state of order. Ashan Khān was made *bakhshi*, and the portfolio of *wazīr* was given to Hakim Muhsin, with the title of Takarab Khān . . . . .Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and titles. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was

1. Ibid., p. 553.

mentioned in the *khutba* under the title of *Din-panah* (Asylum of the Faith), and coins also were issued with this title....[1]

'A kind and admonitory letter was addressed by the Emperor (Shāh Alam) to his brother Muhammad Kām Bakhsh to the following effect: "Our father entrusted you with the government of the *suba* of Bijapur; we now relinquish to you the government of the two *subas* of Bijapur and Haidarabad, and all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhin, that the coins shall be struck and the *khutba* read in our name. The tribute which has been hitherto paid by the governors of these two provinces we remit."....(To this kind letter, the insolent prince wrote a provoking reply, and persisted in the course of his rebellion. So the issue had once more to be decided by the arbitrament of the sword). Kām Bakhsh advanced until he was only two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His small force now consisted only of....a few bold companions (his whole army having 'dwindled away through his violent bloodthirsty madness') who would not leave him and three or four hundred horse....The orders given to Bahādur Shāh's commanders were that *they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Kām Bakhsh so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Musulmans should not be spilt* .... (But) Zu-l fikar Khān had an old-standing aversion of Kām Bakhsh, and repeatedly urged Khān-khānan to attack. Kām Bakhsh, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, expecting the onslaught.... The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the *howda* wounded with balls and arrows.... The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahrattas, and the Prince became a prisoner.....All the men of Kām Bakhsh who fought near his elephant were killed....Kām Bakhsh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to *Khuldmanzil*, and placed near the royal tent. *European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them.* Kām Bakhsh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food.

"In the South struck coin on sun (= gold) and moon (= silver) the Emperor Kām Bakhsh, Protector of the Faith."—Irvine, op. cit., p. 51; see ibid. ft. n.

Shāh Alam's kindness.

In the evening the King went to see his brother. *He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne*

1. *'Dar Dakin Zadsikkah bar Khurshid O Mah : Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah.'*

and fortune. He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Kām Bakhsh replied, "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Tīmūr should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears. Three or four watches afterwards, Kām Bakhsh and one of his sons named Fīrozmand died. Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred near the tomb of Humayun.[1]

Danishmand Khān, who like Khāfī Khān was present in the Camp, has the following chronogram on the date of Kām Bakhsh's death :—

Khushta shud an Zālim, o tarikh shud "Kām hama bud ajal Kām Bakhsh"; Murd, o ba in taur mibakhshid Kām, Rast bar amad sakhun i nām-bakhsh.

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Kām Bakhsh's only pursuit (*kā*) was death.' He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (*kām*). Thus was the name-giving word verified."[2] The death of Kām Bakhsh occurred in January 1709 A.D. Irvine mentions on the authority of the *Ibrat-nāma* that his grandson, through his second son, was raised to the throne later as *Shāh Jahān II* (20 Rabi II, 1173 A.H.[3] But later on (I, p. 146) he gives the same title to Sultān M. Ibrahim, son of Rafiu-sh Shān, son of Bahādur Shāh. Strangely enough, another writer has conferred this title on Rafiu-d daula, while a third assigns it to Rafiu-d Darajat.[4]

II RELATIONS WITH THE RAJPUTS

When Aurangzeb hastened to the south in pursuit of his rebellious son Akbar, he had secured no permanent peace, as we have seen, in Rajputāna. The Mughals could never thoroughly suppress the incursions and forays of the Rathors while Aurangzeb was pre-occupied with his Deccan wars.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 405-08. For variants in details see Irvine, op. cit., p. 64.
2. "The play upon *Kām Bakhsh* (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable."—Ibid., p. 65.
3. Ibid., p. 66 ; also Keene, *The Fall of the Moghal Empire*, p. 40.
4. See Kamdar and Shah, *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, pp. 202, 245 ; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 467.

"From the time of Jaswant Singh's death," writes Irvine, "and Alamgīr's treacherous attempt to seize his son (Ajit Singh), dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. As soon as Alamgir, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and neglected to send an embassy to the new sovereign. *It was with this state of things that Bahādur Shāh had now to deal.*"[1]

The Rajputs were determined 'to face fearful odds, for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods.' In other words, they fought for (1) the abolition of *jaziya*, (2) the freedom of worship, and (3) the independence of Rajputs. Khāfī Khān reports the Imperial view of the situation thus :—

'Towards the end of the year 1119 the Emperor marched from Agra, with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Udaipur and Jodpur. From the reports of the newswriters of the province of Ajmir, and the *parganas* around Jodpur, the following matters became known to His Majesty .... Rāja Ajit Singh .... had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musulmans, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the Rāṇā of Udaipur, and was closely allied with Rāja Jai Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th *Sha'bān* (No. 1707) the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe, by way of Amber, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajmir and Chitor.'[2]

Rāṇā Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending his brother, Bakht Singh, to Agra with a letter of congratulation, 100 gold coins, 1000 rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine swords, and other

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 45.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 404-05.

productions of his country. Jodhpur, the storm centre of the trouble, was ordered to be besieged ; and Amber, the capital of the Kachhwāhas, was annexed (January, 1708) though later (April, 1708) it was made over to Bijai Singh, the younger brother of Jai Singh (the erstwhile ruler).[1] The title of *Mīrzā Rāja* was conferred upon the new prince. The march towards Jodhpur in the meanwhile continued. Soon after news arrived of (1) the flight of Rāṇā Amar Singh of Udaipur, and (2) of the rebellion of Prince Kām Bakhsh. The latter event has already been dealt with above. After the fall of Mairtha Ajit Singh capitulated. Between 10th March and 23rd April, 1708, the title of *Mahārāj* and the rank of 3500 *zāt* and 3000 horse, a standard, and kettledrums, were conferred upon him, with other honours for his four sons. "The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Mairtha and returned to Ajmer." Suitable gifts were sent to Rāṇā Amar Singh (who had fled) through his brother Bakht Singh with a reassuring letter bidding him not to be frightened but remain in peace in his own abode.

On 30th April, when the Emperor was marching south against Kām Bakhsh, it was again reported that Mahārāja Ajit Singh, Rāja Jai Singh Kachhwāha, and Durgādās Rāthor —who had been obliged to follow the camp—had fled. But the exigencies of the situation compelled Bahādur Shāh to concentrate on the greater challenge from the south. All efforts made by the Imperial officers in the north having proved ineffective against the combination of the Rajput princes, conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahādur Shāh. "On the 6th Oct. 1708, on the intercession of prince Azim-ush-shān, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service." When the Emperor returned north, after the defeat of Kām Bakhsh, on 21st June 1710, the two Rājas were brought to him by Mahābat Khān, son of

1. In the battle of Jajau, Bijai Singh had fought on the side of Bahādur Shāh, and Jai Singh for Azam. The latter, however, had deserted Azam Shāh before the close of the battle.

the *wazīr* Munim Khān. " To show how little the Rajputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well," writes William Irvine (from whom the above account has been abstracted), " I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamwar Khān, the historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafi-ush-shān. Beyond the four Princes (sons of Bahādur Shāh) and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamwar Khān, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with match-lock or bows and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery."[1]

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 73. The report of Khāfī Khān on the nature of the Rajput submission is *prima facie* exaggerated ; ' Ajit Singh and his allied Rājas,' according to him, ' knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property : so he addressed himself to Khān-khānan and his son Khānzaman, expressing his sorrow, humility, and obedience ; and he sent a message humbly asking that Khān-zamān and the *Kaziul Kuzat* might come into Jodpur, to rebuild the mosques, *destroy the idol-temples*, enforce the provisions of the law about the summons to prayer *and the killing of cows, to appoint magistrates and to commission officers to collect the jiziya.* His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted. Officers of justice, *kāzis, muftis*, imams, and muazzins (criers to prayer) were appointed in Jodpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the concurrence *of Durgādās*, who was the very soul of the opposition, came to Court in hope of receiving pardon for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 405.

That the peace was not so humiliating to the Rajputs is indicated by the following account given by Elphinstone :—" While he was on his march against Cāmbakhsh, he had endeavoured to make a settlement of his disputes with the Rajputs : He had entered into a treaty with the Rāṇā of Oudipur, *restoring all conquests, re-establishing religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akber's time, releasing the Rāṇā from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deckan*, and, in fact, ' acknowledging his entire independence in everything but the name. (Tod's *Rājasthān*. Vol., I. p. 395)." When Bahādur Shāh returned north, after the defeat of Kām Bakhsh, he was faced with a new peril, viz., the Sikh rising ; and hence, according to Elphinstone, " All their (Rajput's) demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the Rāṇā of Oudipur."—*History of India*, pp. 677-78.

III RELATIONS WITH THE MARATHAS

The importance of the Mughal-Maratha relations in the reign of Bahādur Shāh consists primarily in two happenings: (1) the release of Shāhu[1] from Mughal custody; and (2) the Imperial recognition of the Maratha claims to *Chaut* and *Sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan. Regarding the former it is necessary to correct the mistake committed by V. A. Smith in the following statement: "*Bahādur Shāh,*" he writes "*acting on the astute advice of Zulfikar Khān, released Shāhu* (Sivāji II), the great Sivāji's grandson, who had been educated at Court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Tārā Bāi, the widow of the young prince's uncle, Rājā Rām. The expected civil war among the Marathas which ensued prevented them from troubling the imperial Government, thus justifying Zulfikar Khān's counsel."[2]

Shāhu was not in Bahādur Shāh's custody, but in Aurangzeb's camp at the time of the latter's death. Azam Shāh took Shāhu with him when he marched north towards the capital. He was released by Azam, no doubt as suggested by Zu-l fikar Khān, in May 1707, at Doraha (near Nemawar, north of the Narmadā), before the battle of Jajau. Khāfī Khān makes mention of this in the following terms: 'Zulfikar Khān *Nursat Jang* was very intimate with Sāhu, grandson of Sivāji and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded *Azam Shāh* to set this Sāhu at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions .... Many Mahratta *sardārs*, who through necessity had deceitfully joined themselves to the part of Rāni Tārā Bāi, widow of Rājāram, now came and joined Rāja Sāhu.'[3]

Rājārām had demanded from Aurangzeb the release of Shāhu as a condition of peace, but Aurangzeb had refused to

1. "Next to the great founder Shivāji, Shāhu has played the most important part in the development of the Maratha State."—Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 97.
2. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 453.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 395.

set him at liberty.[1] Now the exigencies of the situation made such an act politic and expedient. Tārā Bāi, who was the soul of the Maratha resistance, had been fighting after all for the ascendancy of her own son. The release of Shāhu was therefore calculated to involve Mahārāshtra in a civil war. This was extremely desirable, inasmuch as the Mughal Princes and the Imperial armies were engaged in the fight for the throne. "Thus Shāhu released," argued Zu-l fikar Khān, "would be a more potent weapon against the Marathas than Shāhu in captivity."[2] As a condition of his release, however, Shāhu had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Azam Shāh and to leave behind him as hostages his mother, Yesūbāi his wife, his mistress (Virubai), and his illegitimate half brother Madansing. "On the other hand Azam Shāh had granted Shāhu the *Sardeshmukhi* and the *Chauth* over the six Deccan *subhās* (Khāndesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bedar, Haidarābad or Golkonda, and Bijapur). Shāhu was also appointed governor of Gondwana, Guzerat and Tanjore during good behaviour."[3] When Bahādur Shāh ascended the throne, Shāhu sent his *vakīl*, Rāybhānji Bhonsla, to the Imperial Court to pay his homage;[4] and the new Emperor confirmed him in his possessions and created him *mansabdār* of ten thousand horse.[5] But Tārā Bāi disputed the legitimacy and claims of Shāhu before the Imperial Court, through Munim Khān, and 'asked for a *farmān* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees (per cent.) of the *sardeshmukhi*, without any reference to the *chauth*, for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the

1. Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 92.
2. Sinha, *The Rise of the Peshwas*, pp. XII-XIII.
3. Kincaid and Parasnis, op. cit., II, 122-23.
4. Shāhu, being brought up in the Mughal camp, departed from the relentless attitude his father and grandfather (See Sardesai, op. cit., p. 99) and to prove his loyalty to the Emperor, sent a Maratha contingent, under Nemāji Scindhia, to aid Bahādur Shāh in his fight against Kām Bakhsh. (Sinha, op. cit., p. XXVI.)
5. Rājwādé, VIII, Documents 55-57. Sāhu's *vakil* had asked for a *farmān* conferring on him the *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth* of the six *subās* of the Deccan 'on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land.'—Khāfī Khān, E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 408.

country. Samsamu-d daula Zu-l fikar Khān took the side of Rāja Sāhu, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to His Majesty, *and although they differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted,* and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *sardeshmukhi, farmāns* were directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Munim Khān and Zu-l fikar Khān; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *sardeshmukhi* remained inoperative.'[1]

1. Ibid., p. 409. In this connection it is interesting to note the following observations in the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khān,* though the reader must be warned against accepting anything contrary to the above account :—' Towards the close of His Majesty's (Aurangzeb's) lifetime, a truce was concluded, with the Marathas, on these terms, viz. that 3 p. c. out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Dakhin should be allotted to them by way of *sardeshmukhi* and accordingly Ashan Khān, commonly called Mīr Malik, set out from the threshold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Marathas, in order that, after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb ' Alamgīr hastened to the eternal gardens of Paradise, at which period his successor Shāh Alam (Bahādur Shāh) was gracing the Dakhin with his presence. The latter settled 10 p. c. out of the produce belonging to the peasantry as *sardeshmukhi* on the Marathas, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.

' When Shāh Alam returned from the Dakhin to the metropolis, Dāud Khān remained behind to officiate for *Amiru-l umara* Zu-l fikar Khān in the government of the provinces. He cultivated a good understanding with Marathas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz., that in addition to the above-mentioned grant of *tithe* as *sardeshmukhi,* a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property, while the other three-fourth should be paid to the royal exchequer. *This system of division was accordingly put in practice; but no regular deed granting the fourth share, which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called chauth, was delivered to the Mahrathas.*' E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 259-60. Elphinstone observes, " Zulfikar, who was now in great favour, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him (Shāhu), *at the price of the concessions formerly offered by Aurangzeb.*" When

IV. RELATIONS WITH THE SIKHS

In the last chapter we brought the history of the Sikhs down to the death of Guru Govind, the tenth and last *Guru*, who had for some strategic or other reasons submitted to Bahādur Shāh in the latter's struggle against his recalcitrant brothers.[1] Whatever the circumstances attending the murder of Guru Govind,[2] it is certain that he had eminently succeeded in 'teaching the sparrow to strike the eagle;' he had "effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nānuk." He had lost all his children in the struggle and at the time of his death (1708) entrusted the *khālsha* to God, the never-dying. He inculcated on his following: "*He who wishes to behold the Guru, let him search the Granth of Nānuk. The Guru will dwell with the Khālsa; be firm and be faithful: wherever five Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present.*"[3]

The leadership of the Sikhs after this was assumed by an adventurer whose origin and personality are a subject of controversy. "On the death of Govind," says Irvine, "his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased. It is not very clear who this man was; he is generally spoken as *Bandā* (the slave), or as the *False Guru* .....Some say he was a Bairāgi faqir.....who for many

Zulfikar left for the Court, putting Dāud Khān in charge of the Deccan, the latter "followed up the views of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with Sahu, consenting that the *chaut* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marathas."—Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 676-77.

1. Irvine states that Guru Govind joined Bahādur Shāh when he was marching "down country from Lahore, to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, *Azam Shāh*.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 89. According to other accounts, the Guru accompanied Bahādur Shāh while he was marching south against his youngest brother, *Kām Bakhsh*.—Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 118.
2. See Irvine, op. cit., p. 91.
3. See Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 102 to 123 and 121.

years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind." Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, concludes Irvine, "this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Punjab, informing the disciples, that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."[1]

Bandā, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Empire, soon became a terror to the Musalmans in the Punjab, especially in Sirhind. It was to crush this danger that threatened the very heart of the Empire, that Bahādur Shāh felt compelled to conclude his hostilities with the Rajputs, and hasten further north. As Ghulām Husain puts it, 'This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated successes of those other butchers he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown.[2] "At Lohgarh, Bandā tried to assume something of regal state. He was *the Sacha Pādshāh*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Singhs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, ***Fath daras*** (May you behold victory!), was invented and Muhammadans were slightly called *Maslas*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines.

Sikkah zad dar har do alam tegh-i-Nanak Wahid ast.
Faith Govind Shah-i-shaham fazl-i-Sacha Sahib ast....

The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean 'Fath Govind, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds; the sword of Nānak is the

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 93.
2. *Siyār-ul-Mutākherin*, p. 72.

granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord!"[1]

Various attempts made by Imperial officers to capture this Robinhood ended in failure. One such action under the command of no less a person than the *Khān-khānan*, Munim Khān, is worthy of notice. Khāfī Khān writes,

"After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and retreated to a fastness in the hills called Lohgarh, which is near the hills belonging to the Barfi Rāja (Icy King), and fortified themselves. *The Guru* of the sect incited and encouraged his followers to action by assuring them that whose who should fall fighting bravely on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position....Continual fighting went on, and numbers fell.... ..The provisions in their fortress now failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain-dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes.....The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the *Khatri* tribe, and a tobacco-seller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion. He dressed in the fine garments of the *Guru*, and went and seated himself in the *Guru's house*. Then the *Guru* went forth with his forces, broke through the royal lines, and made off to the mountains of the *Barfi* Rāja.

'The royal troops entered the fort, and, finding the false *Guru* sitting in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khan-khanan. Great was the rejoicing that followed; the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khān-khānan.[2] The prisoner was taken before Khān-khānan, and the truth was then discovered—*the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught*! (1710).

'Khān-khānan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Barfi Rāja. If they caught the *Guru*, they were to take him prisoner alive; if they could not, they were to take

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 110. "Not content with supremacy in the State, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindi and Persian having *feminine* terminations were changed into the *masculine* form! For instance, *sawari* (a retinue) and *Kacheri* (Court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawara* and *Kachera*!"—Ibid., p. 111.

2. Readers will recall the circumstances attending the flight of Shivāji from Agra.

the Barfi Rāja and bring him to the presence. So the Rāja was made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead of the *Guru*. Clever smiths were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of the Barfi Rāja and of that Sikh who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his *Guru;* for they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Delhi.[1]

Sikhs unsubdued.

Bandā could not be captured during the life time of Bahādur Shāh. The Emperor's impotent rage was visited upon Khān-khānan, who died shortly after the disgrace that attended this discomfiture. Bahādur Shāh, in his mad search after the Sikh Leader, ordered that all Khatris and Jāts in his army, at the Court, and in public offices, should shave off their beards! 'A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards.'[2]

The Sikhs continued to grow strong during the period of confusion that surrounded the death of Bahādur Shāh (1712) and later. Bandā was not captured until after the accession of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar (1716); but we might carry on the story of the Sikh rebellion to its tragic close, viz., the execution of Bandā and his immediate followers. The *Siyār-ul Mutakherin* gives the following account of the same :—

'On the accession of Ferokh-siar, Islām Khān, viceroy of Lahore, received orders to destroy those freebooters; but he was totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greatest part of his men, he retired to Lahore covered with disgrace. Banda elevated by so unexpected a success, recommenced his atrocities with additional fury.....This intelligence having reached the capital, the emperor commanded Abdulsemed Khān, a Turāni chief, the viceroy of Cashmere, to march against the Sikhs, and at the same time conferred the Government of Lahore on his son Zachariah Khān. This general, who afterwards became so famous, and with him ..... several commanders of high distinction ..... with these .... Abdulsemed Khān who waited only for a train of

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 424-25.
2. To the Sikhs the shaving of hair from any part of their body is religiously forbidden.—Ibid., p. 425.

artillery, proceeded to Lahore.....On coming up with the enemy, the troops fell with such fury upon those barbarians that they completely crushed them ; nor did the imperialists give over the pursuit until they had entirely pursued the enemy. Bandā stood his ground at first, and fought desperately ; for although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he occasioned heavy loss to his pursuers. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Goordāspoor,....The imperial general laid siege to this place ; nor was it furnished with provisions, though the multitudes that had successively retired thither were so considerable. The besiegers, however, were so vigilant that not a blade of grass nor a grain of corn could find its way into the fort ; so that at last, the magazines within being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage among the besieged, who (contrary to the prejudices of their religion) ate asses, horses, and even oxen ; and such was the desperate resolution of the garrison, that no one talked of submission, till having consummed all that could be converted into food and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to open their gates. The imperial general required them to repair to an eminence, where they were called on to deposit their arms. The famished wretches, reduced to comply with these conditions, conformed to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them close to a river that ran under the walls, and therein to throw the bodies, after having beheaded the prisoners. The officers being put in irons, were mounted upon lame, worn-down, mangy asses and camels, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with such a retinue the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph .....Amongst the prisoners was Bandā, with his face smeared with black, and a woollen cap placed on his head. That wretch having been brought before the emperor, was ordered to the castle, where he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The others were carried (a hundred every day) to the town-hall, where they were beheaded until the whole number of them was completed. *What is singular, these people not only behaved patiently during the execution, but they contended for the honour of being first executed.*

Bandā's execution.

'At length Bandā himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut his throat, *which he did without uttering one word.* His flesh was then ordered to be torn off with red-hot pincers, and it was in those

torments that he expired, expiating by his death, *in some measure*, the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.

'Mahomed Amin-Khān, struck with the appearance of Bandā, could not help addressing him: "It is surprising that one who shows so much acuteness in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes, that must infallibly ruin him in this world as well as in the next." *With the greatest composure he replied*, "I will tell you what, my lord, *whenever men become so corrupt and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved*; but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."[1]

V. CONCLUSION

Bahādur Shāh's is the last reign that is reminiscent of the glories of the Great Mughals; after him came the Nightfall of the Empire, and the rule of 'her sister chaos'. The reign was short, lasting only about five years (4 years and 2 months, according to Khāfī Khān),[2] but in foreign relations it was marked by a statesmanship greater than his father's. His treatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas was certainly wiser than that of Aurangzeb. He had won over Guru Govind, as Aurangzeb might have Shivāji, if he had been wiser. It is vain to speculate how he would have treated Bandā if he had been really captured. But then the effects of growing senility were already visible.[3] Otherwise Shāh Alam's rule was marked by a sanity and liberalism not unworthy of a descendant of the great Akbar. But these traits, unfortunately, were leaning

1. *Siyār-ul-mutākherin*, pp. 76-80.
2. Khāfī Khān, op. cit., p. 428. See n. 1, next p.
3. His alleged orders to kill all the dogs in his camp, to shave all the Hindus, and cage the impostor Bandā and the Barfī Rāja, are all indications of this.

on the side of weakness with the increasing weight of years, until 'about the 20th *Muharram*, 1123 (Feb. 18, 1711 A.D.)[1] when the Emperor had passed his 70th lunar year, there was a great change perceptible in him, and in 24 hours it was evident that he was marked for death. . . . . On the night of the 8th of the month (?) the Emperor died,[2] and was buried near the tomb of Kutbu-d din, four or five *kos* from Delhi. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince Azimu-sh Shān to keep things going.'[3]

Able Officers.

Bahādur Shāh had under him some able officers who would have made a mark in any age. Foremost among these was the prime-minister Munim Khan, whose services in the war of succession have already been recounted. Khāfī Khān says, 'He was a man inclined to Sufism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave pain to no one.'[4] He died in the same year as Bahādur Shāh, in consequence of the treatment he received for his failure to capture Bandā. Iradat Khān records, 'He lost all satisfaction in worldly

1. See E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 428 n. The *Tarikh-i Chaghatai* and *Siyār-ul-Mutākherin* make it 1124 H., giving Bahādur Shāh a reign of one more year. Irvine prefers the latter date.—Irvine, op. cit., p. 133.

2. Iradat Khān gives the date of the Emperor's death as 21st Muharram (112 A.H. A.D.)| 18th Feb. 1712—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 556.

3. Khāfī Khān, op. cit., 428-29.

4. Ibid., p. 425. 'But,' as the same chronicler observes, 'the best intentions are perverted into wrong deeds. Munim Khān was ambitious to build *sarais* and mosques in every city. The execution of this scheme involved forcible acquisition of private property. 'Numbers of Musulmans, *Saiyids* and Hindus were thus driven, sighing and cursing out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhānpur and at Surat.'—Ibid., pp. 425-26.

enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on *a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.*'[1]

Of like reputation and standing was Ghaziu-d din Khān Firoz Jang, 'who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Turāni Mughals..... He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man.'[2] Khāfī Khān also speaks in equal praise of him : 'Gaziu-d din Khān,' he says, 'was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turān.'[3] From the Deccan, when Zu-l fikar Khān took charge of that province, Ghāziu-d din was transferred to Ahmedabad, where his death occurred. He is to be remembered especially as the father of his more famous son, Chinkillich Khān, the future Nizāmu-l Mulk and founder of the present Haidarābād State.

The *Siyār-ul Mutākherin* gives a good acount of the other important nobles, and also of how the Emperor's good nature was carried to the length of absurdity. 'Zul-ficar Khān, the generalissimo, was honoured with the title and office of Amīr-ul-omrah, and appointed viceroy of the Deckan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be conquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast importance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time would have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled to his mind the military and financial affairs of his Government, returned to court ; having left as his lieutenant an Afghan nobleman, called Dāud-Khān Peni, a man famed in those countries for his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess ; and who had rendered himself of so much

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 556.
2. Ibid., p. 553.
3. Ibid., p. 427.

importance, that there were no noblemen in (the Deckan) who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department, with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Zulficar Khān, after having eased his mind of so great a burthen, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously in aiding to introduce order through every part of the empire.

'The provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Azimābad (Patna) and Ilahābad, had hitherto been governed by Azīm-ush-shān, the emperor's second son, and it was thought politic to continue those countries under the same administration; an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two illustrious nobles who had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished themselves in the great battle of Acberābād (Jajau). These were Seid Abdul-Khān and Seid Hussein Ali-Khān,[1] sons of the famous Seid Abdulla-Kahān, so much revered at Ajmer under the name of Mia-Khān. On the elder, Abdullah-Khān he conferred the Government of Ilahabad; and he gave that of Azimābād (Patna) to the younger, Hussein-Ali-Khān. At the same time Jafer-Khān was entrusted with the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, in which he had hitherto acted as minister of finance. After these arrangements the prince took up his residence at his father's court, where he exercised great influence.'[2]

Bahādur Shāh's Weakness.

The services of these able men were unfortunately neutralised by Bahādur Shāh's very good nature. 'The emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured,' continues the same writer, 'and mild even to a fault, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny man's request, now wanted to act up to the letter of this vow: accordingly, dignities, titles, and employments were lavished so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be deemed marks of honour or distinction.'[3]

1. These were the famous *Saiyad Brothers* who were soon to play the rôle of King-makers.

2. *Siyār-ul-Mutākherin*, pp. 14-15 (Briggs).

3. 'For example,' says Ghulam Husain, 'one of the dog-keepers, who applied for a title, was honoured with that distinction by the King's own private order....and he accordingly became known hereafter by the title of Lord Dog-keeper to the great astonishment of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets,

The Khutba Riot.

Bahādur Shāh, like his prime-minister Munim Khān, had strong Shia inclinations. The effect of these on the vast masses of the Sunni populace are indicated by an incident thus described by Khāfī Khān :—

'The insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* had given great offence to the religious leaders of Lahore, and the order for it (issued by Bahādur Shāh) had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Haji Yār Mahammad....and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory. They were told to be seated....After much disputation Haji Yār Muhammad grew warm in replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a King. The Haji replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator. 1. Acquisition of knowledge. 2. Preservation of the Word of God. 3. The Pilgrimage. 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of His bounty enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful thus by the kindness of the just King I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghans, formed a league of more than hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Haji Yār Muhammad. Prince Azimu-sh shan also secretly gave his countenance to this party. At the end of *Shawwàl*, the *Sadar* presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb.....After this the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Haji Yār Muhammad and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.'[1] Riots had been caused at Ahmedabad and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.[2]

The Christians

Bahādur Shāh's attitude towards the Christians and Europeans was in keeping with his liberal outlook in all other matters. Even under Aurangzeb,

people saying to each other, "There goes my Lord Dog-keeper," till at length he was induced to give money to people to refrain from molesting him on the highway, but it had little effect.'—Ibid., pp. 15-16.

1. E. &. D., op. cit, VII, 427-28.
2. Irvine op. cit., p. 130.

despite his fanatism, the Europeans had not suffered *per se* on account of their religion. "As the enemy of Dārā and as a Muslim of the Muslims" observes Maclagan, "it was unlikely that Aurangzeb would display any personal interest in Christianity. *Apart from this, the change of sovereign entailed no immediate change in the position which the Jesuits occupied at Court.*"[1] Besides, several of the great nobles maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. For example, when an unfair decree was given depriving the Jesuits of the estate of a deceased Father, they were enabled by Ja'far Khān's help to obtain a reversal of the order from the King.[2] But after the death of Father Busi (1667), owing to the increasing rigour of Aurangzeb's religious policy in general, there was a nearly complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the Fathers.

When the *jaziya* was imposed upon all non-Muslims, in 1679, a representation was made by the Fathers. "Interviews were sought with influential men in the city and the Jesuits supported their requests with presents of curiosities from Europe. Their efforts were so far successful that the tax at Agra, including arrears, was remitted by the local authorities, but in order to get the concession on a proper footing the Viceroy at Goa was urged to represent the matter to Aurangzeb himself." Father Magalhaens was deputed for the purpose, in 1686, and "the King acceded to his request that all Christians in the Empire should be exempted from the *jaziya.*" Though this order was whittled down in practice by unsympathetic officers, the exemptions specified in particular cases were continued by Bahādur Shāh on his accession in 1707. "Similar exemption was again granted by Farrukh-siyar in 1718 and by Muhammad Shāh in 1726 on the same ground, namely that the Fathers were Christian ascetics (*fuqrāl quam Isāī*). We have no record, however,

1. "When Aurangzeb, for instance, went to Kashmir soon after his accession, he desired that Father Busi should accompany him." —Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moguls* p. 121.

2. Ibid., also for other examples.

of any confirmation of the general exemption of the Christian community."[1]

The Duch Embassy, 1711-12.

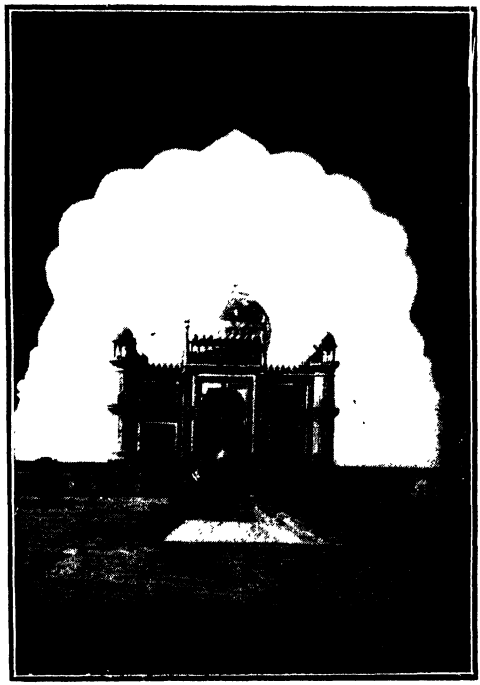
Here we might also allude, though briefly, to the embassy that was sent to the Court of Bahādur Shāh, in 1711, by the Dutch East India Company at Surat. Though this mission in the end proved futile, owing to the shifting of political quick-sands, a reference to it is necessary for the very interesting part played under the Later Mughals by the Christian lady Donna Juliana Dias da Costa. The embassy was held by the John Jasua Ketelaar. Its grand reception must in part be attributed to the good offices of the lady referred to. She was the daughter of a Portuguese doctor in the service of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shāh. After the death of her father, and her husband (who also seems to have held a similar office) Juliana continued to play an important rôle at Mughal Court. She had served Bahādur Shāh well even as a Prince, especially during the period of his captivity. Now she was appointed governess of the harem and commanded influence both over the Emperor and his Court. "She was given the 'rank of 4000': she obtained 1000 rupees per month and was able to bestow a lakh of rupees on the Jesuit Mission at Delhi. She was given the house of Dārā Shikoh in that city, and the revenue of four villages in the neighbourhood. She had a following of five to six thousand people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crosses on a red ground. She was also given special titles which are variously recorded as 'Khānum,' 'Bibi,' and 'Fidwi Du'āgo Juliana.'[2] The exemption from taxes above referred to, granted to Christians, were obtained 'by her powerful mediation.' She also gave strong support to the Portuguese interests during the period of her ascendancy, "especially to the Portuguese Embassy which was sent to the Mogul Court under Father José da Silva."

1. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls*, pp. 123-24.
2. Ibid., p. 183.

When the Dutch Embassy came "Donna Juliana sent word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to audience as soon as he pleased ..... On the 20th (December 1711) Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table and after dinner she scented them with essence of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented betel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself."[1] Not until the 27th February 1712, however, was anything achieved in the nature of real business and the envoy was getting anxious "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. But unfortunately, that very night the Emperor Bahādur Shāh fell ill and died the next day (28th February 1712). The rest of the story may be very briefly told : Donna Juliana wisely advised the embassy to take precautions for their safety, although most of their requests had been granted by the dying Emperor. "The Princes set their troops in motion and the roads to Lahore were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage." The next ruler, Jahāndar Shāh, no doubt, confirmed the grant of his father and wrote out a *farmān* addressed to Abraham van Riebeck, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies ; but before the close of 1712 he was defeated and killed by Farrukhsiyar and the dead bodies of the late Emperor and his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Delhi. "After that revolution Jahāndar Shāh's *farmāns* were so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire."[2]

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 149.

2. Ibid., pp. 156-157. For the rest of the story of Donna Juliana, up to her death in 1734, see Heras, "*Dona Juliana Dias Da Costa : Her Influence in Later Mughal History*," in *The Bandra Review*, 1929, pp. 7-17.



TOMB OF SAFDAR JUNG

MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

[1526-1761]

PART III

BY

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"To know anything thoroughly nothing accessible must be excluded."

—SIR OLIVER LODGE

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CHAPTER XI

NIGHTFALL OF THE EMPIRE

"When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?"

SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III.*

"Luxurious Kings are to their people lost:
They live like drones, upon the public cost."

DRYDEN, *Aurang-Zebe.*

"Till sable night, mother of dread and fear,
Upon the world dim darkness doth display,
And in her vaulted prison shows the day."

SHAKESPEARE, *The Rape of Lucrece.*

The history of the Empire which we have so far traced has had a unity of its own, despite the apparent variety in the personal character of the Emperors themselves. Not to speak of Bābur and Humāyūn, whose work might be regarded as that of pioneers, "Akbar, the real founder of the empire," as Smith says, "was a man truly great, notwithstanding his frailties, and during his long personal reign of forty-five years (1560-1605) was able to build up an organization strong enough to survive twenty-two years of Jahāngīr's feebler rule. Shāhjahān, a stern, ruthless man, kept a firm hand on the reins for thirty years, and was followed by Aurangzeb, who maintained the system more or less in working order for almost fifty years longer. Thus, for a century and a half, from 1560-1707, the empire was preserved by a succession of four sovereigns, the length of whose reigns averaged thirty-four

(thirty-seven?) years, a very unusual combination. Even Jahāngīr, the weakest of the four, was no fool. The three others were men of unusual ability."[1] Bahādur Shāh, as we have noticed, does not consort ill with his predecessors, except in the very short duration of his reign. But this could not have been otherwise in the nature of things. His successors were definitely cast in an inferior mould, and were undoubtedly of poorer clay. No wonder, therefore, that "when the breath left his body," no member of the house of Tīmūr remained in India "who was fit to take the helm of the ship of state, which soon drifted on the rocks." The degraded wretches that "polluted the throne of Akbar" deserve only a passing notice; the rest of our history is filled with the tragedy of the disruption of the splendid fabric reared and fostered by the Great Mughals. The faineant Emperors appear only like ghouls in the thickening gloom of the night. The real makers of the history of the future, except in a negative sense, are no longer the descendants of Bābur, but their rivals and enemies. We might trace the following outlines of the fallen angels in the 'darkness (still) visible':—

I. The Faineant Emperors; II. The Brothers King-Makers; III. Nizāmu-l Mulk; IV. Disintegration of the Empire; V. Two Fateful Invaders; VI. Pānīpat and After.

I. THE FAINEANT EMPERORS

(1) Jahāndar Shāh (1712-13); (2) Farrukh-siyar (1713-19);
(3) Rafīu-d Darajāt, Nīkū-siyar, and Rafīu-d Daula (1719);
(4) Muhammad Shāh [and Sultan Ibrāhīm—Shāh Jahān Sani (II)—1720] (1719-48);
(5) Ahmad Shāh (1748-54); (6) Alamgīr II (1754-9);
(7) Shāh Alam II (1759-1806); Akbar II (1806-37); Bahādur Shāh II (1837-57).

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 465.

'As the splendour and delight of the garden of this world and the verdure and fruitfulness of the fields of this earth, depend upon the flow of the stream of the equity and justice of Kings, *so the withering of the trees of this world is caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers and dissensions among well-disposed nobles,*' writes Rustam Ali, author of the *Tarikh-i Hindi*. As a result of this, he continues, 'In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects. Great disorders arose in the country.'[1]

But before we turn to examine the nature of these disorders it is necessary to review the characters and conduct of the Emperors themselves. Although wars of succession were a feature common to both the periods, what is more striking is the contrast between the *Greater* and the *Later* Mughals in the number and duration of the sovereigns, before and after the death of Aurangzeb : from 1526-1707, a period of very near *two centuries*, there were only *six* rulers of the house of Tīmūr. From the death of Aurangzeb to the third battle of Pānīpat, (1707-61) only a little over *half a century*, no less than *ten* members of that family wore the crown. This was not merely accidental. Jahāndar and Farrukh-siyar were strangled to death ; Rafīu-d Darajāt and Nīkū-siyar died in imprisonment, virtual or real, after a few weeks' "rule". Rafīu-d Daula died of mental and physical maladies within three months of his coronation. Muhammad Shāh, though he ruled longer and died a 'natural' death his system had been shattered by excessive opium-eating and self-indulgence. Sultan Ibrāhīm (Shāh Jahān II) was proclaimed Emperor only for a few days. Ahmad Shāh was deposed, imprisoned and blinded, Alamgīr II was murdered, and Shāh Alam II (who outlives

1. E. & D., op. cit., VIII, p. 43.

our period) was disgraced and driven from his ancestral capital.

1. Jahāndar Shāh: Fight for the Crown.

The key to these catastrophes must be found in the characters of these 'sovereigns.' Bahādur Shāh left behind him four sons[1] to contend for his throne. Iradat Khān gives the following account of them :—

(1) 'Muizzu-d din Jahāndar Shāh, the eldest, was *a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about State affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility*.... (2) Azīmu-sh Shān, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners .... (He was governor of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa) ; and though in the late battle (of Jajau) he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father and dreaded as a rival ; but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity. (3) Rafīu-sh Shān, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, with much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure, particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly show.[2] He paid no attention to public affairs or even those of his own household. (4) Khujista-akhtar Jahān Shāh had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne, and afterwards the whole administration of the empire was influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connexion with

1. For a fuller account of Bahādur Shāh's family see Irvine, op. cit, pp. 143-47.

2. One account says that he had 'the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high-priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied :

Aina o shana girifta ba dast,
Chum Zan-i-rana, shuda gesu-parast.'

(Holding mirror and comb in hand, like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.) Irvine, op. cit., p. 167.

Munīm Khān, who, by his interest was appointed *wazīr*.'[1]

The account of the struggle for the throne, given by Khāfī Khān, is too interesting to be omitted. 'One week after the death of Bahādur Shāh,' he says, 'was passed in amicable communications and correspondence between the four brothers about the division of the kingdom and property[2] .... It was settled that the Dakhin should fall to Jahān Shāh; Multan, Thatta, and Kashmir, to Rafīu-sh Shān; and that Azīmu-sh Shān and Jahāndar Shāh should divide the remaining *subas* of Hindustan between them. But the agreement about the division of the kingdom and treasure all turned into discord, and the partition of the realm was never effected[3] ..... The three brothers agreed together in opposition to Azīmu-sh Shān. All three, in accord with each other, mounted their horses, and for four or five days selected positions from which to fire guns and rockets upon the army of Azīmu-sh Shān. The artillery of Azīmu-sh Shān replied to that of the three brothers, and many horses and men were killed.[4] About the 20th of *Safar* the sound of battle rose high on every side, and the fight was begun .... Azīmu-sh Shān, who was mounted on an elephant, disappeared .... The ruffians of the neighbourhood and the soldiers of all the four princes fell upon Prince Azīm's treasure, and the vast sums which he had extorted by tyranny and violence in and about the *subā* of Bengal were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and dispersed into many hands.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 550.

2. The body of Bahādur Shāh all this time was lying in state for the victorious candidate to bury! He had died at the end of February 1712; the body was sent to Delhi on the 11th April, and actually buried on the 15th May.—See Irvine, loc. cit., p. 135.

3. For details of the agreement and comments thereon see Irvine, op. cit., pp. 160-61.

4. One of the notable persons who died of the wounds received in this battle was Shāh Nawāz Khān Safawi. He was in the sixth generation from Shāh Ismail Safawi, King of Persia (1500-24), and the last of that race who distinguished himself in India. Seven ladies of this family were married to princes of the Mughal Imperial house.—See ibid., op. cit., p. 173 n.

The defeat of Azimu-sh Shān was due to his over-confidence and greedy nature. For everything he could say *andak bashid*, 'Wait a little longer'; owing to his miserliness in paying his soldiers it became a saying among them that the coldest place on earth was Azimu-sh Shān's kitchen.

The three princes caused the drums of victory to be beaten, and then retired to their own dwellings.[1]

'Next day many messages passed between Jahāndar Shāh and Jahān Shāh respecting an arrangement, but without result and the course of affairs tended to the shedding of each other's blood. A battle followed between the armies of the two brothers, and raged from the beginning of the day to the third watch. Farkhanda Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, and several *amīrs* of reputation, were killed. On the side of Jahāndar Shāh, also, some *amīrs* and many men were killed. At length Jahān Shāh, mounted on an elephant, made an impetuous charge upon the army of Jahāndar, and bore all before him, and matters went so ill with Jahāndar that he was parted from *Lāl Kunwar*, his favourite charmer,[2] and had to seek refuge among some stacks of bricks. Jahān Shāh beat the drums of victory. The letters of the Rajput *sarāfs* carried the news of the victory to many parts, and the *khutba* was read with his name in several places. After the victory had been proclaimed, and the soldiers were dispersed in all directions hunting for Jahān Shāh, a cannon-ball directed by fate killed him, and his army fled.[3] Zu-l fiqār Khān's men hearing of this, attacked the elephant of Jahān Shāh, and brought it with his corpse, and the corpse of his son Farkhanda, to Jahāndar Shāh. Khujista Akhtar, another son of Jahān Shāh, with a younger brother, were brought prisoners to Jahāndar Shāh, who then proclaimed his victory.'

There remained Prince Rafīu-sh Shān, with whom also Jahāndar proposed friendly negotiations about the division of the Kingdom.[4] Having put the Prince off his guard, Jahān-

1. The casualties are not known. The strength of the belligerents was as follows :—30,000 horse and 30,000 foot on the side of Azīmu-sh Shān ; 53,000 horse and 68,000 foot opposed to him. —Ibid., p. 161 n.

2. Also called *Lāl Kunwar*, and said to be descended from *Tān Sen*, Akbar's celebrated musician. "There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary History, B. M. Or. 3610, fol. 18 b, which ends thus : *Ba khubi Lal Kunwar nam-i-u bud, Shakkar-guftar, sim-andam-i-u bud.*—See Irvine, op. cit., p. 180 n.

3. A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend ; when morning came, *he* was dead, and the *friend* was alive.'—Sh. Sadi.

4. The soul of these spurious negotiations for a peaceful partition of the Empire was Zu-l fiqār Khān. For his rôle in this fratricidal struggle, see Irvine, op. cit., pp. 160-197.

dar sent a detachment of horse against him by night. Rafīu-sh Shān fought desperately. He and his two sons threw themselves from their elephant, and fought bravely on foot; but he and several of his companions were killed. Three of his sons remained alive, but were wounded—Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Rafīu-d Daula, and Rafīu-d Darajāt (all three destined to wear the fatal crown).

Jahāndar as Emperor, 1712-13.

'Jahāndar, being thus freed from his three brothers, became the monarch of Hindustan.[1] He sent M. Karīm and Prince Humāyūn Bakht, who were only nine or ten years old, the two sons of Jahān Shāh, and the sons of Rafīu-sh Shān, to the fort of Delhi .... Mahābat Khān and .... other *amīrs*, more than twenty in number, were ordered to be confined in chains, and some were put to the rack and other tortures. Their houses also were seized. (Prince M. Karīm, having attempted escape, was put to death).

'In the brief reign of Jahāndar, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that *kāzīs* would turn toss-pots, and *muftīs* become tipplers. All the brothers and relatives, close and distant, of *Lāl Kunwar*, received *mansabs* of four or five thousand, present of elephants, drums and jewels, and were raised to dignity in their tribe. Worthy, talented and learned men were driven away, and bold impudent wits and tellers of facetious anecdotes gathered round. Among the stories told is the following.

'The brother of *Lāl Kunwar*, Khushal Khān, who had received a *mansab* of 5000 and 3000 horse, was named *subādār* of Agra. Zu-l fiqār *Bakhshiu-l Mulk* purposely made a delay of several days in the preparation of the *farmān* and the other deeds. *Lāl Kunwar* complained of this to Jahāndar, and he asked Zu-l fiqār Khān what was the cause of the delay in the drawing out of the documents. Zu-l fiqār Khān was very free-spoken to Jahāndar, and he replied, "We courtiers have got into the bad habit of taking bribes, and

1. He was 52 lunar years of age. His titles were Abul fath Muhammad Muizzu-d din, Jahāndar Shāh.

we cannot do any business unless we get a bribe." Jahāndar Shāh smiled, and asked what bribe he wanted from *Lāl Kunwar*; and he said, "A thousand guitar-players and drawing masters (*ustad-nakkāshi*)." When the Emperor asked what he could want with them, he replied, "You give all the places and offices of us courtiers to these men, and so it has become necessary for us to learn their trade." Jahāndar smiled, and the matter dropped. As Kamwar Khān put it, '*The owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.*'[1]

The frivolities of the Court soon became notorious, and all respect for and fear of the sovereign ceased. While the central government at Delhi was in this state of disorganisation and disorder, a claimant to the throne arose in the person of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second (but eldest surviving) son of the late Azīmu-sh Shān.

2. Farrukhsiyar, 1712-19.

When Azīmu-sh Shān was called to support the claims of his father, Bahādur Shāh, he had left Bengal in the charge of Farrukh-siyar (1707). When Bahādur Shāh died, Farrukh immediately proclaimed his father Azīm Emperor (March, 1712). But when he heard of his father's death in April 1712, he was so dejected that he even contemplated suicide. However, his mother intervened saying, 'If he launched his boat on stormy waters it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days? Why not run the risk?'[2] Thereupon Farrukh-siyar took heart and proclaimed himself Emperor, going through the usual ceremonies, causing the *khutba* to be read and coins struck in his own name. But, as Irvine says, "No rasher enterprise was ever entered upon. Farrukh-siyar had been no favourite with his father or grandfather, and had been without authority or wealth during their life-time."[3]

1. For the vices and follies of Jahānder Shāh and his mistress, see Irvine, op. cit., pp. 192-97.

2. Irvine, op. cit., p. 199 n.

3. **Ibid.**

When he arrived at Patna he had no more than a meagre following of three or four hundred men. None of the nobles whom his father had favoured would stir themselves on his behalf. But once again his mother came to his rescue. She won over, by methods peculiar to her sex, the powerful Saiyid brothers, Hasan Ali (later known as Abdullah) Khān and Husain Ali Khān of Barha,[1] who were respectively in charge of the governments of Allahabad and Bihar. They were the sons of Saiyid Abdu-llah Khān Miyan, who was successively *subāhdār* of Bijapur and Ajmer in the reign of Aurangzeb. Hasan and Husain, at this time, were men of ripe experience[2] and noted for being 'brave, proud, and lavish.' They had played a prominent part in the battle of Jājau, and had been rewarded with the rank of 4000; Hasan, the elder, had also been given the title of his father, *Abdu-llah Khān*.

Farrukh-siyar's mother now visited the old mother of the Saiyid brothers, represented how her sons owed their elevation to Azīmu-sh Shān, and claimed their support for her own son. "Let Husain Ali Khān then choose his own course," she said, "either let him aid Faruk-siyar to recover his rights or else let him place the Prince in chains and send him a prisoner to Jahāndar Shāh." The Prince's mother and daughter then bared their heads and wept aloud. These tears melted the hearts of the Saiyids and they pledged their support. This was a turning point in the careers of both Farrukh-siyar and the Saiyid brothers. They were further joined by Sidisht Nārāyan, an adventurous zamīndār of the Ujainiya clan who brought with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen, Saf Shikan Khān, deputy-governor of Orissa, and several others, each bringing his own reinforcements. But *money* was the great need in Farrukh-siyar's camp.

"Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of Rupees, which had reached Patna on its

1. See ibid., p. 202 for the significance of this term.
2. They were respectively 46 and 44 years of age; Farrukh-siyar was 31 (lunar) years.

way from Bengal to Delhi. Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of Rupees. Some money estimated at from half a *lakh* to five *lakhs* of Rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch Company's goods, their factory at Patna, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Surat Singh Khatri, the chief official of Nasir Khān, deputy governor of Kabul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures from Delhi, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlockmen, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion. During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukh-siyar's soldiers."[1]

At Kora they were met by Mahta Chabela Rām, *faujdār* of Karra Manikpur, 'a protégé of Farrukh-siyar's house.' His arrival was most opportune for the money in his possession ; he now advanced Rs. 1500 a day.[2]

Jahāndar Shāh, on his part, had got news of these movements and despatched an army in advance under his son A'azzuddin and Khwaja Hasan (*Khān Daurān*). 'Zu-l fiqār Khān was aware of the limited capacity, want of experience, imbecility and frivolity of the Prince,' writes Khāfī Khān. 'He was also aware of the extraction, character, and evil disposition of Khwaja Hasan Khān, who was one of the lowest men of his time.... (But) the Emperor trusted Kokaltash Khān Koka and *Lāl Kunwar* more than any one else at his Court, and so he shut his eyes to what was passing[3].....

'No sooner had Prince A'azzuddin passed the Jumna than great disorder arose in his army in consequence of

1. Ibid., p. 212.
2. Ibid., p. 215.
3. Chin Kilich Khān (future Nizām-ul Mulk was also directed to join the Prince, but either chose to temporise or 'was unable to do so for want of the means of transport.'

jealousy and want of co-operation among the *sardārs*, and the irresolution of the Prince.'[1] On 28th November 1712, Khān Daurān recommended flight. But finding that his advice was not taken, he prepared forged letters in the name of *Lāl Kunwar* to the effect that the Emperor (Jahāndar) was dead, and that if the Prince returned quickly he could secure the throne. This had the desired effect. A'azzuddin hastened back to Agra, leaving his camp and equipage to be plundered by the enemy.

Hearing of this Jahāndar Shāh decided to march from the capital personally to meet the danger. 'But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *matériel* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns stored within the fort of Delhi, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the zamīndārs, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials, uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses. Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Warid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.[2] A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment, store-

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 434-35.

2. According to a contemporary eye-witness, 'In one week, jewels worth 3 *krors* and 50 *lakhs* of Rupees were distributed among them.'—Khushhal Chand, cited by Irvine, op. cit., p. 220 n.

houses full of goods, which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Bābar, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Agra was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.'[1]

Under such auspices nothing but disaster could be expected. And disaster confronted Jahāndar Shāh at the battle of Agra (13th *Zi-l hijja* 1124 H.—10th January 1713). In spite of Zu-l fiqār Khān's desperate attempts to retrieve the situation, the Imperial troops fled, and Jahāndar Shāh himself ran off to Delhi. There he sought refuge in the house of Asad Khān, father of Zu-l fiqār. This was his ruin. That nobleman thought it expedient to inveigle the helpless Emperor into prison and surrendered him to his enemies. Feelings of gratitude and loyalty at first struggled for mastery in the breast of Zu-l fiqār Khān ; but they soon subsided before the urgency of the situation. Jahāndar was now in a death-trap. Yet was he happy to find his charmer, *Lāl Kunwar*, still with him. On seeing her, he is reported to have exclaimed with joy : " Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord ! "

On 16th *Muharram*, 1125 H. (11th February, 1713), by Farrukh-siyar's order, written with his own hand, a group of ruffians entered the prison room. " *Lāl Kunwar* shrieked, clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahāndar Shāh they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off .... The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyana*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwan*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the Emperor's (Farrukh-siyar's) tents, alongside

1. Ijad, Warid, and Khushlal Chand cited, ibid., pp. 220-21.

the body of Zu-l fiqār Khān"[1] (who was also executed at the same time).

Such was the fate of 'Jahāndar Shāh, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions,' as his coins name him :

Zad sikka bar jar chun mihr ṣahib-i-qiran ;
Jahāndar Shāh, pādash-i-jahā.

He was 53 (lunar) years, 4 months, and 6 days old at his death, and had reigned ten months and twenty-five days. "*He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimur,*" declares Irvine, "*who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule.* The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants..... The cause of his fall is likened by Warid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing."[2]

Farrukh-siyar's character.

The events described above are in themselves a lurid commentary on the character of both the new sovereign and his rule. Khāfī Khān adds : 'Farrukh-siyar had no will of his own. He was young,[3] inexperienced in business, and inattentive to business of State. He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. *He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion.* By the help of fortune he had seized the crown. The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Tīmūr, and *he was not cautious in listening to the words of artful men.* From the beginning of his reign he him-

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 254. The bodies of the unfortunate Emperor and his late *wazīr* were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Delhi Gate of the palace. On the 14th Feb. 1713 Jahāndar's body was buried in the vault of Humāyūn's tomb, the family mausoleum. For the treachery and insensate cruelty that attended the 'execution' of Zu-l faqār Khān and attendant circumstances, see ibid., pp. 248-58. See also Khāfi Khān, op. cit., pp. 443-45.

2. Ibid., pp. 240-41.

3. He was about thirty-one at the time of his accession ; ibid., p. 398.

self brought his troubles on himself. One fault he committed at the outset of his reign, in appointing Saiyid Abdu-llah, a Saiyid of Barha, to the office of *wazīr*, which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and high-minded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience.[1] .... Mīr Jumla had risen into the King's favour. He was a friendly, generous, and upright man, from whom many received kindness; but he was unwilling that the reins of the government of Hindustan should pass into the hands of the Barha Saiyids. When he saw that the sovereign power was entirely under the control of the two brothers, he could not suppress his envy and rivalry. By lauding the interest and sympathy shown to the Emperor by his new associates, he gained his point, and stirred up dissensions between him and the Barha Saiyids. According to common report, it was he who was the prime mover in recommending the destruction of the old hereditary nobles, and also of overthrowing the family of Asafu-d daula. The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mīr Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs, and every day they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty."[2]

As the result of his own weakness and follies, which will be described in a subsequent section, Farrukh-siyar was deposed, imprisoned, blinded, and ultimately killed in a very ignominious manner. On the 28th February 1719, the un-

1. "Farrukh-siyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Sayyids .... he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contenting himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this, he was for ever betting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would.' For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukh-siyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him."—Ibid., p. 396.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 442-43.

fortunate Emperor was hiding in some corner or closet of his palace. The hostile nobles met and declared for his deposition on the ground that Farrukh-siyar had 'forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows.'[1] The lot for a successor fell on Prince Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, grandson of Aurangzeb, 'who was known as having the best understanding among all the Princes.' A riot had already broken out outside the palace. The nobles were in a desperate hurry. The women in the royal apartments, fearing the wholesale massacre of all the Princes, barred the doors and hid them. The entrance was forced and the nominated Prince was called for, but his mother wept and wailed. The blind search ended in catching hold of Rafīu-d Darajāt, son of Rafīu-sh Shān, son of Bahādur Shāh. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes. They put him on the gorgeous Peacock Throne, and went through the usual ceremonial.

Having accomplished this they next turned to Farrukh-siyar. The door of the small room in the ladies' apartments, where he was hiding, was broken open in the midst of feminine wails. "His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried to shelter him. The shrieking women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat .... It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully built of Bābar's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bare-

1. "There is a local tradition among the Sayyids of Barha that some one proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers (Sayyid) ....Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other"—Irvine, op. cit., p. 388.

headed and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse."[1] The end of this tragedy may be briefly told. It was not unlike Jahāndar Shāh's; in some respects it was worse. He was blinded, and starved in prison. For four or five days he was even deprived of water for the most necessary purposes. Then finally, Hashim Ali Khān Dakhini whispered to Husain Ali Khān Barha: "I salute your lordship! Disease is dealt with in one of two ways: you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled." The hint was accepted. Slow poison was at first administered to Farrukh-siyar, but it had little effect. The patience of the Saiyids being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. "In spite of violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-Emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th *Jamadi* II. 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719)."[2]

'The troublous reign of the late Farrukh-siyar the *Shahid* (martyr!), records Khāfī Khān, 'lasted for 6 years and 4 months, without counting the 11 months of the reign of Jahāndar, which were reckoned as part of his reign, and so entered in the royal records.'[3]

The *post mortem* sympathy of the crowd for this *Shadid* is inexplicable. "When the body was brought to the Akbarābādī mosque, it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, Abdul-ghafur lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof

1. Ibid., pp. 389-90.
2. Ibid., p. 392.
3. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 478.

and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed Emperor and cursed his oppressors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukh-siyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Sayyids. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humāyūn's tomb.... The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and then cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments." (Khāfī Khān, 820; Kamwar Khān, 200; Qāsim, 260).

Not content with this, "For many a day, no beggar deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukh-siyar's death. Zafar Khān's liberal gifts of bread and sweet-meats were far famed; but, these too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindness bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, 'May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon it the mark of those men.' They made collections from artisans and shop-keepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday[1] at Humāyūn's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with Mahārājah Ajit Singh[2] and his followers so that they were forced to reach *darbār* by the most out-of-the-way

1. Farrukh-siyar had changed the names of Wednesday and Thursday respectively to *Humāyūn Shamba* and *Mubarik Shamba*, meaning Auspicious Day and Fortunate Day.

2. Ajit Singh's daughter was married to Farrukh-siyar; yet he connived at his deposition. This widowed daughter was recovered from the Imperial *harem* on 16th July, 1719. She had entered it on 27th Sept., 1715.

routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people? At length, several spoon-sellers and bazār touts having been killed by the Rāthors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned. (Qāsim, 262)"[1]

3. Three puppets on the throne.

From the deposition of Farrukh-siyar (28th February 1719) to the accession of a Muhammad Shāh (24th September 1719), three Princes were raised to the throne, like bubbles of water rising to the surface, only to end their ephemeral existence in a very short time. Their meteoric 'reigns' may be very briefly noticed.

i. *Rafiu-d Darajāt* :—'After the poor injured Emperor had been set aside, the same confusion and trouble prevailed, both inside and outside the palace. On the 9th *Rabiu-l ákhir*, 1131 A.H., (18th February 1719) Shamsuddin Abul Barakát Rafīu-d Darajāt, younger son of Rafīu-sh Shān, and grandson of Bahādur Shāh, the eldest (?) son of Aurangzeb, was made Emperor. He was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, that there was not time even to send him to bath, or change his clothes. In the same garments he was wearing, with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult. *Kutubu-l Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah, after offering his congratulations, placed his partisans and faithful servants inside the fortress. Over the doors of the public and private council chambers, and in every place, he stationed men of his own party. The eunuchs, the personal attendants, and all the servants of any importance, were men of his own.

'In the council of the first day, in accordance with the desire of Rāja Ajit Singh, and of the bigoted Rāja Ratan Chand an order was passed for the abolition of the *jizya*, and assurances of security and protection were circulated all over the country. I'tikad Khān was sent to prison with every mark of ignominy; his *jāgīr* was taken away, and his house was seized. Notwithstanding it had been disturbed, it was found to be full of jewels, cash, gold, objects of art, and vessels of silver; and an investigation was ordered for

1. Irvine, op. cit., pp. 393-94.

the discovery and recovery of the jewels and pearls he had received as presents.....Itimādu-d daula Amin Khān was confirmed as *Bakhshi*. The *subadāri* of Patna was given to Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahādur Fatha Jang.....Khāfi Khān, from whom the above narrative is taken, also observes, 'The brotherly love which had existed between the two (Saiyid) brothers now turned to hatred and to jealousy of each other's power.....(and) there were contentions between the brothers.' In the meanwhile, 'The Emperor Rafiu-d Darajāt was suffering from consumption (*dikk*). The physicians, under the orders of the Saiyids, did all they could to cure him, but without success. *This monarch had not the slightest control in matters of government*[1]....Sorrow increased his illness, and he became so helpless that the two brothers considered as to which of the imprisoned princes should be named successor. Rafīu-d Darajāt said that if, in his lifetime, the *khutba* were read, and coins struck in the name of his elder brother, Rafīu-d Daula, it would be a great kindness, and very acceptable to him. The Saiyids consented. Three days after Rafīu-d Daula ascended the throne, Rafīu-d Darajāt died. He had reigned *six months* and *ten days*.'[2]

ii. *Nikū-siyar*.—Before proceeding to Rafīu-d Darajāt's real successor, Rafiu-d Daulat, we must deal with this second Prince

1. "Until this time, the Emperors, however much they might leave State affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented from access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another, in this reign all this was changed....even ....the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khān, a Barha Sayyid. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign he seldom left the palace."—Irvine, op. cit., p. 416.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 479-82. Rafīu-d Darajāt was deposed and sent back to the *harem* on 4th June 1719. Two days afterwards, on 6th June, his brother was seated on the throne. Darajāt's death occurred on 11th June, 1719. (Warid 159 a).—Irvine, op. cit., p. 418. Two instances are quoted by Irvine to indicate how even this feeble Prince tried to assert his imperial dignity. (1) Husain Ali once had the temerity to sit down before the Emperor, breaking a time-honoured etiquette. The Emperor stretching his feet towards Husain Ali Khān, at once asked him to pull off his socks, 'Although inwardly raging, H. A. K. could do nothing else but comply.' (2) The *vazir* brought on successive days two warrants for the emperor's signature, posting two different persons to an identical office in an identical village. The Emperor asked: "Is it the same village, or another with the same name?" When he was told it was the same, he threw down the paper saying it was foolish to act like that. Ibid., p. 417.

who was simultaneously set up by the rebellious army at Agra, under the leadership of Mitr Sen, a Nagar Brahman, with the connivance of Raja Jai Singh (Sawai) of Amber. 'On the 9th *Jumada-l akhir*, 1131,' writes Khāfi Khān, 'the soldiers at Agra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to the sovereignty, a person named Nīkū-siyar, a son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzeb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in his name.'[1]

The rebellious Prince—or rather rival Emperor—called upon the Saiyids to 'make due submission, wrapping the head of shame in the skirt of humbleness,' promising, 'No revenge will be taken, but all their rank and dignities will be maintained as before.' But Husain Ali Khān proudly answered: 'If Agra were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, no sign of it should be left on earth.' Nevertheless, the suppression of Nīkū-siyar proved a more arduous task than was imagined. Shaista Khān, a maternal uncle of Farrukh-siyar, also raised the standard of revolt at Delhi. Finally, however, the rebels were starved into submission at the end of a long siege (12th August, 1719). Nīkū-siyar had become so effeminate that, forgetful of all Imperial decorum, he began to beg and pray for his life 'in the dialect used by women.' He was sent to Salimgarh, together with other captive Princes; and he died there on 11th March 1723. Mitr Sen escaped vengeance by committing suicide before capture.

Vast treasures fell into the hands of the victors. "In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tanka* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) were recovered; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shāh Jahān's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by Alamgīr in the custody of Shaista Khān, Amīr-ul-umara; but upon that Emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Bahādur Shāh's or Jahāndar Shāh's time. In the ward-robe were a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nūr Jahān Begam, a sword used by the Emperor Jahāngīr, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shāh Jahān

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 482 Nīkū-siyar had been in prison 40 years since his confinement during his father's rebellion in Rajputana. Two of his sisters were married to two sons of Bahādur Shāh. The proclamation of Nīkū-siyar, according to Irvine, was on 29th *Jumada* (18th May, 1719)—Irvine, loc. cit., pp. 411-12.

caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtāz Mahal. One valuation puts the property at 1,80,00,000 Rupees (£ 18,00,000), 1,40,00,000 Rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khāfī Khān puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *krors* of Rupees (£ 2,000,000 to £ 3,000,000)." [1]

iii. *Rafiu-d Daula.*—'On the 20th *Rajab*, 1131 A.H. (May 27, 1719 A.D.), Rafiu-d Daula, who was one year and a half older than his brother Rafiu-d Darajāt, was raised to the throne with the title of *Shāh Jahān the Second.* Matters went on just as before, for, excepting that the coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name, he had no part in the government of the country. He was surrounded by creatures of Kutbu-l Mulk, and, as to going out or staying at home, holding a Court, or choosing his food or raiment, he was under the direction of Himmat Khān. He was not allowed to go to the mosque on Friday, or to go hunting, or to talk to any of the *amīrs*, without the presence of one of the Saiyids or his guardian.' Perhaps the only outing that the Imperial captive had was in the march against Agra. Khāfī Khān concludes, 'Shāh Jahān the second died of dysentery and mental disorder, after a reign of *three months* and *some days.*' (17th or 18th September, 1719).[2]

One notable event that took place in this reign was the withdrawal of Ajit Singh's daughter (Farrukh-siyar's widow) from the Imperial seraglio and her reconversion to Hinduism. Khāfī Khān alludes to this in the following terms :—

'At this time Mahārāja Ajit Singh took back the Mahārānī, his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh-siyar, with all her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a *kror* of rupees in value. According to report he made her throw off her Musulman dress, dismissed her Muhammadan attendants, and sent her to her native country (Jodhpur)....In the reign of no former Emperor had any Rāja been so presumptuous as to take his daughter after she had been married to a king and admitted to the honour of Islām.'[3]

1. Irvine, op. cit., pp. 427-28.

2. Irvine does not accept the view that these Princes were got rid of by poison or any other means. According to him the Saiyid had nothing to gain by this. The Princes died of their own feeble health and excessive opium-eating.—See ibid., pp. 430-32.

3. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 483.

4. Muhammad Shāh : 1719-4.

When Rafīu-d Daula's life was despaired of, Saiyid Abdullah sent for another Prince from Fathpur. This was Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, and grandson of Aurangzeb. He was then only eighteen years of age. Since the death of Jahāndar Shāh, he had lived with his mother, who is described by Khāfī Khān as a noble lady 'well acquainted with State business,' and as 'a woman of much intelligence and tact,'—in the fort of Delhi. 'He was a good-looking young man, with many good qualities, and of excellent intelligence. Rafīu-d Daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince arrived ; but the fact was kept secret, and the defunct was buried soon after the arrival.[1]

'On the 11th *Zi-l ka'da*, 1131 A.H. (Sept. 1719 A.D.), he reached Fathpur, and on the 15th of that month he ascended the throne.....Money was struck in the name of *Abu-l Muzaffar Nasirud-din Muhammad Shāh Bādshāh-i Ghāzī*, and his name was read in the *khutba*, as Emperor of Hindustan, in the mosques....It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farukh-siyar, and should be so entered in the Government records. Fifteen thousand rupees a month were allotted to his mother. The *nazirs* and....all the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Saiyid Abdullah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents ; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.'[2]

1. "During the few days which elasped between the death of Rafiud-daula and the arrival of his successor, the *Wazīr* and his brother made their usual daily visit to the imperial quarters and returned with robes of honour, as if newly conferred on them, thus deceiving the common people into the belief that the Emperor was still alive."—Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 1,

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 485-86.

These impressions of Muhammad Shāh are further amplified by other writers of the period. For instance, Rustam Ali, author of the *Tarikh-i Hindi*,[1] observes, 'This Prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to loose habits, but of somewhat a generous disposition. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects.' The writer, evidently a partisan of the Saiyid brothers, adds 'As is well known, this Emperor, so long as *Amiru-l umara* Husain Ali Khān lived, strictly observed, *by virtue of the efficient management of that great Saiyid*, all the ancient laws and established rules of his ancestors. The achievements of all undertakings, the arrangement of all political affairs, and the execution of all wars were carried on in an excellent manner by the wisdom of that high nobleman. The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the Muhammadan law; but when some of the nobles, natives of this country and of Turān, overcome by their evil passions, and merely through envy and malice, put that wellwisher of the creatures of God to death, to the mortification of poor people and all good subjects, the Emperor became master of his own will, and, actuated by his youthful passions and folly and pride, resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their malicious disposition, had been the instruments of the death of Husain Ali Khān. The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints.....In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects.'

The brighter side of the picture is drawn by Ghulam Husain, author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*: 'The steps of that sublime place (the throne)', he says, 'were dignified by his accession, and silver and gold coin, distributed on the occasion (of his accession), acquired additional value from the honour of his name. He as-

1. This work was composed in the year 1154 A.H. (1741-42 A.D.). The author expressly states his object in writing to have been—'While it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world.'—Ibid., VII, pp. 40-43.

sumed the auspicious title of *Abdúl fateh, Nasir-ed din, Mahomed-shah* (the Lord or father of victory, the champion of the faith, the king Mahomed). From that moment provisions, which had risen to an immoderate price, became cheaper, and once more plenty showed her face in every market.... The three preceding reigns had been so short as to serve only to confound history; it was commanded, therefore, that the seven or eight months which had elapsed under the short-lived reigns of those three princes should be omitted entirely, and that they should be comprehended within that of Mahomedshāh's reign, which was thus made to commence immediately on Ferokh-siar's demise.' Speaking of the restraints of the Saiyids, Ghulam Husain writes, 'All this was patiently submitted to by the young emperor, who, *sensible of the delicacy of his situation, made no opposition to the vezir's pleasure, and had the good sense to shew him every mark of deference and regard.*' Yet the writer does not fail to observe, '*This did not effect the least abatement of the jealousy with which he was watched*; for whenever he went abroad, which happened once or twice a month, for the purpose of taking an airing, the king was encircled by a body of Seids, who did not lose sight of him a moment, nor ever carry him farther than the seats and gardens in the suburbs, which at most are one or two coss from the palace, and they always came back before the dusk of the evening.'[1]

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, though Muhammad Shāh was "a mere cypher in respect of his public duties, there were some redeeming traits in his private character. Naturally timid and wavering, he was also free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty.... 'He never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The

1. *Siyar-ul mutakherin*, pp. 130-32 (Briggs).

M. Muhsin Sadiki, in his *Jauhar-i Samsam*, writes: The Emperor Muhammad Shāh never came out of the citadel except to enjoy the pleasures of an excursion or to amuse himself in field sports. He paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by any exertion, he fell and came to an end. For water even, notwithstanding its innate purity and excellence, if it remains stagnant anywhere, changes its colour and smell.—E. & D., op. cit., VIII, p. 73.

foundations of *the Delhi monarchy were really rotten but Muhammad Shāh by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Bābur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it.*" [*Siyar*, iii, 25][1]

Muhammad Shāh is certainly memorable as the last Mughal Emperor who sat on the *Peacock Throne* of Shāh Jahān. "Students of history will note his reign," observes Keene, "as the period in which were founded all the modern powers of the Indian peninsula. It seemed as though the empire, like some of the lower animals, was about to reproduce its life by fissiparous generation." "Mohamad Shāh was a typical Taimuride element—easy going, personally brave, but morally irresolute. A Mughal friend said of him, that his soul was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by a passing storm, but settling at once as soon as the disturbance was over. The curse of Reuben!"[2]

Nine years after Nādir Shāh's invasion, as the result of the shock he received from the death of his *wazīr*, Kamru-d din Khān, Muhammad Shāh died on the 15th April 1748.[3]

5. Ibrāhīm Shāh, 1720.

Before we proceed to Ahmad Shāh, Muhammad's son and successor, we should briefly notice the attempt made by Saiyid Abdullah Khān Barha to set up another rival on the throne. This was Muhammad Ibrāhīm, third son of Bahādur Shāh's eldest son Rafīu-sh Shān. He was about twenty-three years of age at the time he was sent for (1720) to contend for the crown against Muhammad Shāh. Muhammad Shāh had hardly been a year on the throne, when differences arose between him and the Saiyids. The details of these strained

1. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, 1, pp. 9-10.
2. Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 200, 200-201, 221.
3. For details see *Tarikh-i Ahmed Shāh*, E. & D., op. cit., VIII, p. 111. This was the thirty-first year of his reign, and he was forty-nine years old.—Ibid., p. 112 and n.

relations will be described in a later section. Suffice it here to note that Saiyid Husain Ali Khān Barha was murdered on 8th October 1720, and the news of it reached his elder brother only eighteen hours later. Though Abdullah Khān moved cautiously in the matter, he made up his mind to replace Muhammad Shāh, if possible, by another Prince.

A search was accordingly made in the royal apartments. But, as had happened on a previous occasion, 'The young men had the door shut against the envoys.... ; but after a good deal of pressing, they admitted them and asked the reason of their coming ; and when they were informed of it, they gave a sharp answer, flatly refusing. It is reported that after the envoys returned unsuccessful, they went to Nekusiyar, and received the same answer. Next they went to Sultan Ibrāhīm, son of Rafiu-sh Shān, and urged him to accept the proposition, *saying that his acceptance would save the lives of the party of the Saiyids.* After some conversation he consented.

'On the 9th (?) *Zi-l hijja*, 1132 (15th Oct. 1720), Sultan Muhammad Ibrāhīm was raised to the throne with the title of Abu-l Fath Zahiru-d din Muhammad Ibrāhīm.[1] Two days afterwards Sayid Abdullah arrived and paid his homage. He received the title of *Ghāziu-d Ghalid Jang*, the position of *Amīru-l umara* with the duties of *Mīr-bakhshi*, and a *mansab* of 8000..... A number of courtiers of the time of Rafiu-d Darajāt, who were in confinement, or had no *mansabs*, or despaired of promotion, were sent for and received *mansabs* and sums of money for their expenses. They were directed to enlist horsemen at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each man, and a sum of 30 or 40 thousand rupees was advanced for the purpose.... I'tikād Khān and.... other nobles of Farrukh-siyar's days all received favours, and had expectations held out to them.... On the 17th (?) *Zi-l hijja* Saiyid Abdullah came out of Delhi with Sultan Ibrāhīm and went

1. See Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 76. Ibrāhīm had been designated to succeed Refiu-d Daula. But "Saiyid Khān Jahān, *subahdār* of Delhi, with whom the final choice rested, dreading Ibrāhīm's reputation for violent temper, had substituted Roshan Akhtar, now became Muhammad Shāh."

to the *I'd-gah*. Here he was joined by Ghulam Ali Khān from the royal army, by Tahawwur Khān from Agra, and by others.....

'Intelligence arrived that the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, being freed from all trouble about Husain Ali Khān, was marching to the capital by the Rajput road....A very extraordinary fact was that, notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal domestics and officials in the train of Sultan Ibrāhīm rode horses with no saddles.....On the 10th *Muharram*, 1133 (1st Nov. 1720), as the author has ascertained from the *Bakhshi*, and as he heard from the mouth of Saiyid Abdullah Khān, more than 90,000 horsemen had been entered in the lists. Of these 14 or 15 thousand perhaps were recruits, who rode ponies (*yabu*) ; some of the old soldiers were dispersed about the vicinity, and the remainder were present. Afterwards there were the followers of the traitor Churāman, of Muhkam Singh, and sundry other of the adherents of Husain Ali Khān, and the *zamindārs* of the neighbourhood. According to report, the number exceeded 100,000 horse. All around as far as the eye could reach the earth seemed covered with horsemen. (But the army was ill-paid.).....

'On the 19th *Muharram* the royal army encamped at Shāhpur[1] .... The army was not half as numerous as that of the enemy (but better paid)..... On the 12 *Muharram* Abdullah Khān's forces encamped at Husainpur,[2] three *kos* from the Imperial army, and made arrangements for battle. But there were such contentions among the officers, who were unwilling to serve under the orders of each other, that a proper disposition with right and left wings could not be made. Each chief raised his standard where he chose, and would not consent to obey any other .... (Details of battle) ..... Saiyid Abdullah received a sword-cut on his hand and a flesh wound from an arrow in the forehead, when Haidar Kuli and his companions, sword in hand, charged upon him. Saiyid Abdullah, exclaiming that he was a *Saiyid* called for quarter, and Haidar Kuli mercifully made him prisoner.... The shouts of victory rose high from the army of Muhammad Shāh, and Haidar Kuli brought his prisoner on an elephant to the presence of Muhammad Shāh, who showed the clemency of the race of Timūr, spared his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Kuli Khān.. .... *The innocent Sultan Muhammad Ibrāhīm* had sought refuge in the jungle, but he was made prisoner, and brought before the

1 & 2. Both places are on the right bank of the Jamuna, in *pargana* Palwal. The battle was fought from 12th-14th Nov. 1720. —Ibid., pp. 82-93.

Emperor ; but *as he had not choice in what he had done*, he received the royal pardon.[1]

"The night when he reached the Presence, Muhammad Shāh embraced him, asking : 'How have you come?' The Prince answered : 'By the way you came.' His Majesty said : 'Who brought you?' He replied : 'The person who brought you'[2].... An allowance of forty Rupees a day was fixed for Ibrāhīm's maintenance, and he was sent back to prison in the citadel of Shāhjahānābād. There he died on the 8th *Muharram* 1159 H. (January 30th, 1746) at the estimated age of fifty years. As a quatrain quoted by Khush-hal Chand says, his day of power had been short-lived, "*like a drop of dew upon a blade of grass.*"[3]

6. Ahmad Shāh, 1748-54.

Ahmad Shāh was the only son of his father Muhammad Shāh. 'He gave himself up to useless pursuits, to pleasure and enjoyment,' says the *Tarikh-i Alamgīr Sāni*, 'and his reign was brought to an end (after 6 yrs., 3 months, and 9 days) by the enmity which he showed to Nizāmu-l Mulk Asaf Jáh (Ghāzīu-d din Khān), at the instigation of his *wazīr* the Khān-khānan and his mother Udham Bai.'[4] Greater details are afforded by the *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shāh* ; 'When the Prince succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, he took the title of *Mujahidu-d din Ahmad Shāh Ghāzī*, and in the prayers and on the coins these titles were adopted, and to his deceased parent he gave the title of *Hazrat Firdaus Aramgah*.

'Ahmād Shāh was not a man of great intellect ; all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had absolutely no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government.[6] Besides this,

1. Khāfī Khān, E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 509-15.
2. The allusion being that both of them had been set on the throne by Abdullah Khān.
3. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 94.
4. Ibid., p. 140.
5. The same writer has earlier stated that Muhammad Shāh locked up his son, Ahmad Shāh, in one part of the citadel, not wishing him to appear in public. He kept him in the greatest indigence, and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugan*, hunting, shooting, or any royal sports, such as he practised himself.'—Ibid., p. 105.

he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind, was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastimes and sports, and bestowed no thought on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. *To manage a country and wield a sceptre is a matter full of difficulty, and until an Emperor understands thoroughly himself the good and bad tendency of every measure, he cannot be fit for a rule.* For this reason Ahmad Shāh was unable to govern the empire entrusted to him.'

To make matters worse, 'Jawed Khān, the head eunuch, who in the time of Muhammad Shāh had the entire management of the *harem*, and had the *entrée* to the women's apartments, and although 50 years old, could neither read nor write, but being constantly in the presence of the Emperor, had represented himself as being well up to business and an intelligent man, prevailed on the simple-minded youth of an Emperor to appoint him *darogha* of the *Diwān-i Khās*, with a *mansab* of 6000, thus exalting him far above his equals.... .... The Emperor gave over the entire management of the country to him. The Nawāb, who had in the days of the former sovereign carried on a secret intimacy with Ahmad Shāh's mother, *who was originally a dancing girl*,[1] now openly governed the realm in concert with her, and contrary to the custom of all *harems*, where no male domestics are allowed at night, he always remained in the women's apartments all night, and in the day used to converse with low characters, such as *khānasāmās*, and did not look on the nobles.'

The Emperor's mother, Udham Bai, fully merited the aspersion.[2] She had fallen out of favour even during her husband's life-

1. "A Hindu *danseuse*....who is known in history as the Kudsiya Begam. The remains of her villa are to be seen in a garden still bearing her name, on the Jamuna side, a little beyond Kashmir Gate of New Delhi."—Keene, *The fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 28.

2. Matters reached such a pass that the royal guards being exasperated by their salaries remaining unpaid for over a year,

time. But when her son ascended the throne, 'her star of prosperity daily increased, till at last she surpassed all the Begams. She was at first called Bai Jiu Sāhibā, afterwards "the Parent of the Pure, the Lady of the Age, Sāhib Ji Sāhibā, on whom be peace!" Then she was called Hazrat, afterwards Kibla-i' Alam, in addition to the former titles held in the deceased Emperor's time, and although she had already a *mansab* of 50,000, yet, owing to the intimacy she kept up with the Nawāb, she managed to have the rule of the whole empire. Notwithstanding the lowness of her origin, and the very humble position which she had till lately held, the fruits of her generosity and magnanimity soon became known and lauded.... Having called together the families of her children and grandchildren, she distributed to them large presents of money, and fixed monthly salaries for their maintenance. *In short, the Queen and the Nawab took the whole government into their own hands, and the Emperor had nothing left but the empty title.*'[1]

'The Emperor considered it to be most suitable to him to spend his time in pleasure; and he made the *zanānā* extend a mile. For weeks together he would remain without seeing the face of a male creature. There was probably no sincere friend to raise a warning; and the doom deepened and the hand wrote upon the wall unheeded[2].... The cabinet of the

at last staged a scene. "They tied up a young ass and a bitch at the palace gate and when the nobles and other courtiers went to attend the *darbār*, they audaciously urged them, saying, 'First make your bow to these. This one (pointing to the ass) in the Nawāb Bahādur, and that (the bitch) is Hazrat Qudsia, the Queen-mother."—Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 335-36.

1. Ibid., pp. 112-14; see Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 388-40.

2. 'The administration had grown very weak and degraded; the pillars of the State were daily shaken; the Emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury,—the three foundations of an empire.... He became so absorbed in pleasure that a whole *kos* (an area of four sq. miles) was turned into a women's preserve by excluding all males from it, and there the Emperor used to desport himself in female company for a week or a month in bower and park.' (*Tarikh-i Ahmad Shāh and Siyar*). Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 329-30.

The imbecile Emperor indulged in all kinds of peurile follies, e.g. he nominated children of three years and less as *subādārs* of the Punjab and Kashmir, at a time when they were threatened with the invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli. He held mock courts

Empress was now .... in the position of a necromancer who has to furnish his familiars with employment on pain of their destroying him.'[1] The events of this reign will be narrated elsewhere. The end of it was a piece with the character of the Emperor here described. When Ghāzīu-d din set himself up as the *wazīr* (5th June, 1754), he convened the Mughal Darbār, " from which, with his usual address, he contrived to obtain as a vote of the cabinet what was doubtless the suggestion of his own unprincipled ambition. ' This Emperor,' said the asembled nobles, ' has shown his unfitness for rule. He is unable to cope with the Mahrāttas : he is false and fickle towards his friends. Let him be deposed and a worthier son of Tīmūr raised to the throne.' This resolution was immediately acted upon ; the unfortunate monarch was blinded and consigned to the State prison of Salimgarh, adjoining the palace ; and a son of Jahāndar Shāh, the competitor of Farokhsiar, proclaimed Emperor under the sounding title of Alamgīr II, July, 1754 A.D."[2]

7. Alamgīr II, 1754-59.

Muhammad Ali Khān relates how ' they waited upon the royal princes who were in confinement, to select one to ascend the throne. But the princes were afraid, and no one consented. At length after much trouble, Sultan Azizu-d din, son of Jahāndar Shāh, son of Bahādur Shāh, who during his seclusion

for them with all the paraphernalia and ceremonial. During the last 2 or 3 years of his reign, he made up his mind to devote 6 hrs. every day seriously to State business. But during the remaining 18 hrs. of the day he would be so absorbed in his pleasures that he would never distract himself for even the most urgent affairs of State.—See ibid., pp. 330-33.

1. Keene, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

2. Ibid., pp. 33-4 ; cf. E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 140-41. Ahmad Shāh died a natural death in the prison, in 1775, at the age of fifty. See also Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 541-44.

The *Tarikh-i Muzaffari* relates how both the ex-Emperor and his mother were blinded ten days after the accession of Alamgīr II, and treated then with indignities ' which it is unfit to write.'—E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 323-24.

had devoted himself to theological science, was prevailed upon to accept the crown, with the title of *Azizu-d din Muhammad Alamgīr Sānī* (II), on the 10th *Sha'bān*, 1167 A.H. Ghāzīu-d din Khān Imādu-l Mulk was made *wazīr*.'[1]

This Prince met his death sooner than his predecessors, under political circumstances that will be related hereafter. His chief adviser, Intizāmu-d daula Khān-khānan, was murdered 'in the very act of his prayers'. Alamgīr II was something of a religious character. With this bait he was entitled to his doom. It was reported to him that 'a most saintly *derwesh* from Kandahar had arrived in the city, who was lodged in the *kotila* of Fīroz Shāh, and that he was well worth seeing. The Emperor, who was very fond of visiting *fakirs*, and particularly such an one as had come from the country of Ahmad Shāh (Abdālī), became extremely desirous of seeing him, and went to him almost unattended. When he reached the appointed place, he stopped at the door of the chamber where his assassins were concealed, and Madhi Ali Khān relieved him of the sword which he had in his hand, and put it by. As he entered the house the curtains were down and fastened to the ground. Mīrza Bābar, ... son-in-law of the Emperor, beginning to suspect foul play, drew his sword and wounded several of the conspirators. Upon this the myrmidons of Imādu-l Mulk surrounded him and took him prisoner; and having taken the sword from him, placed him in a *palankin*, and sent him back to the royal prison. Some evil-minded Mughals were expecting the Emperor in the chamber, and when they found him there unattended and alone, they jumped up, and inflicting on him repeated wounds with their daggers, brought him to the ground, and then threw his body out of the window, stripped off all the clothes and left the corpse stark naked. After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, his body was taken up by order of Mahdi Ali Khān, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humāyūn. This tragedy occurred on Thursday, the 20th of *Rabiu-s sani*, 1173 A.H. (30th November 1759). On the same day a youth named Muhiu-l Millat, son of Muhiu-s Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh, was raised to the throne with the title of Shāh Jahān II[a] . . . . . In the meantime, the report of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's invasion spread among the people.'

1. Ibid., p. 323.
2. *Cf.* p. 710. Alamgīr II was 56 years of age at the time of his accession. He reigned 5 years, 7 months and 8 days, and had five sons, the eldest of whom was 28 yrs. old.—E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 142-43.

8. Shāh Alam II, 1759.

When the news of his father's death reached him this Prince was at Patna. Hearing of the murder 'he was much afflicted in his mind; but ascribing the event to the wise dispensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of *Jumada-l awwal*. Nawāb Shuja'u-d daula, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and having invited the Emperor from Azīmābād (Patna), obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of *Wazīr*, and afterwards accompanied him to Allahabad. It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sahib Kiran Gurgan (Timur) still remains; otherwise, the Abdáli would not have allowed one of his descendants to survive', writes Muhammad Aslam, in the *Farthatu-n Nazirin*.[1]

The history of Shāh Alam II and his successors down to the deposition of the 'last of the Mughal Emperors' need not be pursued here. From what has been written it must be plain to the reader that the *Mughal Empire* had by now ceased to exist. 'When twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Shāh Alam,' writes Kudratu-llah in his *Jam-i Jahan-numa*, 'in every corner of the Kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Allahabad, Oudh, Etawah, Shukohabad, and the whole country of the Afghans (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawāb Wazīr Asafu-d daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingis. The country of the Jāts is under Najaf Khān, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizam Ali Khān, partly under the Mahrāttas, and partly under Haidar Naik and Muhammad Ali Khān Sirāju-d daula of Gopamau. The Sikhs hold the whole *suba* of the Punjab, and Lahore and Multan; and Jainagar and other places are held by Zabita Khān. In this manner other *zamīndārs* have established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imām Mahdī, who is to come in the latter days. Shāh Alam

1. E & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 172-73.

sits in the palace of Delhi, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed even unto death.[1]

II. THE BROTHERS KING-MAKERS

The Saiyids of Barha.

The history of nearly ten years from the accession of Farrukh-siyar (1712) to the discomfiture of Prince Sultan Muhammad (1720) is very largely the biography of the *Saiyid Brothers*, as the 'King-makers' Abdullah Khān and Husain Ali Khān Barha are familiarly known in history. They first acquired importance during Farrukh-siyar's contest for the throne. They claimed descent from Abu-l farah, a Saiyid adventurer from Wasit in Mesopotamia, who had settled near Patiala centuries earlier. "The etymology of the name *Barha*," says Irvine, "is disputed ; perhaps it is from the word *bāra* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages. (There seems to be no town or village in the Saiyid's country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Barha)."[2] As already pointed out, the father of the Saiyid brothers was successively the *subāhdār* of Bijapur and Ajmer. Saiyid Miyan (Abdullah Khān) as he was called "had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khān, Alamgīr's *Mīr Bakhshi*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *mansab*, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Muazzam Shāh Alam." Hasan Ali Khān (presently Abdullah Khān Kutb-l Mulk), the elder of the two brothers, was forty-six years, and Husain Ali Khān, the younger, forty-four years of age at the time of their emergence from comparative obscurity. In 1697-8 Hasan Ali was *faujdār* in Khāndesh and later at Aurangabad. Husain held a similar post in the *subāhs* of Ajmer and Agra. During the battle of Jājau (18th June, 1707) they held the rank of 3,000 and 2,000, and fought in the vanguard of Shāh Alam's army. As a reward

1. Ibid., VII., pp. 184-85.
2. Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 202 and ft. n.

for their services their status was raised to 4000, and the title of Abdullah Khān was conferred on the elder Saiyid. But they were dissatisfied. When Prince Jahāndar met them the morning after Jājau, Husain Ali Khān is reported to have said that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, but that '*their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne.*' This proud prophecy was fulfilled in favour of Farrukh-siyar, five years later, and to the destruction of the Prince to whom it was expressed, viz. Jahāndar Shāh.

By the favour of Prince Azīmu-sh Shān, in 1711, Saiyid Abdullah Khān was made his deputy in the province of Allahabad. Three years earlier (1708), Husain Ali had been appointed to the government of Bihar by the same Prince. The claim of Farrukh-siyar (Azīmu-sh Shān's son) on the gratitude and support of the Saiyids was great ; and, as already noticed, they did not fail him in his contest for the throne (1712). In fact, Farrukh-siyar's success was almost entirely due to them. The result was fateful.

The King-Makers.

Jahāndar Shāh was dethroned and ignominiously put to death, and Farrukh-siyar was installed in his place (1712), only to meet with the same fate seven years later (1719). This last was a terrible year for the faineant Emperors : Rafīu-d Darajāt and Rafī-ud Daula were successively raised to the throne ; but the hand of death removed them from their captivity,—for the dominance of the Saiyid brothers meant for them nothing less. A third Prince, Muhammad Nīkū-siyar made a bid for the throne under other auspices, but inevitably failed (1719); he was sent to Salimgarh (another "Tower of London") to die there in captivity in March, 1723.

Irvine strongly repudiates the charge levelled against the Saiyid brothers of having poisoned the Princes. Foremost among the accusers, he points out, is Kamwar Khān : "but

this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafi-ush-shan, the father of this (Rafiu-d Daulat) and the previous Emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Sayyids, the two Princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kamwar Khān, and by reason of their short-lived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his own vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with ?. . . . . he insists that the attack of diarrhoea from which the young Emperor suffered, was due to the Sayyids' 'cunning devices'. . . . . These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Sayyids were interested in keeping the Prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive Prince, with whom they could anticipate no injury."[1]

We have already described how the Saiyid brothers again rose equal to the situation, and managed to secure yet another Prince for the throne. This was Muhammad Shāh, a lad of eighteen summers, good-looking, 'with many good qualities and of excellent intelligence. His mother also was well acquainted with State business, and was a woman of much intelligence and tact'..... Nevertheless 'the *Wazīr* and... all the officers and servants around the Emperor were as before, the servants of Saiyid Abdullah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.' Their minion 'Ratan Chand

1. Irvine, op. cit., I, pp. 430-32.

held a firm position. His authority extended over all civil, revenue and legal matters, even to the appointment of *Kāzīs* in the cities and other judicial officers. All the other government officials were put in the background, and no one would undertake any business but under a document with his seal.[1]

But "laughter ends with weeping, and rejoicing with sorrow."[2] The Saiyid brothers were caught in the diplomatic tangle,—a net, partly at least, of their own making,—whose texture was intrigue and culmination death. Husain Ali was murdered in 1720 at the instigation of the 'King's Friends'; Abdullah Khān sought to avenge his brother's death by raising yet another 'Emperor' to the throne. The story of this misadventure has already been told. Prince Sultan Ibrāhīm's and Abdullah Khān's fate was settled on the battlefield of Hasanpur (or Husenpur), 13th-14th November, 1720, Abdullah Khān was captured, and Ibrāhīm, who had fled from the field, was brought back a prisoner."[3]

Saiyid Abdullah Khān Barha remained a prisoner in the citadel of Delhi, under the charge of Haidar Kuli Khān, for another two years. He was "treated with respect, receiving delicate food to eat and fine clothes to wear. But so long as he survived the Mughals remained uneasy, not knowing what sudden change of fortune might happen. Thus they never ceased their efforts to alarm Muhammad Shāh....Two years elapsed, but the Mughals never ceased in their plotting, until at length they obtained the Emperor's consent to the administration of poison. Sayyid Qutb-ul-mulk, Abdullah Khān, died of poison given in his food on the 1st *Muharram* 1135 H. (October 11, 1722), being then about fifty-seven (lunar) years of age. He left no children. In accordance with his dying wishes he was buried at the side of his favourite mistress, a

1. Khāfi Khān, op. cit., pp. 485-86.

2. Ibid., p. 487.

3. Muhammad Shāh's announcement of his victory to Nizām-ul-Mulk (*Majma-ul-insha*, 86 cited by Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 95.)

singing woman named Kesar Mahi, in a walled garden outside the Pumba gate of Old Delhi."[1]

The Saiyid Regime : 1712-20.

It must be clear, from what has been stated above, that the Saiyids were in the forefront of the stage for nearly a decade, from the rise of Farrukhsiyar to the fall of Abdullah Khān. During this period the Emperors were mere puppets, their life being spent more inside the *zanāna* than outside of it. No wonder that, under such circumstances, 'the withering of the trees of this world was caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers; and dissension among well-disposed nobles'; and 'great disorders arose in the country.'[2]

In the first place, Farrukh-siyar, though weak and vascillating in character, having once attained the throne, tried to kick off the ladder with which he had climbed. But this attempt, as we shall presently see, proved him fatal. Secondly, the unprecedented ascendancy of the Saiyid brothers incited jealousy, opposition, and intrigue among fellow nobles, which proved equally fatal to the Saiyids and the Empire also.

At the accession of Farrukh-siyar, Saiyid Abdullah Khān had been created Chief Minister with the title, *Nawāb Qutb-ul mulk, Yamin-ud-daula, Saiyid Abdullah Khān Bahādur, Zafar Jang, Sipah-salar, Yar-i-wafadar*. The younger brother, Husain Ali Khān, was made First Bakshī, and entitled *Umdat-ul-mulk, Amīr-ul umarā Bahādur, Fīroz Jang Sipah-sardār*. Among the personal favourites of the Emperor was Mīr Jumla who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers,

1. Ibid., p. 96. Khāfī Khān observes: 'It is said that he (Abdullah Khān) was poisoned. If so, it is extraordinary that I should have heard from the mouths of creditable men the statement that when Muhammad Shāh started on his march against Sultan Ibrāhīm and Saiyid Abdullah Khān, he vowed to God, that in the event of his gaining the victory and securing his throne, he would not kill or crush the Saiyid however great his crimes might be.... God forbid that his counsel should have been given for poison! But (*al ilm ind Allah!*) God only knows!—E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 519.

2. *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, op. cit., p. 43.

but *against* whose opinion even the *Chief Minister himself found it difficult to act.*[1] Among the provincial *subāhdārs* the most powerful was Chin Kilich Khān, son of the late Ghāzīu-d din Khān Fīroz Jang now entitled *Nizām-ul-mulk, Bahādur, Fath Jang*. He was nominally given supreme control of the six *subhās* of the Deccan, being also empowered to select lands to be held in *jāgīr* for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, etc. But Haidar Kuli Khān, a protégé of Mīr-Jumla, was at the same time sent as *diwan* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the *Nazim*, of the report-writers, and of the deciding of suits.[2] Daud Khān Panni, who had acquired fame as the deputy of Zu-l fiqār Khān in the Deccan, was transferred to Ahmedabad.

The tragedy of Farrukh-siyar's life was the fruit of his own conduct. As Khāfī Khān puts it : 'From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself ;' he 'had no will of his own' ; he was 'inexperienced in business' ; he was 'entirely dependent on the opinion of others, for he had no resolution or discretion ;' he was 'not cautious in listening to the words of artful men.' In short, as Elphinstone has well said, Farrukh-siyar was "incapable of comprehending a great design, and too irresolute to execute a small one without support."[3] But if he had been wise, he would have leaned upon the Saiyid brothers for this support ; then his reign might have been a success instead of the miserable failure it turned out to be. As it happened, he leaned on the wrong side. He drew his inspiration from poisonous quarters, and died of the

1. Irvine, op. cit., I, pp. 258-60, Mīr Jumla was a native of Samarkand and had come to India in the reign of Aurangzeb. He was at first *Kāzi* of Dacca, and then warmed himself into the favour of Prince Azimu-sh Shān and Farrukh-siyar. He now rose to power and soon became *Mutamid-ul-mulk, Muazzam Khān, Khān-Khānan, Bahādur, Muzaffar Jang Mīr Jumla, Tarkhāni Sultāni.*—Ibid., pp. 297-68.

2. Ibid., pp. 262-63. Irvine points out that the Saiyid brothers did not, at any rate at the commencement, grasp at all power, as is usually supposed, but "the Emperor's friends and the Turāni chiefs obtained a lion's share."—Ibid., p. 263.

3. Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 683.

venom he had chosen to inhale. Mīr Jumla, Jai Singh, Itikad Khān, Muhammad Amīn Khān, Khān Daurān, and all the brood of poltroons and sycophants Farrukh-siyar relied upon, brought about his ruination. Hasty writers have thrown the blame for this upon the Saiyid brothers. But whatever the personal shortcomings of both Saiyid Abdullah Khān and Said Husain Ali Khān and the character of their 'dictatorship' in the following reigns, it is certain that, so far as Farrukh-siyar was concerned, they have been more sinned against than sinning.

Farrukh-siyar owed his throne to the Saiyids, and, naturally, they expected (especially from their knowledge of their protégé's dependent character) "to exercise all the real power of the state, leaving to the emperor only the pageantry, and such a command of wealth and honours as might enable him to gratify his favourites." But, as an examination of the chief appointments under Farrukh-siyar will show, they received very little besides "the two offices which were the price of their services," "while the Emperor's friends and the Turānī chief obtained the lion's share."[1] And, as Khāfī Khān remarks, 'The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mīr Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs.'[2] The result was unremitting intrigue on the part of the Saiyids' enemies, with Farrukh-siyar at its heart and centre ineptly conniving, encouraging, and promoting to his own final unmaking and utter destruction. The Saiyids throughout acted with admirable restraint and tact. But human patience has its limits : and when the furies burst Nemesis proved relentless.

Plots against the Saiyids.

A bear enumeration of the plots would suffice to reveal the situation : (1) Saiyid Husain Alī, being the more intractable of the brothers, was sent against the Rajputs, with secret despatches to Rāja Ajit Singh, offering him tempting terms in

1. Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 263.

2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 443. Khāfī Khān also adds, 'and every day they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty.' But this, as we shall presently see, is not just.

the event of his getting rid of the Imperial general.[1] (2) Husain Ali Khān, on the failure of the first plot, was despatched to the South as *subhadar* of the Deccan, while at the same time Daud Khān Panni was secretly incited to confront him on the way and get rid of him if possible, on promise of giving him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in place of the Saiyid. (3) A more direct attempt was made on the life of the elder Saiyid Abdullah Khān under the very nose of the Emperor : at the Nauroz ceremonies the *wazīr* was to have been surrounded and assassinated or imprisoned. But unfortunately for Farrukh-siyar, this plot also miscarried like the rest ; the *wazīr* caught scent of the trap and overawed the Imperial muster on the occasion by a larger massing of troops in advance.

In the face of such persistent danger the Saiyid brothers should have been fools if they did not also make efforts to weaken, outwit, or overawe their enemies. Thus, when the Imperial officers were fighting against the rebellious Jāts, their chieftain Chaurāman was given surreptitious support by Abdullah Khān ; Husain Ali Khān discovered the secret messages to Rāja Ajit Singh, offered him suitable favours, and finally secured his alliance ; the attempt of Daud Khān resulted in Husain Ali's victory, the death of Daud, and the discovery of further incriminating *farmāns* ; and the plot to assassinate Abdullah Khān led to the *wazīr's* S. O. S. to his brother in the South, who marched post-haste to the capital with all the forces he could rally[2] and brought about a revolution. The palace was surrounded by Saiyid troops, Farrukh-siyār was deposed,

1. See Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 684. "On this occasion we hear for the first time of a plan which was adopted very frequently in this reign and afterwards. Official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Rāja Ajit Singh urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khān in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his ; and he would in addition receive other rewards."—Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 286.

2. In his haste to rush to the north, Husain Alī Khān concluded a treaty with Rāja Shāhu, advantageous to the latter, which

Rafiu-d Darajāt was raised to the throne, and finally the ex-Emperor was dragged out of the harem, insulted and brutally strangled. A few aspects of this revolution need restressing in greater detail.

i. The Fountain-head of Discord.

Irvine assigns three causes for the state of discord under Farrukh-siyar : (1) the nominations to office ; (2) the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of the Jahāndar-Shāhī nobles ; and (3) Farrukh-siyar's superstitious fears.

Regarding the first we have the following testimony from Khāfī Khān :—

'Abdullah Khān and Husain Ali Khān desired that no *mansabs* or promotions or appointments to office should be made without consulting them. The Emperor had given Mīr Jumla authority to sign his name, and repeatedly said, "The word of Mīr Jumla and the signature of Mīr Jumla are my word and my signature." *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah had given to his *dīwān*, a grain-dealer named Ratan Chand, the title of Rājah, and a *mansab* of 2000, and he had reposed in him authority in all government and ministerial matters. This man attended to nobody's business without some underhand arrangement for the benefit of Saiyid Abdullah Khān and himself. When an aspirant resorted to Mīr Jumla for a *man-*

Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify. In the hope of its ratification, however, he got a force of 10,000 Marathas, and an assurance to keep the peace in the Deccan during his absence. The terms of the treaty, as agreed to by Husain Ali, were to acknowledge Shāhu's claims to the whole of the territory formerly possessed by Shivāji, with the addition of later conquests ; to restore all the forts in the possession of the Mughals in that tract ; to allow the levy of *chauth* over the whole of the Deccan ; and to make a further payment of one-tenth, as *sardeshmukhi*. In return Shāhu was to pay a tribute of ten *lacs* of rupees, to furnish 15,000 horse, to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations from whatever quarter. 10,000 Marāthas were also to accompany Husain Ali Khān to Delhi.—Elphinstone, op. cit., p. 688.

"Although Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify this agreement," observes Irvine, "there can be little doubt that on the spot it was acted upon and in 1719, after the dethronement of Farrukh-siyar, the formal deeds were issued."—Irvine, op. cit., II, 164 ; also ibid., I, p. 407. See detailed terms of the treaty, Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, pp. 33-4.

sab, for promotion, or for an appointment to office, he, acting uprightly as the deputy of the Emperor, wrote his signature and satisfied the applicant. *This practice was contrary to all the rules of the wazīr's office*; it weakened the authority of the Saiyids, and was the cause of great annoyance to the two brothers.

'Mīr Jumla also often exhibited his own devotion to the Emperor by complaining of and blaming the Saiyids, and he persuaded him by various proofs that such high offices and ministerial authority were above the ability of the Saiyids of Barha. By various unworthy artifices he brought forward evidence of their disloyalty, and by malicious statements made in private, he succeeded in turning the heart of Farrukh-siyar against the two brothers. He repeatedly urged the Emperor to make Husain Ali and Abdullah Khān prisoners. They went out on a hunting excursion to the garden of Muhsin Khān, and by various representations, he tried to stir the Emperor up to take the bold step (of seizing them), but he did not succeed."[1]

ii. Palliatives for the Discord.

'Strong altercations arose and matters went so far that both brothers refrained from going to Court and waiting upon the Emperor; they even meditated the levying of soldiers and throwing up lines of defence round their residence.[2] Reports of these dissensions and of the dearness of grain caused uneasiness and disturbances in the cities far and near.[3]

'The Emperor called together for private consultation his well-affected nobles, who had taken part in his councils with Mīr Jumla, Khān-daurān and Muhammad Amīn Khān, *and every day he brought forward a new proposition*.... After a great deal of correspondence, and the mediation of the mother of the Emperor, who went to see *Kutbu-l Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah at his house, and satisfied him, it was agreed that the Saiyids should make their own arrangements (for their safety) in the fort, and that both brothers should then attend the *darbār*. Accordingly the men of Saiyid Abdullah and of Husain Ali were posted in various places under their direction; the brothers then went to wait upon the Emperor, to ask pardon for their offences. They complained of the Emperor's change of feeling, and, *taking off their swords, they laid them before*

1. Ibid., pp. 447-48.
2. This was actually done on occasions.
3. This sentence follows the next in Khāfī Khān's text.

him, and said, "If, through the words of detractors, suspicion of us has found its way into your gracious mind, order that we should be put to death upon the spot, or deprive us of our *mansabs* and send us to the holy temple. But to let the suggestions of calumniators and the words of mischief-making designing men operate to the insult and to the injury of the life and property of the faithful is far from being the practice of just-minded kings."

'*To put away strife, and lay the foundations of peace*, it was settled that Mīr Jumla should depart to the *suba* of Azīmābād (Patna)'....(and Husain Ali should go to the Deccan). So with all despatch Mīr Jumla was presented with his robe, and was sent off to Patna. But the disease was too deep-rooted for such palliatives to act. The irritation was suspended but never cured. Before Husain Ali Khān left, he had also told the Emperor, "*If in my absence you recall Mīr Jumla to your presence, or if my brother, Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid Abdullah, again receives similar treatment, you may rely upon my being here from the Dakhin in the course of twenty days.*"[1]

iii. Gathering Clouds.

Husain Ali Khān's threat was literally carried out under circumstances too complicated to be adequately described within our limited compass. Yet the physiognomy of the situation might be indicated by a few snatches from Khāfī Khān :—

(*a*) 'Mīr Jumla found it impossible to remain at Patna, with honour, in consequence of the excessive demands which the army made upon him for pay. He had disbursed a large sum of Government treasure, but their demands and the loud cries raised by the peasantry against their violence made him resolve to go off with all speed to Delhi....There was a general rumour that Mīr Jumla had been recalled, and that Saiyid Abdullah Khān was to be made prisoner....(But) he was coldly received, and he was severely censured (by the Emperor) for the wretched state of the people of Patna, and for having come to Court without permission.....But intelligent men looked on all this as trick and artifice to secure the imprisonment of the *wazīr*. About the same time, either by design or by accident,.....bodies of horsemen appeared in the streets and *bazārs* armed and prepared for battle. On the other side the officers of Saiyid Abdullah, with suitable forces, ready accoutred and mounted on elephants and horses, held themselves ready for a con-

1. Ibid., pp. 449-50.

flict until nightfall....At length it was deemed expedient, in order to quell the disturbance and pacify *Kutbu-l Mulk*, that the Emperor should look with anger upon Mīr Jumla, diminish his *mansab*, remove him from the *suba* of Azīmābād (Patna), and appoint him to that of the Punjab....For a long time it was the talk of strife-makers and restless men that the Emperor had sent Mīr Jumla to Sirhind and the Punjab, as a matter of policy, and that he intended to recall him. Whenever the Emperor went out into the country round the capital to hunt, and remained out for three or four months, the rumour spread from house to house, and from tent to tent, that he had come out for the purpose of making Saiyid Abdullah prisoner. On the other side, the Saiyid was suspicious, and continued to enlist soldiers, but he engaged very few who were not Saiyids or inhabitants of Barha.'[1]

(*b*) 'In these evil days there was at Court a Kashmiri of low origin, named Muhammad Murād, an idle babbler of disreputable character, who was the common talk of everybody. In the reign of Bahādur Shāh he had obtained, through the interest of Jahāndar Shāh, a mansab of 1000 and the title of *Wakālat Khān* .....He was introduced to Farrukh-siyar, and, availing himself of the opportunity,....he obtained such an ascendancy over him that in a short time he received the title of *Rukmu-d daula Itikad Khān Farrukh-Shāhi*, and an increase of his *jāgīr* from 1000 to 7000 and 10,000 horse. *He became the Emperor's confidential adviser and joined in recommending the overthrow of the rule of the Saiyids of Barha.* Not a day passed without his receiving jewels of great value, ornamental weapons, dresses or some great gift.' The Emperor seriously contemplated making him *wazīr* in place of Saiyid Abdullah. He openly expressed to Nizāmu-l Mulk and Sarbuland Khān, men worthier to occupy the place, "I know of no person more fit for the post of *wazīr* than Itiqād Khān." 'Every exalted noble of Iran and of Turan, when he heard that it was the Emperor's design to bestow the important office of *wazīr*, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to Itiqād Khān.

'In the midst of such uneasy feeling the *I'd-i fitr* occurred, and nearly 70,000 horse and foot went in the royal procession to the *I'd-gah*. There was great apprehension among all classes, in expectation that Saiyid Abdullah Khān was about to be made

1. Ibid.

prisoner. On that day Saiyid Abdullah had not with him more than four or five thousand horse.... After this Saiyid Abdullah began to enlist soldiers. In former days he entertained few except Saiyids of Barha, because he had full reliance on their courage and devotion ; but he now gave orders for the enlistment of 20,000 men of all tribes.

'When this disturbing intelligence reached *Amīru-l umara* Husain Ali in the Dakhin, his apprehensions were aroused, and he resolved to proceed to Court....day by day the dissension and rupture between Saiyid Abdullah and the Emperor grew wider..... Letters arrived from Husain Ali, representing his wish to come to Court, and complaining that the climate of the Dakhin did not agree with him.... On the other hand, letters reached him from his brother urging him to come quickly to Court.....

'At the end of *Zi-l hijja*, he left Aurangabad, and, after halting a week for making arrangements, at the beginning of *Muharram*, 1131 H., having put his artillery in order, and done his best to secure the good-will of the *amīrs* and the Mahrattas, he .... commenced his march upon Delhi .... Nearly 16,000 Mahrattas marched with him.

(*d*) Meanwhile many of the 'friends' of the Emperor also deserted to the enemy, mainly on account of Farrukh-siyar's negligence and the weariness of the Saiyids. 'Sarbuland Khān, in consequence of the resumption of his *jāgīr*, and the transfer of his prosperous lands to Mīr Jumla, and through want of money, inability to pay his soldiers, and pressing demands, had retired from service, resigned his *mansab*, and had given up his elephants, horses, and household effects to his creditors, with the intention of becoming a religious mendicant. Saiyid Abdullah Khān having heard of this, went to him and endeavoured to console him. He furnished him with money, elephants and horses, and appointed him *subādār* of Kabul, thus binding him to him by the obligation of kindness. Nizām-ul-mulk also, through the hard usage of the times favourable only to the base, was called from Murādābād with the expectation of being made *wazīr* but his office and *jāgīr* were given to Itiqād Khān. He was disgusted and burnt with rage against the worthless (favourite). Saiyid Abdullah Khān did his best to console him, and promised him the *subadārī* of Malwa. Itimādu-d-daula, who had come to Court without leave or order, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *mansab*. Saiyid Abdullah consoled him also. He likewise won over fortune seekers by rendering them assistance, and inquiring about their affairs. Khān-daurān, who

from the beginning had been reckoned as an associate of Mīr Jumla, and one of the Emperor's friends, was also brought over to the side of the minister.' Before long Ajit Singh (the Emperor's father-in-law) and Itiqād Khān also were scared away, leaving the Emperor all but alone when the storm burst.

iv. The Storm Bursts.

"It seems that the servants of the State have made disobedience of orders a habit," said Saiyid Abdullah when Mīr Jumla and M. Amīn left their respective charges without or against Imperial orders. But Husain Ali Khān's was the most flagrant act of defiance to Farrukh-siyar's express orders. For diplomatic purposes, while he still continued his march to the capital, Husain Ali declared, "If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity and rancour against us, and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire but to prove our obedience and loyalty. After paying my homage and reassuring myself about sundry matters I will quickly return to Dakhin." But when he was encamped near the *lát* of Fīroz Shāh, two or three *kos* from Delhi, he 'showed rebellious designs by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance; for it is contrary to all rule for (a subject's) drums to be beaten near the residence of the Emperor. Complaining of the Emperor, he entered his tents, and repeatedly said that *he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch.* "I will maintain the honour of my race, and care neither for loss of my *mansab* nor for royal favour."

'But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor,' continues Khāfī Khān, 'although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly and publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses. All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers; now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity ..... At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor, men lost all heart, and many taking their clue from him, went, to wait upon Saiyid Husain Ali.

'Four or five days after the arrival of Husain Ali, his brother Saiyid Abdullah made a statement of his brother's grievances, and said that if Rāja Jai Singh, the disturbing spirit, were sent home

to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor's personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain Ali's adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all might be settled to the satisfaction of the two brothers.

'The poor dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, *granted the demands of the Saiyids*. He consented to give over the entire control of the appointments to Saiyid Abdullah, the other Saiyids of Barha, and their supporters; Itiqād Khān and other of his favourites were to be dismissed.

'On the 3rd *Rabiu-l ákhair* Rājādhirāj (Jai Singh), under an order which did not allow of a day's delay, left Delhi for Amber, his home .... On the 5th, Saiyad Abdullah and Mahārāja Ajit Sing, with their followers, entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor's men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him or near the gates of the fortress, except Itiqād Khān....., whose absence or presence made no difference, and some helpless attendants and eunuchs.

'*Amiru-l umara* Husain Ali, with regal pomp and display, mounted his horse, and entered the fort, around which his army, and that of the Mahrattas, had taken post . . . . . Saiyid Abdullah Khān went to the distracted Emperor Farrukh-siyar, along with Ajit Singh, and poured forth his grievances. He said, "In return for all our services to you and your ancestors, we have received nothing from you, ungrateful King, but evil thoughts and suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proofs of our words, *farmāns* which you sent to the irreligious Daud Khān Afghan, and other miscreants in the Dakhin, directing them to oppose and slay your faithful servant (Husain Ali Khān) . . .[1] Our fears and suspicions will not be removed until the control over all the great offices shall be placed in our hands."

'The bewildered Emperor made some excuses and promises; but the talk went on to a great length, and many bitter and offensive words were said. The Emperor got angry and was unable to restrain himself further. He first said a few words condemning Itiqād Khān, who was in fact that prime cause of the mischief,

1. Similar *farmāns* had also been addressed to Rājas Ajit Singh and Shāhu.

and he then censured Saiyid Abdullah. Itiqad Khān made some foolish statements, excusing himself; but both he and the emperor had lost all control over themselves. Saiyid Abdullah then interfered, and, abusing Itiqād Khān, he allowed him no retort, but ordered him to be turned out of the fortress . . . . . All round and about the fortress the cries of strife arose, and the Emperor, feeling his reverse of fortune, went into the female apartments . . . . That night all the city was full of dread and helplessness. The soldiers of the two brothers were posted fully armed in all the streets and markets, and no one knew what was passing in the fort, or what would happen.'[1]

The end of the tragedy has already been described. Two more Princes (Rafīud-d Darajāt and Rafīu-d Daula) tumbled from the throne into the grave in one single year (1719), and a fourth was crowned, viz. Muhammad Shāh. We must now turn to the fall of the King-makers under this more fortunate Prince.

Fall of the Saiyids : 1720.

It has been already related that Saiyid Husain Ali Khān was murdered in the Deccan, and Abdullah Khān, rankling under this calamity, attempted to set up Sultan Ibrāhīm as Emperor in place of Muhammad Shāh ; the failure of this *coup* proved his ruin also. Both these events took place in the year 1720, i.e. within less than two years of the palace revolution that put the Saiyids in actual power : Farrukh-siyar was dethroned in February 1719 ; Husain Ali Khān was murdered in October 1720 ; and Abdullah Khān was defeated and imprisoned in November 1720. The so-called *Dictatorship*, therefore, shrinks to an actual duration of twenty unsettled months ! During the rest of the period 1712-19 other counsels than those of these *Dictators* prevailed with the Emperors. The prestige acquired by the Saiyid brothers on account of their deposition of Jahāndar Shāh, the enthronement of Farrukh-siyar and his three successors in the course of a single year, and the military backing they had during the larger part of their tenure, have

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 468-78.

served to bloat their reputation for good or evil. But in reality, Abdullah Khān the wazīr, spent most of his time in the pursuit of his own pleasures[1]; so much so, that he did not even attend personally to State business for months together, and had to be warned frequently against such delinquency. His agent Ratan Chand, no doubt, had a considerable hold upon the administration; but even this was challenged, often not unsuccessfully, by the King's favourites: Mīr Jumla and others practically neutralised his power. Husain Ali Khān, the *amīru-l umara*, with his fiery and irascible temper, only flashed like lightning behind the clouds of intrigue. The two brothers, kept up a dignity that indicated strength and self-confidence, and maintained a nonchalance towards all others that did not affect their profit and status. The swiftness of their fall showed the essential weakness of their position, which was being undermined at the very moment they were feeling themselves most unassailable.

The circumstances of the collapse of the Saiyid regime are bound up with the rise of a new star, viz. Nizāmu-l Mulk, and will be described in the next section. Here it is appropriate to close with the meed of praise the critical and not very sympathetic Khāfī Khān thought it his duty all the same to bestow on the two Saiyids:

'In the course of this narrative', he writes candidly, 'upon some points the pen has been used to condemn the two brothers, the martyrs of misfortune, and this cannot now be rectified; but in atonement I will now write a few words upon the excellence and beauty of character, the love of justice, and the liberality of both brothers . . . . . Both the brothers were distinguished in their day for their generosity and leniency towards all mankind. The inhabitants of those countries which were innocent of contumacy

1. Khāfī Khān relates, 'Siayid Abdu-llah Khān was very fond of women, and the common talk was that two or three of the late King's (Farrukh-siyar's) beauties pleased him, and he took them to himself, although for the gratification of his . . . . desires, he had seventy or eighty beautiful women.'—Ibid., p. 481. See also Irvine, op. cit., I, pp. 416-17.

and selfishness made no complaints of the rule of the Saiyids. In liberality and kindness to learned men and to the needy, and in protection of men of merit, Husain Ali Khān excelled his elder brother, and was the Hatim suited to his day. Numbers owed their comfort to the cooked food and raw grain which he gave away. At the time of the scarcity at Aurangabad, he appropriated a large sum of money and a great quantity of grain to supply the wants of the poor and of widows. The reservoir at Aurangabad was begun by him, . . . which, in summer when water is scarce, relieves the sufferings of the inhabitants. In their native country of Barha they built *sarais*, bridges and other buildings for the public benefit. Saiyid Abdu-llah was remarkable for his patience, endurance, and wide sympathy.[1]

A few significant facts revealing the character and policy of the Saiyids might also be adduced :—(1) Under their influence the *Jiziya* was abolished at the accession of Farrukh-siyar. An attempt was made by their rivals at Court a few years later to reimpose it, which they did for a time, but so long as the Saiyids were in power this could not be permanent.[2] (2) Rāja Ajit Singh was transformed from a rebel into a strong ally and induced to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh-siyar. His alienation later was the fruit of Farrukh-siyar's own folly. (3) Likewise, the Marathas, under the influence of Husain Ali Khān, were won over by the grant of their utmost demands of *chaut* and *sardeshmukhi*. If Farrukh-siyar had been tactful and wise they could have been secured as allies of the Empire. But they became the instruments of his destruction in the hands of the Saiyids because of Farrukh-siyar's own ineptitude. (4) Abdullah Khān's sympathy with the rebellious Jāts has already been mentioned (5) In the first year of Farrukh-siyar's reign, there took place a clash between Hindus and Muslims at Ahmedabad :

'It happened that in the night in which the Hindus perform the ceremony of Huli (*holi*), one of them was going to do so in his own house-yard, a small part of which was connected with some

1. Ibid., pp. 519-20.
2. See, Irvine, op. cit., I, pp. 246, 334, 404, and 11, p. 103.

Mussulman's house, when the latter objected to it. The Hindu having pleaded that every man was master in his own house, paid no regard to the objection, and finished his ceremony. The very next day the Mussulman, turning the Hindu's argument against himself brought a cow within that very yard, and killed her for the purpose of distributing beef to the poor, as it was the anniversary of the death of the saint Ali. This action brought upon them all the Hindus of that quarter, who having overpowered the Mussulmans, obliged them to fly for their lives, and to conceal themselves in their houses. Transported by religious fury, the Hindus sought out the butcher who had slaughtered the cow; but not finding him, they dragged his son, an innocent youth of fourteen, into that very yard, and killed him. The Mussulmans, shocked at the outrage, created an outcry throughout the city, and drew after them multitudes of the Mussulman inhabitants, among whom were some thousands of Daud Khān Peny's (i.e. of the governor of Ahmadabad) Afghan soldiers. The whole now repaired to the *kazy* (the judge), who did not choose to meddle in the affair when he knew that the governor had taken side with the Hindus, and shut his door. This only tended to incense the Mussulmans the more, who carried away by their fury, and possibly urged on by the *kazy* himself, demolished and burned his gate, and having seized his person, they proceeded to set fire to the shops in the marketplace, and to many Hindu houses. They would have gone on burning and destroying, had they not been opposed by one Capur Chand, a jewel merchant, much in favour with the governor, and a violent opponent of the Mussulmans. This man, seeing his own house in danger, armed himself and friends, shut the gate and defended it. He placed musketeers over the gate, opened loop-holes through the parapets, and in the ensuing fray numbers of lives were lost. The disturbance continued for some days, all the shops were shut, and business was at a stand. At length the tumult subsided, the Mussulmans who thought themselves aggrieved, deputed three persons of character to carry their complaints to Court. These were the very men that had been selected on a former occasion to manage an accommodation between the Mussulmans on the one side and the governor and Hindus on the other. They were Shāh Abdul-vahid, Shāh Mahomed Ali (an eminent preacher), and Abdul-azīz. Daud Khān (the governor) who found himself identified in this affair deputed Capur Chand, after having put into his hand a narrative of the whole transaction, signed by the governor, the *kazy*, the commander of the troops, and all the crown officers, which *certified that the Hindus were not in the wrong, and that the Mussulmans were the aggressors.* As soon as the three deputies arrived at the capital they were cast into pri-

son *through the influence of Ratan Chand*, who found means to stifle their complaints. And God only knows how long these innocent persons had remained in confinement, had not Khwaja Mahomed Jafer, a dervish, chanced to hear of them and use his interest in their behalf. This holy man was no less a person than brother to Khān Daurān, one of the principal nobles of the Court; a pious man, who having devoted himself to God, had renounced the world and lived retired. It was in his retreat that he heard of *Ratan Chand's cruel partiality*, and in consequence he requested his brother to procure the release of those unfortunate persons.'[1]

Muhammadan writers attribute the corruption of the Saiyids to the influence of Ratan Chand. Speaking of their faults, Khāfī Khān writes, 'These were all attributable to the evil influence of Ratan Chand, his *dīwān*, who having been raised to a position above his capacity, laboured hard to annoy the people.'[2]

III. NIZĀMU-L MULK

Parties at Court.

The overthrow of the Saiyids was due to the intrigues of a party at Court and outside that worked incessantly against them. This opposition was mainly comprised of foreigners—nobles and adventurers from Iran and Turan—who looked upon the Saiyids as too

1. *Siyar-ul Mutakherin*, pp. 65-7 (Briggs).

2. But this malign influence of Ratan Chand does not seem to have affected Husain Ali's integrity so much, after all, if the following incident narrated by Khāfī Khān himself is any indication :—

'Mulla Abdu-l Ghafur Bhora, chief of the merchants in the port of Surat, died leaving a *kror* and several *lacs* of rupees in cash and effects. Although he left heirs, Haidar Kuli Khān, who was then *mutasaddi* of the port, in order to show his zeal and his desire to please the Emperor Farrukh-siyar, seized upon all the property, and made a report to Court. Just at this time the change of government occurred which has been related, and Abdu-l Hai, one of the sons, went to Court to complain, and he stated the case to the two brothers. He offered to pay fifteen *lacs* of rupees for the release of the property, besides the sums which he promised Ratan Chand and other of the officials'. Husain Ali Khān to the suppliants' great surprise and relief one morning called his *dīwān* and asked him 'to send for Abdu-l Hai, and to remove all claim to the

Indianised, pro-Hindu, and inclined to heresy. Owen states, "The Seiads of Barha, though of alleged exotic origin were old inhabitants of India, and prided themselves on being Hindostanees. As such their sympathies would naturally be with the natives, rather than with the Mogul conquering class of foreigners. And although they were Mussulmans, they were also *Shias*, another cause of estrangement between them and the Moguls, who were mostly *Soonees*, and a strong ground for aversion to Aurangzib's reactionary and persecuting policy, and for rallying what I may call nationalist sentiment to their side under the banner of toleration and political equality, as established by Akbar."[1] Irvine refers to a greater multiplicity of Parties at Court : (1) The Mughal, Turānī, or Irānī "formed the backbone of the army of occupation. Their numbers were increased still further during the twenty-five years or more, from 1680 to 1707, during which Alamgir waged incessant war in the Dakhin, with the local Muhammadan States and then with the Mahrattas."[2] (2) The Afghans or Pathāns 'had a talent for forming permanent settlements in India, which neither the Mughal nor the Persian has displayed ;..... (and) the Afghans were much prized as valiant soldiers. (But) their weakness was too great a love of money, and too great a readiness to desert one employer for

property, and to present him with a robe and a horse, *without his having to spend a dām or diram, and without having to apply to any other person.*'—E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 519-21. Irvine also points out how by the intercession of Saiyid Abdullah, who "was affable and helpful, also, for a wonder, most prompt in action," the East India Company's embassy to Farrukh-siyar succeeded expeditiously, "and still more wonderful, *the Wazīr accepted no present.*"—Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 99.

1. Owen, *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*, pp. 137-38.

2. They were "fighting men from the fatherland of the imperial house." If from north of the Oxus they were Turānī Mughals, if from south of it they were Irānī Mughals, all foreign Musalmans coming from beyond Afghanistan being vaguely styled 'Mughals'. Although the former of these were *Sunnis* and the latter mostly *Shia*; "as against the Hindustanis the two sections were always ready to combine."—Irvine, op. cit., I, pp. 272-73.

another, if he made a higher bid. They were too rough and illiterate to obtain much distinction in civil life." During Shāh Jahān's reign they were definitely discouraged; but under Aurangzeb they again found favour, "those nobles who had Afghan soldiers receiving the most consideration." (3) Then there were other foreigners, serving in small numbers, like the Arabs, Habshis, Rumis, and Farangis (Europeans). "Eunuchs were generally of Habshi race, and the chief police officer of Delhi was frequently a Habshi." (4) "In opposition to the Mughal or foreign, was the home-born or Hindustānī party. It was made up of Muhammadans born in India, many of them descended in the second or third generation from foreign immigrants. Men like the Sayyids of Barha, for instance, whose ancestors had settled in India many generations before, came, of course, under the description of Hindustani or *Hindustān-za* (*Indian-born*). To this class also belonged all the Rajput and Jat chiefs, and other powerful Hindu landowners. Naturally, too, the very numerous and industrious body of Hindus, who filled all the subordinate offices of a civil nature, attached themselves to the same side. Punjab Khatris were very numerous in this official class; most of the rest were Agarwal Baniyas or Kāyaths. It also comprised many Muhammadans from Kashmir, who seem to have rivalled the Hindus as secretaries and men of business."[1]

But whatever the other distinctions among the parties, the most important was the cross-division into "Emperor's friends and Wazīr's friends."[2] We have already witnessed the interplay of these two factions during their incubating period under Farrukh-siyar. The palace revolutions of King-making were the achievements of the latter with all their imposing array of forces; whereas, the former, to all appearances less impressive to start with, were the authors of the more effective and real revolution that was implied in the fall of the Saiyids. This triumph of the King's "friends"

1. Ibid., pp. 273-75.
2. Ibid., p. 275.

over the "King-makers" is one of the most fascinating stories recorded in history. The authors of it were Mīr Jumla, Itiqād Khān, Khān Daurān, Muhammad Amīn Khān (Itimādu-d daula), the mother of Muhammad Shāh, and Muhammad Shāh the Emperor himself. But *qui bono?* By all their combined activities one man, whose name is not mentioned among theirs, benefited most. That man rides like a colossus over the chaotic history of the Later Mughals that still remains to be told. He was none other than CHIN KILICH KHĀN, ASAF JHA, NIZĀMU-L MULK, son of the blind Mughal noble Ghāzī-ud-din Khān Fīrūz Jang,[1] who was first governor of the Deccan and then of Gujarat.

Nizāmu-l Mulk's Antecedents.

"Perhaps the most important person in the group of men that rose into the very front rank upon Farrukh-siyar's accession," writes Irvine, "was Nizāmu-l mulk."[2] He was nearly forty-three (lunar) years of age at that time (1712). He had already distinguished himself, both as a soldier and as a provincial governor, under Alamgīr. But from his appointment to the six *subhas* of the Deccan, in 1713, to his death, thirty-five years later, in 1748, he occupied a position of pre-eminence which he never lost.

His ancestors had come from Samarkand. His grandfather, Khwaja Abid, took service under Aurangzeb when he was about to start for the conquest of the Pea-cock throne. Nearly thirty years later he found himself governor of Zafarabad Bidar, and died, on 30th January 1687, of a wound received during the siege of Golkonda. Six years earlier he had received the title of *Kūlich Khān*. His eldest son, Mir Shahabu-d din, likewise, rose to great eminence in the reign of Aurangzeb. He first made his mark by his loyalty and heroism during the trying days of Prince Akbar's rebellion in Rajputana. He was also with Aurangzeb during the quarter century of his arduous and desperate warfare in the Deccan. He was conspicuous in the capture of Haidarabad and Deogarh,

1. Nizāmu-l Mulk's mother was the daughter of Shāh Jahān's *Wazīr Sadullah Khān*.

2. Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 268.

and was sent against Sambhāji in 1687-88. He pursued the Marathas into Malwa in 1703-4. But after the death of Aurangzeb (1707) he took no part in the war of succession; the Turānīs generally were not in favour with Bahādur Shāh. Hence, Ghāzīu-d din Fīrūz Jang, as he was then called, was transferred by that Emperor to Gujarat, as leaving him in the Deccan was considered too dangerous. He died at Ahmadabad on 8th December 1710. During the last twenty years of his life, Ghāzīu-d din was totally blind, yet continued in active service—a unique instance! His rank was 7,000 *zāt* and he left behind him a legacy of "1½ lakhs of Rupees in bills on bankers, 133,000 gold *muhars*, 25,000 *hun* (gold) and *nim-paoli* (gold), 17,000 gold *paoli*, 400 *adheli* (half) and 8,000 whole silver *paoli*, 140 horses, 300 camels, 400 oxen and 38 elephants."

Mir Kamru-d din Ghāzīu-d din's son, was born on 11th August 1671. He entered service in his thirteenth year, and received the title of Chin Kilich Khān in 1690-1. At the time of Aurangzeb's death, he was governor of Bijapur. Bahādur Shāh appointed him *subhādār* of Oudh and *faujdār* of Gorakpur, (Dec. 1707). His title now was *Khān Daurān Bahādur*, and his rank 6000 *zāt*, 6000 horse. On his father's death he also received his titles and rank of 7000 *zāt* and horse. After a period of comparative obscurity, on account of his own cold or hostile attitude[1] towards Bahādur Shāh and his successor Jahāndar Shāh, he again rose to prominence under Farrukhsiyar (1712). First he was made Khān Khānan and then received the title of *Nizāmu-l Mulk Bahādur Fath Jang*. As a reward for his services at the time of Jahāndar's overthrow, he was entrusted with the government of the Deccan. But, suspecting his ambitions, only two years later, he was superseded in his southern charge by Husain Ali Khān himself. Nizāmu-l Mulk was then posted to Murādābād, whence he was recalled to Court by Farrukh-siyar during the days of the crisis. Being disappointed in his expectations from that Emperor, and owing

1. "He was once so disgusted with the scanty notice which the government was taking of him that he was dissuaded from resigning on the importunities of the then Vazīr, Munīm Khān. But on the Emperor confiscating his father's property, he resigned all his titles and retired from active service."—Kamdar and Shah, op. cit., pp. 221-22.

to the suddenness of the *coup de main* of Husain Ali Khān, he thought it expedient to cast in his lot with the Saiyids for the time being. At first they thought of sending him to Bihar, in order to keep him at a distance from the capital, but later they decided, as the better arrangement, to keep him in Malwa, where he would be, as it were, between two fires : the relations of the Saiyids being governors on either side, in the Deccan and at Akbarabad. "Remembering how short his tenure of the Dakhin had been, Nizām-ul-mulk made his acceptance of Malwa conditional on a solemn agreement that he should not be removed again. The promise was given and the Nawab started for Ujjain on 24th *Rabi* II, 1131 H. (15th March 1719), a few days after the accession of Rafī-ud-darajat, taking the precaution to remove the whole of his family and possessions, thus leaving no hostages behind him in the Sayyids' hands."[1] Khāfī Khān adds, 'and there accompanied him more than a thousand companions, *mansabdārs* and *jāgīrdārs*, who were poor and sick at heart with the unkindness shown by the Saiyids and through pay being in arrears. (Once in Malwa), Nizāmu-l Mulk busied himself in collecting soldiers and artillery, which are necessary for governing the world and keeping it in order. He gave 500 horses to Muhammad Ghiyas Khān for his Mughal fraternity, and turned them into horsemen. He lent large sums of money to....others, binding them to himself by the bonds of debt and kindness.'[2]

Governor of Malwa, 1719.

These bellicose activities of the Nizām aroused the suspicions of the watchful Saiyids, and Husain Ali Khān called for an explanation. The wily Nawāb replied that kingdoms could not be governed with rose-water. He pointed out that people who had never been in Malwa, could not be expected to know its condition ; but Husain Ali Khān having passed through that province lately must know the facts well. "The Mahrattas, with over fifty thousand horsemen, were harrying it ; if troops

1. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 17.
2. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 488.

in large numbers were not entertained, what hope was there of defending the country from their ravages?" For this reason he had added to his resources in men and *matériel.*

This explanation, however, failed to satisfy Husain Ali Khān, and a *farmān* was issued to him, against all previous assurances, recalling him from Malwa. It was stated therein that, for the protection of the Deccan, Husain Ali Khān should himself take charge of that province, and that Nizāmu-l Mulk could make his own choice out of Akbarabad, Allahabad, Multan, and Burhanpur. "This was a distinct breach of faith and no doubt confirmed Nizāmu-l-mulk in the belief that he was to be destroyed." Confirmation of this danger also came to him from other quarters: 'After the accession of Muhammad Shāh,' according to Khafī Khān, 'letters were sent by him and by his mother, Maryam Makāni, through the medium of Itimādu-d daula Mahammad Amīn Khān, to Nizāmu-l-Mulk, informing him of the constraint used by the Saiyids was so strict that he had only liberty to go to service on the Sabbath, and that he had no power of giving any orders; that the Saiyids, in their futile scheming, proposed, after settling the affairs of Nīkū-siyar and Giridhar, *to get rid of Nizāmmu-l Mulk* and then to do as they pleased; and that they (Muhammad Shāh and his mother) had full reliance on Nizāmu-l Mulk, that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited.'

The Conflict.

Khāfī Khān continues, 'Nizāmu-l Mulk had employed the interval of eight or nine months in collecting seven or eight thousand horse and materials of war. *He was cautious and watchful, and he had formed the design of conquering the Dakhin, of setting free that land of treasure and of soldiers.* He now received notice from his *vakils* that the Saiyids had sent officers to summon him to the presence. But before these he had received letters from the Emperor and from private friends, telling him there was no time to be lost, and that *what he had to do he must do quickly.*'[1]

1. E. & D. op. cit., VII, pp. 488-89.

Meanwhile, under the ostensible ground of fetching his family from Aurangabad, but really to chastise Nizāmu-l Mulk, Husain Ali Khān despatched Saiyid Dilāwar Ali Khān with a large force to the south. At the same time, he ordered his nephew Saiyid Alam Ali Khān, who was at Aurangabad to get ready for an offensive in that direction.

'Nizāmu-l Mulk perceived that the brothers had the fixed intention of overthrowing the royal house and of removing the *Khalifa* of the world. Seeing that there were no other means of safety, he consulted with his friends, and setting out from Ujjain, he made three marches towards Agra, and then turned to the Dakhin.'[1] "What man is there holding my high station," he said, "who would not defend his honour? Victory lies hidden from us, it is the gift of the Most High, and is not gained by the greatness of a host. *I swear by the God that made me, that they bring all Hindustan against me and I will still resist undaunted.* If longer life has been decreed me, no harm will arrive; if the hour of departure is at hand, nothing can avail me."[2]

With this determination this man of destiny carried everything before him. By 23rd May 1720, Asirgarh and Burhānpur fell into his hands. 'Just before he got possession of Burhānpur, the children and dependants of Saifu-d din Ali Khān, brother of Husain Ali Khān, had come to that place on their way to Delhi. They were greatly alarmed when Nizāmu-l Mulk became master of the city. Some of his friends counselled him to seize upon their valuables (but he nobly refused). . . . and (to their great relief and surprise) sent an escort to guard them as far as the Nerbadda.'[3] But his most decisive victories were against the two formidable forces that had been directed against him by Husain Ali Khān. The details of these encounters, interesting as they are, may not detain us. For considerations of space we must state only the bare result: (1) On the 19th June 1720 Nizāmu-l Mulk encountered and overthrew Dilawar Ali Khān at Pandhar "between Burhānpur and the Narmada."[4] Despite the characteristic heroism of the Rajputs in the army the Saiyid forces met with disaster. Nizāmu-l Mulk

1. Ibid., p. 490.
2. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 21.
3. Khāfī Khān, loc. cit., p. 490.
4. This engagement is also known as the battle of Khandwa.

was not even wounded. His officers asked for orders to pursue, but he refused. "He collected the wounded near his tent and sent them surgeons, healing salves and clothes. For some he provided horses, for some palankins, for some litters. On their recovery he asked them to enlist with him. As their master Husain Ali Khān was still alive, they refused; their road expenses were then paid and they departed. The body of Dilāwar Ali Khān (who died in action) was decently buried; those of the Hindus were burnt under the supervision of Rāja Indar Singh. Nizāmu-l Mulk and his troops returned to Barhānpur."[1]

When the news of this disaster in Khāndesh reached the Saiyid brothers on 5th July 1720 they were both shocked and perplexed. But resourceful diplomacy suggested a shameless course: '*farmān* was issued to Nizāmu-l Mulk, accompanied by a letter from Husain Ali Khān. Therein it was stated that Dilāwar Ali Khān had been directed to go to Aurangabad to escort the writer's family to Hindustan. But, pretending orders, for which there was no foundation the said Dilāwar Ali Khān had interfered with Nizāmu-l Mulk, and, the Lord be praised! had only received what he deserved. Several persons led by love of mischief-making and devilish devices (*shaitanat*), had written untruly of several matters in a manner likely to sow discord between them. *Alas! that such suspicions should arise between old friends!* Envious persons, by sowing dissension, hope to open a way for themselves.' But the writer, knowing your loyalty, intervened.' "By this means, I am thankful to say, your enemies were cast down and your friends made happy. His Majesty has graciously resolved to issue to you a patent for the government for the Dakhin. Accept my congratulations. Alam Ali Khān, my (adopted) son, and my family propose to return to this country; kindly furnish them with an escort and see that they are not molested on the way."'[2]

(2) As a matter of fact, as we have already stated, Alam Ali Khān had been instructed if possible to get rid of the "old wolf." Nizāmu-l Mulk played a similar ruse with Alam Ali. He pretended that he was disbanding his army and proceeding on pilgrimage to Mecca. But, on 20th July 1720, he pitched his camp in a precipitous position full of thorny scrub close to Seogaom, in *subah* Berar. Owing to heavy rains and Maratha plundering, prices

1. The *Ahwal-ul-Khawagin*, cited by Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 36.

rose so high that only two to four pounds of flour sold for a rupee. 'The smell even of grass or grain did not reach the four-footed animals.' On 9th August Nizāmu-l Mulk moved his army to a place two or three *kos* from Bālāpur. The battle began the next day. Alam Ali Khān was wounded, surrounded and beheaded. At a critical moment when his elephant turned tail, this brave strippling of a Saiyid (he was only 22) 'dripping with blood from his wounds, turned his face towards the army of Nizāmu-l Mulk, and cried out that the elephant had turned his back, but he had not. All his own arrows were exhausted, but such of the enemy's arrows as struck his face, or his body, or his *howda* he quickly pulled out and turned. He received so many wounds in succession that he sank under them; and sacrificed his life for his uncles.'[1]

Husain Ali marches to his Doom.

Only one course now remained open. Leaving Abdullah Khān in charge of the capital and the north, Husain Ali Khān marched south taking the Emperor with him. But there was one thorn in his side. Muhammad Amīn Khān, Itimādu-d daula, was a problem difficult to manage. He was a cousin of Nizāmu-l Mulk, and virtual leader of the Mughals at Court and in the army. He was too dangerous to be left behind, and equally precarious in the camp. To allay suspicions Muhammad Amīn Khān talked loudly in *darbār* of the baseness of Nizāmu-l Mulk's conduct and his wickedness generally; yet, in reality, not a moment passed but he was busy intriguing against his political adversaries, the Saiyids. Husain Ali, in order to humour him, always addressed him as "Respected Uncle." But despite all this cunning on either side, a plot was being hatched, all the way from Agra, for the destruction of Husain Ali Khān. The chief conspirators were Muhammad Amīn Khān, Haidar Kuli Khān (chief of the artillery), Abdu-l Ghaffur and Mīr Jumla. Saiyid M. Amīn, Saadat Khān, new *faujdār* of Biana, was also admitted into the secret. A willing tool was found in Mir Haidar Beg Dughlat who though a

1. Khāfī Khān, op. cit., pp. 499-500. "The battles of Khandwa and Balapur were turning points in the history of the Deccan. They established the supremacy of the Nizām and his family there"—Kamdar and Shah, op. cit., p. 217.

Saiyid, was bought over to do the deed. Muhammad Shāh the Emperor and his mother patronised this gang with the hope of securing their liberation from the galling yoke of the King-makers.

Husain Ali Khān had been warned of this danger by discerning friends. But with the nonchalance of a Julius Caesar he only replied: "Who is there who could raise a hand against me, what plot is there, what reason for my assassination?"[1]

On the appointed day Muhammad Amīn Khān affected illness. At about mid-day Husain Ali Khān was returning, in his palankin, from the Imperial presence. On his way his prospective assassin accosted him with "A complaint! a complaint!" and drew from his sleeve a scroll supposed to be a petition. When the Bakhshī, who seemed to know him, called him near, the complainant loudly cried imprecations upon Muhammad Amīn Khān for alleged ill-treatment. As Saiyid Husain Ali leaned on one side towards his *hooka*, at the same time reading the petition, Haidar Beg, the pretentious plaintive, stabbed him with what looked like a butcher's knife. Though the assassin was cut down on the spot, the great Saiyid too succumbed. "In the Indian Karbala a second Husain was martyred by a second Yazid."[2] (8th October 1720).

On the day following this crime, a formal *darbār* was held by Muhammad Shāh. "In the interval Muhammad Amīn Khān had posted pickets of Mughals to arrest deserters, and instructions were given to the armed villagers to stop any one who tried to leave the camp. In this way many men, though partisans of the Sayyids and anxious to escape, were forced to remain. Muhammad Amīn Khān went among them in person to try and secure their adhesion." Several nobles

1. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 55.

2. Ibid., p. 66. The place of the murder appears to have been Kareli (Ghat Karbali?) 45 miles s. w. of Fathpur Sikri.—See ibid., p. 58 and n; also p. 68.

laid their offerings at the Emperor's feet, and Muhammad Amīn Khān himself was promoted to the rank of 8000 *zāt* and loaded with gifts. Khān-daurān, although he had sat on the fence to save himself from the odium of either party, was also given the same rank. Kamru-d din Khān (M. Amīn's son), Haidar Kuli Khān, and Saadat Khān respectively received ranks of 7000, 6000, and 5000.

The last of Abdullah Khān : 1720-22.

Saiyid Abdullah Khān's reactions to these happenings have already been described in detail. He tried the old game of trying to set up a new Prince on the throne. This resulted in a tragedy both to himself and his protégé : both made their exit from life through the prison. Abdullah Khān died in 1722, and Sultan Ibrāhīm in 1746, two years before Muhammad Shāh's death. Here we must resume the story of Nizāmu-l Mulk. The death of the Saiyid brothers rid him of his greatest rivals, though the guilt of their blood was on hands other than his. He was no party to any of the intrigues that proved them fatal ; though he might have been an interested but passive witness. "With the disappearance of the Sayyids," writes Irvine, "the story attains a sort of dramatic completeness."[1] The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, with pardonable exaggeration, notes, 'There was some inequality in the merits of these two celebrated persons. It was universally acknowledged that Hussein Ali Khān, the younger, was superior to his elder brother in many qualifications, which bountiful heaven had bestowed on him. In actual power he excelled all the princes of his time, nay, he surpassed several that bore a character in history, for having bestowed kingdoms and crowns, and conquered empires ; but neither his power nor his life was destined to endure long. If they had it is probable that the times which we have now the mortification to behold, would not be so humiliating as they have proved, nor had the honour of Hindustan been thrown to the winds nor the Indian

1. Ibid., p. 101 n.

nobility and gentry been reduced to that deplorable condition, to which we now see them brought.'[1]

Rise of Nizāmu-l Mulk, 1720.

The Saiyids had fallen in their rivalry with the Mughal or Court party, of which the principal leaders were Muhammad Amīn Khān, Haidar Kuli Khān, Saadat Ali Khān, and Nizāmu-l Mulk. The overthrow of the former, therefore, meant the triumph of the latter. Some of the promotions of these noblemen, following the murder of Husain Ali Khān, have already been noted. The final redistribution of offices came after the victory against Abdullah Khān.

According to Ghulam Husain,[2] the triumph was celebrated with great éclat: 'The ceremonial of the emperor's entry into his capital was fixed for Saturday, the 22nd of *Moharrem*, in the year 1133 H. (2nd Nov. 1721), which took place with suitable pomp, amidst the mingled sound of shouts, of trumpets, and kettledrums. The emperor's own suite was followed and preceded by lofty elephants, resplendent with gold and silver trappings, by beautiful slave boys and young men clad in cloth of gold, by a gold throne, and by sedans of jewel-work. Embroidered ensigns and estreamers, equally superb and elegant, were borne by crowds of servants shining in gold and silver tissue that shed a lustre around them. All these were interspersed among bodies of troops that marched in battle-array, accompanied by bands of commanders and noblemen, all superbly mounted, and conspicuous by the brightness of their arms and by the richness of their apparel. A number of beautiful horses, with saddles enamelled in gold and jewel-work, announced from afar the emperor's approach; and thus, this prince, adorned by all the graces of youth and beauty, made his appearance mounted on a gigantic elephant, and seated upon a throne that literally blazed with a profusion of jewels and rich ornaments. He directed his march through the Ajmer gate, sprinkling the way with handfuls of gold, and enriching by a liberality, long forgotten, a multitude of needy people, who had long waited for this auspicious moment. He arrived at the imperial palace at the fifth hour of the day, where the empress mother, with a number of princesses and ladies of distinc-

1. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 128 (Briggs).
2. Ibid., pp. 184-85.

tion, waited for him at the inner door of the female apartments. The empress mother holding a large plate of gold and silver, filled with new coins of several kinds, and also with a variety of gems and precious jewels, poured the whole as an offering over his head; and after wishing him a long and prosperous reign, she took him by the hand, and introduced him with the imperial sanctuary.'

On the 25th November 1720 a grand *darbār* was held in the *Dīwān-ikhās*. The recipients of rewards worthy of mention were naturally the participators in the plot against the Saiyids. The brother of Husain Ali's murderer was elevated to the high rank of 4,000; Saadat Alī Khān, *faujdār* of Biana, was entrusted with the Government of Agra; and Muhammad Khān Bangash, who deserted Saiyid Abdullah, was given charge of the Government of Allahabad. Muhammad Amīn Khān, the soul of the conspiracy, was made *wazīr* or Prime-Minister. But unfortunately he did not long survive this official revolution. He died, on the 27th January 1721, after a short illness of four or five days. During his earlier days he had earned a notoriety for injustice and oppression of the poor. "But strange to say, from the day of signal victory over the Sayyids, when the sky had cleared and no enemy remained, he entirely changed his ways. Men of both the city and the country had dreaded the day of his accession to supreme power. To their surprise, his conduct was opposed to his previous habits; he treated everybody fairly and kindly. Even some of the Sayyids who had deserved punishment were spared. But as far as Muhammad Shāh was concerned, he had obtained no benefit by the change of minister; and as one writer says, '*He found over again the same viands on his table.*'[1]

The jealousy between Khān-daurān and Qamaru-d din Khān, the late *wazīr's* son, resulted in the invitation to the vacant office being sent to a third and distant candidate, namely, Nizāmu-l Mulk.

1. Irvine, op. cit., II, pp. 104-5.

Becomes Wazīr, 1722.

Nizāmu-l Mulk, on the appointment of Md. Amīn Khān to the office of *wazīr*, had wisely kept aloof from the capital. He had preferred to enjoy virtual independence to the doubtful advantages of the Premier's office. He had accordingly proceeded to the south and engaged himself in the conquest of the Carnatik and Mysore, and was making good his position against the Marathas. But when the call came from the capital, he felt it his duty to respond. On the 20th February 1722 the *wazīr*-ship was conferred upon him with the usual gifts of robes, jewels, a ring, a jewelled pen-case, etc.

But this was no bed of roses; rather, it was that of Procrustes. The Emperor was a mere plaything in the hands of his low favourites like Koki (a clever woman of no status) and Hāfiz Khidmatgār Khān (a eunuch of the palace). Between these and envious nobles like Samsamu-d daula Khān-daurān, Nizāmu-l Mulk found himself thwarted at every step. Aurangzeb was his model in all things, and he was ambitious to restore the administration to the condition it was in under him. He tried to abolish the system of *peshkash* which had dwindled into a form of dignified bribery, and to remedy the excessive assignment of revenue-paying lands to Princes, Princesses, and nobles, which entailed a great loss to the treasury. "He also commented on the unfitness of the men appointed to high rank while old and deserving officers were in want of the necessaries of life." But all his well-meant efforts proved not merely fruitless, but resulted in his estrangement from the Emperor and the nobles. 'Nizām-ul-mulk,' writes Ghulam Husain, 'who was a man of much gravity, of a reserved behaviour, and fond of power, undertook to bring about a reform in some of the most important branches of public affairs .... He recommended the Emperor himself to assume in public an air of more gravity and seriousness; to put aside all levity; to suit his behaviour to his situation; to restrain his servants within proper bounds; to divide his time into stated hours of business in every department, and to appoint a time for rendering justice

in person (the most important duty of all princes, and without which they cannot expect to satisfy heaven), in one word, to discharge worthily the duties incumbent on a great sovereign. To all these admonitions the emperor listened with patience, but they were not relished. That prince was yet in the prime of youth, and in the pride of dominion, and his disposition wholly bent on a life of pleasure. Nor were these representations more acceptable to most of the grandees, especially to Khān Dowrān, who could not bear to see such a man as Nizāmu-l Mulk taking the lead at Court. The vezir, therefore, was looked upon with an evil eye, and subjected to peevish expressions'.[1] Being over fifty years of age, his manners were ridiculed as old-fashioned by the youthful Emperor and his boon-companions. "If it has any truth at all, to this time belongs the story that Muhammad Shāh laughed in open darbar at Nizām-ul Mulk's gait and attire and Samsam-ud-daula used the expression—See how the Dakhini monkey dances!"[2]

The troubles with which the new *wazīr* was beset were not confined to the Court and capital. Among the provincial *subahdars* also there were not a few who were jealous of him and plotted to bring about his fall. Prominent among these may be mentioned Haidar Kuli Khān, who was now Governor of Gujarat. As the reader might remember, he was *mīr atash* or head of the artillery department at the time of Husain Ali's assassination. His complicity in the murder had brought him to his present appointment. Nizāmu-l Mulk's elevation was far from pleasing to this nobleman, and, to the extent it was possible for him, he set to work to counter-act the measures of the new *wazīr*. He also showed signs of asserting his independence and assuming royal insignia. Failing to bring him round by other means, Nizāmu-l Mulk secured from the Emperor an order to take charge of Ahmedabad himself. With this object he set out from Delhi on 11th November 1722.

1. *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, pp. 216-17.
2. Irvine, op. cit., p. 107.

Campaign in Gujarat and Malwa: 1722-23.

Haidar Kuli in his desperation tried several stratagems against this strong measure. He sent his son Kazim Khān, to the capital to work upon the mind of the Emperor, to bribe the nobles into his favour, and, in short, to do whatever was necessary to secure his safety and restoration. But none of these attempts succeeded. The Nizām reached Ahmedabad on the 16th February, 1723. Completely at a loss to know what to do to meet the situation, the recalcitrant Governor feigned madness and fled to the province. Nizāmu-l Mulk thus secured his new charge without having to strike a blow. So, on the 28th of the month he left Ahmedabad, leaving the province in the charge of his uncle, Hamid Khān, to act as his deputy.

On his way back to the capital, the *wazīr* also secured the submission of Dost Muhammad Khān of Bhopal, who, in 1720, had joined the service of Dilāwar Khān when that general was marching south to arrest Nizāmu-l Mulk. After this, on 25th May 1723, at Sironj, the *wazīr* appointed his second cousin Azīmu-llah Khān as deputy-governor of Malwa. On the 3rd July Nizāmu-l Mulk was back at the capital, and was received in audience by the Emperor.

Estrangement from Court.

But as things stood at the Court the Nizām could not continue long in his high office. His zeal for reform of the administration was not abated in the least by his earlier failures. But the favourites of the Emperor still continued their malign influences. One writer in extreme anguish of heart asks, "What good is there in the Emperor sitting like a woman secluded within four walls? If sovereigns take to women's habits and entangle themselves in their tresses, what can a good Muhammadan do, but migrate to the Holy places, or if for that journey funds be wanting, take a dose of poison and leave this for another world?"[1]

1. *Ahwal*, cited by Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 131.

Nizāmu-l Mulk's efforts were chiefly directed towards the stopping of corruption occasioned by the farming out of revenues, and towards the re-imposition of the *jiziya*.[1] This hateful tax had been abolished at the commencement of the reign owing to the intercession of Rāja Jai Singh and other loyal Hindus. The present effort of the Nizām to revive it proved abortive, as also his other reforms. A merely nominal reinstitution of the *jiziya* was for the last time made in 1725 (March-April), and thereafter it disappeared for ever. But these attempts only served to rally the Hindus on behalf of the Opposition. The Emperor was a mere tool in the hands of his corrupt favourites. As a contemporary writer puts it, 'Every one was a chief minister or an administrator of the revenues.'[2] Back-biters went and told Nizāmu-l Mulk that Muhammad Shāh was a worthless rake, unworthy of the throne, and worthy only to be deposed, to make room for Prince Ibrāhīm or some other worthier Prince. At the same time they went to the Emperor and poisoned his ears against the *wazīr*, who they said was ambitious like the Saiyad brothers, and hence dangerous to his person and crown. This naturally bred suspicion on either side and ultimately led to bitterness and estrangement between the Emperor and the *wazīr*. Under these circumstances, Nizāmu-l Mulk wisely thought the best course for him was to withdraw into the Deccan. But as such a step was likely to raise suspicion as to his motive, he complained of ill-health and desired a change. Delhi was too unbearable for him. On the 17th December he took formal leave of the Emperor and set out, ostensibly for his *jāgīrs* of Sambhal and Moradābād. He took his entire family with him,

1. 'One day Nizāmu-l Mulk, with the best intentions, told the Emperor that the system of farming the *Khaliza* lands was very injurious to the country, and ought to be set aside; secondly, that the bribes which were received, under the name of *pekshkash*, were disgraceful to the Emperor and adverse to good policy; thirdly, that the *jiziya* upon infidels ought to be collected as in the days of Aurangzeb.—Khāfī Khān, op. cit., VII, p. 524.

2. Khush-hal Chand in Irvine, loc. cit., p. 132.

which gave rise to suspicions. On 18th February he wrote to Delhi expressing his intention of returning to the capital, but then marched south declaring that Malwa and Gujarat, which were his charges, were endangered by Maratha incursions. When he was sufficiently advanced, he set aside all pretexts and hastened into the Deccan. By August 1724 Nizāmu-l Mulk was safe at Aurangābād.

Plot against Nizāmu-l Mulk fails, 1724.

Meanwhile the Court and enemies of Nizāmu-l Mulk had been very active hatching a plot to officially supersede him and also if possible to get rid of him altogether. The old tactics that had been used against Saiyid Husain Ali Khān were once again set in motion. Before the Nizām reached Aurangābād, orders from the Imperial capital had been despatched to Mubāriz Khān, father of the governor of Haidarābād, appointing him to the *subādārī* of the Deccan and expecting him to march against Nizāmu-l Mulk. Unfortunately, however, for Mubāriz Khān, the *wazīr* caught scent of the whole plan and hurried to his southern capital. When the Emperor heard of this, fearing that it was too late to carry out his designs and anxious to avert the *wazīr's* enmity, he issued counter-orders confirming the Nizām in the Deccan and asking Mubāriz to take charge of Azīmābād Patna instead. But Providence intervened : before the revised orders reached Mubāriz he had already encountered Nizāmu-l Mulk and fallen in battle.[1] This happened at Shakar Khera on 11th Oct., 1724. Nizāmu-l Mulk with admirable magnanimity administered relief to the wounded on both sides, by the distribution of food and medicine, and restored much of the booty (consisting of rich clothes and jewels belonging to the sons of the deceased) to its rightful owners.[2]

1. For details and full career of Mubāriz Khān see ibid., pp. 138-50.

2. Cf. Nizāmu-l Mulk next day provided for the burial of the dead, and took especial care that the wounds of Mubāriz Khān's

Khwaja Ahmad Khān, one of Mubāriz Khān's sons, still persisted and held out in the fort of Muhammad-nagar. Leaving him untouched for a time, Nizāmu-l Mulk occupied the city of Haidarābād and the country round it, then went on to Machhlibandar and the Carnātik. "But in the end Nizāmu-l Mulk by gentle treatment and gifts of enhanced rank, new *jāgīrs* and the revival of titles held previously in the family, induced Khwaja Ahmad Khān to hand over the keys of the fortress."

Independence of Nizāmu-l Mulk, 1725.

From this time may be dated the virtual independence of the Nizām and the foundation of the present Haidarābād State. The Emperor was now reconciled to the Nizām, and renewed his favours towards him. On 20th June 1725 was issued a rescript to him confirming him in the *subāhdārī* of the Deccan, though Ahmadabad and Malwa were taken away from him. There were protestations of good faith on either side; but not until twelve years later (Oct. 1737) was the Nizām called back to the Imperial capital. What transpired in the interval may be only very briefly indicated here.

"Henceforward he (Nizāmu-l Mulk) bestowed offices in the Dakhin; he made promotions in rank, conferred titles and issued assignments on the land-revenue at his own will and pleasure. The only attributes of sovereignty from which he refrained were the use of the scarlet or imperial umbrella, the recitation of the Friday prayer in his own name, and the issue of coin stamped with his own superscription. Many astrologers had prophesied that if he chose he could sit on a throne. But he repudiated the suggestion saying, 'May throne and umbrella bring good fortune to him who holds them! My

two sons should be carefully attended to....He afterwards gave them a large amount in goods, jewels, and stuffs, to set them up in again.'—Khāfi Khān, op. cit., VII, p. 527.

business is to preserve my honour, and if this be mine what need have I of an imperial throne?'"[1]

Chaos in Hindustan.

The effect of the absence of a strong man like Nizāmu-l Mulk at the helm of affairs was only chaos. At the capital and in the provinces 'Public business was dealt with as if it were a child's toy; revenue business was disposed of by the heads of the army, and night-watchmen decided cases instead of the Qāzi. The Emperor was immersed in pleasure, the nobles drunk with envy and the servants of the State were starving.' Under these conditions, Nizāmu-l Mulk was indifferent; what should he care for the Emperor who was so weak and ungrateful? The Marathas were getting too troublesome in the Deccan. So he encouraged them to spread their activities north of the Narmadā, that they might leave him unmolested nearer home.

Malwa.

Girdhar Bahādur the then governor of Malwa carried on a gallant fight against the Marathas led by Bāji Rao's commanders, Udāji Pawār, Malhār Rao Holkar, and Rānuji Sindhia. "The fortune of war constantly varied; but whoever might win in the field, destruction to the prosperity of the country was equally the inevitable result." But Girdhar Bahādur fell fighting near Ujjain on 8th Dec. 1728, and the Marathas under Chimnāji Appa, brother of Bāji Rao, got a permanent footing in Malwa.[2] The Rajputs, especially under Sawai Jai Singh, welcomed the Marathas as a set-off against the Empire. The local *zamīndārs* too connived at their invasion, though it meant the substitution of King Stork for King Log, in order to cheat the Emperor of his revenue.

We have not the space to dwell on the activities of the Marathas in full. To cut a long story short, there were con-

1. Irvine, op. cit., II, p. 154.
2. Ibid., pp. 242-43.

flicts followed by compromises and conflicts again; for example, on 16th July 1736, Rājah Jai Singh appointed Bāji Rao Deputy Governor of Malwa, on the latter's promise not to pillage the Imperial territories. But this was only to save appearances; the Maratha raids continued as usual. In March 1837 they were defeated by Saadat Khān's army coming from Oudh. Saadat Khān boasted to the Emperor that he had routed the Marathas and driven them from Hindustan for good. To prove that this was not the truth, Bāji Rao led an expedition to the very gates of Delhi. As he wrote to his brother Chimnāji Appa: "I was resolved to let the Emperor know the truth, to prove that I was in Hindustan, and to show him the Marathas at the gate of his capital.... So I started on 26th *Zi-l Qada*, leaving the king's highway and making long marches....covering forty miles a day, in two marches I arrived at Delhi." (April 1737.)[1]

Gujarat.

That affairs elsewhere in the Empire were in no better condition is indicated by the following account of Gujarat by Khāfī Khān:—

'The Emperor Muhammad Shāh, on being informed of these events (the depradations of the Mahrattas), sent Sarbuland Khān to be Governor of Ahmedabad. Nizāmu-l Mulk recalled Hamid Khān. But although Sarbuland Khān had an army of 7 or 8 thousand horse, most of whom were veterans, and a strong force of artillery, the Mahratta forces so swarmed in the province that he was unable to settle its affairs or to punish the enemy. Their power increased from day to day, and the price of grain rose high. Sarbuland Khān was as it were besieged in the city; all that he could do was to wink at and rail at the Mahrattas, for as they numbered nearly 30,000 horse, he was unable to fight and chastise them. They

1. Ibid., pp. 288-95. Bāji Rao gave the following reasons for his not destroying the Imperial capital, in a letter to his brother Chimnāji Appa: 'As for burning the city and reducing it to ashes (we thought) Delhi is an important place, and it is no use subjecting the Emperor to indignities. Secondly, the Emperor and Khān Daurān desire to make peace, but the Mughals would not let them do so. Any unseemly behaviour on our part might spell ruin to our policy. So we dropped the idea of setting fire to the city and wrote to the Emperor.'—cited by Sinha, op. cit., p. 137.

ravaged the country round Ahmedabad up to its very gates. Many merchants and traders and artisans were so ill-treated and oppressed, that they left their native land, and wandered into foreign parts. The country could not repel the ravagers, and in its desolation it was unable to pay the sum required of it for the support of the soldiers, whose numbers were excessive. The officers with parties of men demanded their pay, and used violence and insolence in extorting it. At length it was arranged that for the sake of quietness and to stop disturbances, the officers should obtain orders drawn upon bankers and merchants for the pay. With these drafts they went to the bankers, seized them, put them in prison, and tortured them until they got the money. Bir-Nagar was a flourishing town full of merchants of the famous Nagar class, who carried on there a trade amounting to *lacs* of rupees. That district, beyond all the flourishing places of Hindustan, abounded in every sort of wealth, gold, cash, and every product of nature; but was ransacked by the enemy because the *Subādārs* were unable to answer the cries of the inhabitants for protection."[1]

Emperor Recalls Nizāmu-l Mulk, 1737.

Under these circumstances, it is to be little wondered at that "the opinion prevailed that Nizāmu-l Mulk was the only man who could save the monarchy and stem the on-coming flood of Maratha invasion." Accordingly he was once again appealed to and summoned to the capital. He left Burhānpur on 17th April 1737. The nature of the welcome may be indicated by the waiving of the Imperial prohibition against the beat of drums by any noble within three miles of the Emperor's residence. "Nizāmu-l Mulk caused his elephant to kneel and descending made obeisance for the honour thus done him. Crowds thronged the road and impeded progress. Within the city the roofs of the shops and houses were covered with sight-seers; while mendicants 'thicker than flies at a sweet-meat-seller's shop' gathered round the Nawab's elephant paying no heed to the sticks and bamboos with which the attendants tried to drive them off. His elephant could do no more than creep along and it was not till after mid-day that they reached the Delhi gate of the fort.... On coming before the

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, p. 529.

Emperor he made his offering and was honoured in return with a robe from the Emperor's own wardrobe and a jacket called a *charqab*, worn only by members of the Chaghatai house descended from Timur. The highest title that a subject could bear, that of *Asaf Jah*, that is, equal in dignity to Asaf the minister of King Solomon, was also conferred upon him. The mansion built by Sadullah Khān, the finest in Delhi, had been prepared for his quarters, and at the close of the day trays of food were sent from the imperial kitchen by the hands of eunuchs, and this practice was continued daily."[1]

Conclusion.

Only three events are worthy of note in the remaining life of Nizāmu-l Mulk : (1) His defeat at Bhopal at the hands of Bāji Rao ; (2) the invasion of India by Nādir Shāh, and (3) the Nizām's final retirement into the Deccan and death in 1748. The latter two will be described in subsequent sections. Only the first need be dealt with here.

About a month after Nizāmu-l Mulk's restoration (August 1737) his son, Ghāzīu-d din Khān Fīroz Jang, was made governor of Agra and Malwa *vice* Rājah Jai Singh and Bāji Rao respectively. But the condition was that the Nizām should march against the Marathas in Malwa. Accordingly Asaf Jah advanced south with about 30,000 troops as soon as the rains permitted. The Emperor was to follow with reinforcements and Nizāmu-l Mulk's second son was to join with the army from the Deccan. But before this juncture could be effected, Bāji Rao had already advanced into Central India. The sequel is best described in the following extracts from the letters of Bāji Rao :—

'The Nizām's army took refuge in Bhupal fort. I set off against him on 3rd *Ramzān* (24th Dec. 1737). He has with him the son of Sawai Jai Singh, Sabha Singh Bundela, his own son Ghāzīud-din, Jāts, Ahirs, Rohilas, Rajputs etc.,.... [in all] 50,000 troops. Saadat Khān's nephew (Safdar Jang) and the Kota Rājah are coming to his aid with 20,000 more men.....

1. Irvine, op. cit., p. 301.

The battle was fought on 24th or 25th Dec. and the casualties were : 'The Rajputs lost 150 men in killed, we 50 or 60 while two or four hundred were wounded .... The artillery of the Nizām did severe execution.'

There was great distress in the Mughal camp. Bāji Rao continues, 'There is famine in his (Nizām's) camp, grain is selling at four seers a Rupee. His elephants and horses are starving. The Rajputs and the Nizām are distrustful of each other. They cannot flee away as he has kept all their baggage in the city .... Malhār Rao Holkar, Rānuji Sindhia, and Jaswant Rao Puar have defeated Mīr Manu Khān, the *foujdār* of Shāhjānpur, who was coming to the aid of the Nizām, near Darai Sarai and killed 1500 of his men.'

Finally 'I fought the Nizām on 3rd *Ramzān* [24th Dec.] and then invested his army. Famine raged in his camp, grass could not be had. So he sent.....to me to negotiate for terms. (Long negotiations).... On 15th *Ramzān* [5th Jan. 1738] I marched and halted one *kos* off ; the Nizam then came out and encamped beyond the lake.... Next morning he retreated to Bhupal, fighting with his artillery. But we have blockaded him as closely as we did Muhammad Khān Bangash.

'Leaving his baggage partly in Bhupal and partly in Islāmgarh, and continuing the peace talk, he is marching away at the rate of a *kos* or 1½ *kos* a day. Our forces hovering around him, have entirely cut off his grain, grass and fuel supply. Rice is selling at one Rupee a seer in his camp, and even at that price many cannot obtain it. His horses are eating the leaves of the *Butea Frondosa*. On 25th *Ramzān* [15th January] his Muslim troops ate up the artillery, and draught oxen, while the Rajputs were utterly fasting. Then he quickly settled the peace terms....his agent being Aya Mal.'

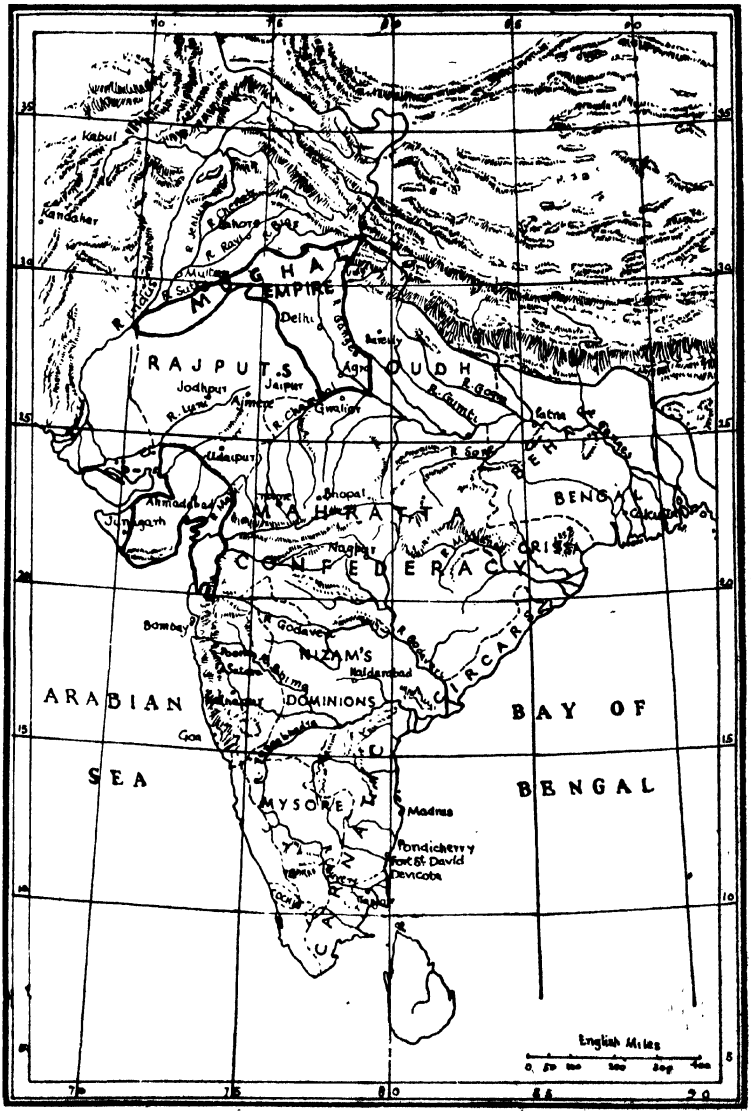
The convention was signed at Durai Sarai, 64 miles from Sironj : "In his own handwriting Nizāmu-l Mulk promised to grant Bāji Rao (1) the whole of Malwa, (2) the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Narmada and the Chambal, (3) to obtain confirmation thereof from the Emperor, and (4) to use his best endeavours to obtain fifty lakhs of Rupees to pay Bāji Rao's expenses."[1] After this humilia-

1. Irvine, op. cit., pp. 302-6.

tion the Nizām re-entered Delhi only to be faced with a new crisis, viz. the invasion of Nādīr Shāh. But before we proceed to deal with this crisis, however, it is necessary to describe the state of the Empire at this stage.

IV. DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

The description of the Empire is a tangled skein with many threads crossing and re-crossing. To unravel it in detail would involve pursuit of the histories of the several states into which the Mughal Empire was fast resolving itself. As such a course would lead us into a task somewhat similar to the pursuit of Miltonic similes or worse, the episodes of the *Mahābhārata*, we must needs confine our observations within more severe limits. Without entering therefore into the mutual rivalries and conflicts between the *new powers* that were coming into the field, or making any attempt to go into the personal histories of the founders of principalities, like Saadat Khān, Safdar Jung, and Ali Vardhi Khān, or examining the *internal* affairs of people like the Bundelas, Rajputs, Rohillas, Marathas and the Europeans,—each of whom contributed to hasten the fall of the Empire—we shall merely outline here the break up of the Mughal dominion. Our study thus restricted, would include only the following topics : (1) The virtual separation of the provinces of Oudh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, from the Empire, on the one hand, and (2) the absorption of the provinces of Gujarat, Malwa, and Bundelkhand into the expanding Maratha dominion, on the other. The further history of Maratha expansion, in so far as it has direct bearing on our subject, will appear in our account of the two fateful foreign invasions that are to follow. Beyond this, the struggle between the *new powers*—the triangular contest between the Nawābs, the Marathas and the English—for the hegemony of Hindustan does not strictly fall within our purview. If the Nawāb of Oudh and Bengal, like the Nizām in the Deccan, still maintained the pretence of being Imperial officers, they did so merely to strengthen their own claims with



Sketch by Mr. V. N. Ambedkar

DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

the prestige of the Empire which continued to be a rallying cry down to the 'Mutiny' of 1857.

1. Oudh.

The founder of the independent principality of Oudh, which was dissolved by Dalhousie in 1856, was Mīr Muhammad Amīn Saadat Khān Burhān-ul-Mulk.[1] He was leader of the Irānī or Persian party at the Mughal Court, and hence a rival of the Irānī *wazīr*, Nizāmu-l Mulk, whose history we have already traced. He was *faujdār* of Hindaun and Biana (about 50 miles s.w. of Agra) in 1719-20, and, in spite of being a Saiyid and a Shia, had seen his advantage in joining the enemies of Saiyid Husain Ali Khān. He was well rewarded for his participation in the plot to assassinate the Mīr Bakhshī; being elevated to the rank of 5,000 *zāt* and 3,000 *sawār*, with the title of Saadat Khān Bahādur (Lord of Good Fortune).[2] For two years after this (1720-22) he was governor of Agra, when his status was further increased to 6,000 *zāt* and 5,000 *sawār*.

At this time the turbulent Jāts of Bharatpur joined with their clansmen in the Agra and Mathura districts and rose in revolt. The new governor of Agra marched against them and succeeded in capturing four of their strongholds. But he could not follow up this success as he was recalled to Court and asked to march against Rāja Ajit Singh of Mārwar.

The latter, having been a supporter of the Saiyid brothers,[3] avenged their fall by following an anti-Muslim policy and showed open hostility to the Imperial government. The other nobles at the Court being reluctant to undertake the punitive campaign, Saadat Khān welcomed the opportunity for further distinction. But unfortunately for him the proposal proved

1. For his earlier life read Dr. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, *The First Two Nawābs of Oudh* (Lucknow, 1933).

2. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

3. Ajit Singh was made governor of Ajmer and Gujarat in 1719 owing to his friendliness towards the Saiyid brothers.—Ibid., p. 26.

abortive on account of opposition from the jealous courtiers. And to make matters worse, the Jāts took advantage of Saadat's absence, and in an attempt to subdue them, his deputy, Nilkanth Nāgar, met his death. Saadat Khān, under these circumstances had once more to grapple with the Jāts personally. But his stars seemed to be against him. His failure resulted in the transfer of the governorship of Agra to Rāja Jai Singh Kachhwaha on 1st September 1722, as the latter made that a condition to his commanding the expedition against the Jāts.

The Emperor further showed his displeasure towards Saadat Khān by not even granting him audience but forthwith directing him to proceed to Oudh immediately. On 9th September 1722 he took charge of his new *subāh*; and its former governor, Rāja Girdhar Bahādur, was transferred to Malwa. From this date in fact, though not in name, may be commenced the history of Oudh as an independent Muslim principality. The title of 'King of Oudh' was not assumed however, until 1816, when at the instigation of Warren Hastings, Ghāzīu-d din Haider, the 7th ruler of the house of Saadat Khān, adopted it.[1] The internal history of the *subāhdārī*, which is largely comprised of Saadat Khān's efforts to subjugate the recalcitrant chiefs and *zamīndārs* and consolidate his province, need not detain us here. Sometime in 1724 he married his daughter to his nephew Safdar Jung and appointed him deputy-governor of Oudh. With the *Subah* thus secured, Saadat Khān preferred to re-enter the high politics of Delhi. A detailed account of the subsequent part played by the Nawabs of Oudh in the destinies of the Empire will shortly follow. Suffice it to note here that Saadat Khān, in 1732, undertook to check the Maratha advance into North India, and made various proposals, such as his appointment to the *subāhdārī* of Agra, Malwa etc. (in addition to his holding Oudh) with a view to enable him to withstand the Marathas. But these attempts

1. Ibid., p. 31.

and schemes proved futile owing to the usual opposition from rival nobles at Court. Nevertheless, Saadat Khān was able to inflict a defeat on the Marathas, in the vicinity of Agra, towards the close of March 1737, to which reference has already been made. The exaggerated reports of this doubtful triumph, sent by Saadat Khān to the Imperial Court, had very untoward effects : On the one hand, they drew the might of Bāji Rao upon Delhi, as the Peshwa wanted to contradict Saadat's report of the alleged Maratha discomfiture in the most unmistakable manner, and therefore led his army to the very gates of the Imperial capital, as already described ; and on the other, Saadat's rivals made use of these happenings to discredit him before the Emperor. This misadventure led to further fatalities as Nādir Shāh invaded India soon after (January 1739) and dealt a blow that left the Empire "bleeding and prostrate." It is not surprising that Saadat Khān finally conspired with the invader to humiliate the ungrateful Emperor, and after a momentary exaltation, committed suicide on 19th March 1739.[1] Safdar Jung succeeded him in Oudh, but more about him later.

1. Bengal, Bihar & Orissa.

The history of the eastern provinces of the Empire, viz. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, is somewhat similar to that of Oudh and the Deccan, whose accession to virtual independence we have noticed above. While these provinces nominally owned the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor, paid tribute and even invoked his aid in times of need, otherwise ignored the Empire altogether. They therefore mark the first stage in the dissolution of the Empire ; for the most part their thoughts and activities centred round their own self-aggrandisement. A brief account of the *subāhdārī* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should here suffice.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death (1707) Murshid Kuli Khān was deputy-governor (*naib nāzim*) and chief revenue

1. Ibid., pp. 72-8.

officer (*diwān*) of Bengal and Orissa. But the absence of the governor, Prince Azīmu-sh Shān, who spent his time at the Imperial Court, made Murshid Kuli Khān the *de facto* ruler of the two provinces. He was made *de jure* governor of Bengal in 1713, by the Emperor Farrukh-siyar ; Orissa was added on to his charge in 1719. Murshid Kuli's strong, honest and efficient administration, love of justice, and strict enforcement of peace and order, observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "increased the wealth and happiness of the people and fostered the growth of trade in the country."[1] He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Sujā-ud-daulah Asad Jung, in 1727. Bihar was added on to the two provinces in 1733. This triple charge was handed down by Sujā-ud daulah to his successor, Sarafrāz Khān, in 1739, still in a prosperous condition. But the licentiousness and excesses of the new Nawāb led to the usurpation of Ali Verdi Khān, one of his ablest officers. Ali Verdi Khān was till then deputy-governor at Patna. He defeated and slew the worthless Sarafrāz, on 10th April 1740, at the battle of Gheria. Bribery secured confirmation of this usurpation, by the Emperor whose assistance Ali Verdi Khān sought against his enemies. The most formidable of these were the Marathas under Rāghuji Bhonsle. The story of this conflict may be held over for the present. We must now turn our attention to the encroachments of the Marathas in other parts of the Mughal dominion, which resulted in their appropriation of the three rich provinces of Gujarat, Malwa, and Bundelkhand. This has been incidentally referred to already. A few observations, however, on the actual separation of these provinces are necessary.

3. Gujarat.

Rāja Abhai Singh of Jodhpur, it will be remembered, was governor of the Mughal *subah* of Gujarat at the moment the incursions of the Marathas, already alluded to, took place. The *Senāpati* Yeshwant Rao was in charge of the collection of *chaut* and *sardeshmukhi* in Gujarat. But he left this task in the more

1. *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 70-1.

capable hands of Pilāji Gaikwād who had practically made himself master of Baroda. From these beginnings arose the present progressive State of Baroda. The cowardly Abhai Singh got rid of Pilāji by assassination, but the Marathas retrieved their position under Pilāji's son Damāji Gaikwād. The latter not only recovered Dābhai and Baroda, which Abhai had taken, but attacked Ahmedabad and carried fire and sword to the very frontiers of Jodhpur (1733). The result was that Abhai Singh gave way, left the towns conquered by Damāji in his possession, and promised to pay *chaut* and *sardeshmukhi* as before, besides 80,000 rupees from the revenues of Ahmedabad. After this Abhai Singh retired to Jodhpur, leaving Gujarat in nominal charge of Ratan Singh Bhandāri. Matters went from bad to worse, and the Marathas became virtual masters of Gujarat from 1735.[1]

4. Malwa.

Rāja Jai Singh of Amber was governor of Malwa in 1710. When he was called upon to subdue the Jāts of Agra province in 1722, Rāja Girdhar Bahādur was appointed in Malwa. After a short interval of absence he was reinstated in 1725, and was ever after ambitious to found his own dynasty there. His successor could continue in that charge only by promising the Emperor to keep away the Marathas. But the Rajputs, especially Sawai Jai Singh, were dreaming of a Hindu confederacy against the Mughals. With this object the Marathas were encouraged nay, invited into Malwa. On the other side, the Nizām, anxious to divert the Marathas away from the Deccan, also connived at Bāji Rao's northward movements. At the end of his expedition (1723-24) the Peshwa left three of his commanders in Malwa, and they became respectively founders of the kingdoms of Indore (Holkar), Gwalior (Sindhia), and Dhar (Pawār).[2] In the expedition of December 1728 Rāja Girdhar died fighting

1. Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 107 (Allahabad, 1931).
2. Ibid., p. 111 n.

gallantly against the Marathas, at Sārangpur, 50 miles to the N-E of Dewas. Encouraged by this victory, the latter marched into Bundelkhand being invited by Rāja Chhatrasāl who was fighting against the Mughal general Muhammad Khān Bangash.[1]

5. Bundelkhand, 1729.

Bāji Rao, for his timely assistance, was rewarded with the cession of a third of Chhatrasāl's kingdom, yielding an annual revenue of 33 laks of rupees. Two years after this the brave Bundela died at the age of 82 (1731), leaving the following will to his two sons, Hirde Shāh and Jagatrai :—

1. "With the exception of expedition beyond the Jamna or the Chambal, both brothers should join Bāji Rao Sāheb in every campaign, and should share in the plunder and conquer lands in proportion to the troops provided by them.

2. "If Bāji Rao should be involved in Deccan warfare, the two brothers should defend, for at least two months, the fortress of Bundelkhand.

3. "King Chhatrasāl has looked upon Bāji Rao Sāheb as his son. Bāji Rao should therefore guard his (sons) as if they were his blood-brothers."[2]

Consequently Bāji Rao got Kālpi, Sāgar, Jhānsi, Sironj and Hirdenagar. Prof. Sinha observes, "The importance of their acquisition can never be exaggerated. They brought Bāji Rao into direct touch with the Doab, and with one of the imperial cities, Agra, to which Kālpi is so close. From this vantage point he was not only to dominate all Central India, but strike terror into Delhi and the Doab."[3]

1. For a detailed account of the history of this struggle see ibid., pp. 113-17.

2. Kincaid and Pārasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 225.

3. Sinha, op. cit., p. 118.

Bājī Rao's march on Delhi, March 1737, has already been referred to. The Maratha activities from the death of Chhatrasāl to that event need not be here described in detail. Their net result was that the Imperial generals being foiled one after another, the Emperor was obliged to recognise Bāji Rao's claim to *chauth* from Malwa and thirteen *lakhs* of rupees from the revenues of the territory south of the Chambal.[1] But the Marathas had already carried their depradations into most of Rajputana and the Doab, and to impress the Emperor of the helplessness of his condition, Bāji Rao had led his expedition to Delhi. The expected happened: the government of Malwa was conferred upon the Peshwa in addition to thirteen *lakhs* above mentioned. As a last resort, the Nizām was summoned to the rescue of the Empire. Towards the close of 1737 he made his last attempt to drive away the Maratha out of N. India. The result was his defeat at Sironj, and the convention of Durai Sarai (16th January, 1738) already described. When the Empire was smarting under this humiliation, a worse calamity was awaiting it in the north-west.

V. TWO FATEFUL INVASIONS

A. Nādir Shāh, 1739.

The doom of the Empire which was weakened from within, as shown above, was sealed by two fateful invaders that came from without. First Nādir Shāh and then Ahmad Shāh Abdāli dealt the tottering Empire blows which it was ill-equipped to sustain. We have only to add a few words about the conditions in Rajputana and the Punjab at this time to enable the reader to visualise the situation that must have tempted these foreign attacks.

Rajputana.

The Rajputs who at one time had been the bulwarks of the Empire, thanks to Aurangzeb's disastrous attitude towards them and the growing weakness of the later Mughal Emperors, now realised that

1. For greater details see ibid., pp. 126-28.

their interests lay elsewhere than in the Mughal Empire. Internally also, Rajputana was torn by dissensions between and within its three principal houses of the Sisodias, the Rathors and the Kachhwahs. "The disorder and destruction following from this contest for primacy," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "were immensely multiplied by the entrance of another factor into Rajput politics in the middle of the 18th century, which ended only in the total ruin and humiliation of this noble race .... The Maratha and the Pindhari ravaged the land. Disorder, public plunder, economic ruin, and moral degradation were the chronic condition of Rajasthan from the declining years of Muhammad Shāh ...."[1] Bāji Rao's extortions in Rajputana were alike a lurid commentary on the weakness of the Rajputs and the strength of the Marathas. "After long higgling, the Mahārāna had to sign a treaty promising to pay annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000, to cover which the Banhādā pargana was ceded to the Marathas."[2]

The Punjab.

Though at this time the Punjab enjoyed peace owing to the strong and benevolent rule of its governor Zakariyā Khān I (1726-45), the province had suffered much on account of the ravages of plunderers like Isā Khān and Husain Khān Kheshgi. Towards the N.-W. frontier were a number of intractable tribes who could be kept under control only when the power of the Mughal Emperors was strong both at Delhi and at Kabul. At the present time they afforded a gun-powder magazine that might burst out at any moment, and their depradations across the border gave a convenient excuse for Nādir Shāh to lead punitive expeditions into these shady regions.

1. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 234-45. For circumstances leading to Maratha intervention in Rajputana see ibid., pp. 249-52.

2. Ibid., p. 262. Similarly Rāja Durjan Sāl Hādā of Kotā had to pay to the Marathas a penalty of Rs. 10 lakhs for siding with the Imperialists. For Bāji Rao's extraordinary demands from the Mughal Emperor see ibid., pp. 273-76.

THE PERSIAN INVASION, 1738-9

Nādir Shāh was a Turkish adventurer who had established himself as the ruler of Persia in 1736. Persia had fallen on evil days and the Safawis had been supplanted by Afghan aggressors in 1722. Nādir Shāh, like Napoleon, though a foreigner himself, proved the saviour and then the champion of his adopted country.[1] This ambitious and successful adventurer carried the war into the home-lands of the Afghan usurpers and thereby came into clash with the Mughal governor of Kabul. Early in 1737 Nādir Shāh marched against Kandahār with 80,000 men. "So long as that centre of Afghan power was not destroyed, it would remain a menace to the safety of Persia and constantly disturb the peace and prosperity of Khurāsan. Moreover, without the conquest of Qandahār the full heritage of the Safawis could not be said to have come into his possession." The fort of Kandahār fell after a year's siege, March 1737 to March 1738. But Nādir Shāh treated the defeated Afghans very kindly: "released all the prisoners taken, bestowed pensions on the tribal chiefs, enlisted the clansmen in his army, and by transplanting the Ghilzais to Naishapur and other places in Khurāsan (the former homes of the Abdālis) and posting Abdāli chieftains as governors of Southern Afghanistan (Qandahār, Girishk, Bist and Zamindawar), kept his former enemies usefully employed in his service. *His policy was to tempt the other Afghan forts to surrender to him by creating a reputation for himself as a merciful enemy and liberal master, and to enlist the Afghan soldiers under his banners as devoted supporters of his projected conquests of Central Asia and India.*"[2]

Diplomacy.

We have not the space for a detailed statement of all the reasons for Nādir Shāh's invasions of India. In the last analysis this must be

1. For a fuller account of the earlier history of Nādir Shāh read Irvine, op. cit., pp. 315-20.

2. Ibid., pp. 319-20.

attributed to the ambitions of Nādir Shāh on the one hand, and the apparent weakness of the Mughal Empire on the other.[1] "Nādir Shāh," as Irvine points out, "was no mere soldier, no savage leader of a savage horde but a master of diplomacy and state-craft as well as of the sword. The profoundness of his diplomacy was no less remarkable than the greatness of his generalship in war and the wisdom of his policy to the vanquished after his victories in the field."[2]

1. The Mughal Emperors had long been in the practice of exchanging ambassadors with the Persian Court. This diplomatic usage was suddenly discontinued when Nādir Shāh ascended the throne. The new ruler of Persia resented this all the more because Muhammad Shāh had maintained friendly relations with Mīr Wais and his son Husain, the usurper of Kandahār, despite the latter's raid into Multan. Nādir Shāh duly informed the Mughal Court of his intended campaign in Kandahār and requested the Emperor not to give shelter to the Afghan fugitives in Kabul. The Emperor, no doubt, promised to do the needful, but failed to carry out his undertaking.

2. A second ambassador was sent to Delhi repeating the request, with no better result. In 1737, therefore, when hostilities had already begun in Kandahār, Nādir Shāh despatched a third envoy to the Mughal Court expecting an urgent and clear reply. But the Mughal sphinx was as silent as ever. A year passed, and matters crossed the frontiers of diplomacy—Nādir Shāh decided on invading India.

Defenceless Frontier.

The governor of Kabul, Nāsir Khān, was not in the good books of the party in power at Delhi. His alarming reports about the impending danger were therefore discredited. He failed

1. 'The train had long been laid,' writes Anandram Mukhlis, and from these negotiations sprang the spark that fired it .... the true cause was the weakness of its (Hindustan's) monarchy—E. & D., op. cit., VIII, p. 77.

2. Irvine, loc. cit., p. 320.

to get even the minimum subsidies to maintain his army in a state of defence. The soldiers were ill-fed, ill-armed and five years in arrears of pay. In the words of Ghulam Husain, 'it was impossible for Nāsir Khān to prevent Nādir Shāh's entrance into India. The Government was rotten, the Emperor was powerless. No money was sent to maintain the administration in Afghanistan. The subahdār, therefore, sought his own comfort and lived at Peshawar, entrusting the fort of Kabul to a *qilādār* with orders to control and watch the passes leading into India.'[1]

The Punjab.

The Punjab, as stated previously, was at this time under its governor, Zakariyā Khān. He was no doubt "a brave and active soldier" and a "good administrator;" but being a Turānī foreigner, he was hated by the Hindustānis at Court who enjoyed favour with the Emperor. His appeals for reinforcements in men and money, therefore fell on deaf ears. The gate-ways of India being thus in no state of defence, Nādir Shāh's invasion was both tempted and facilitated.

The Invasion.

On 10th May 1738, the Persian entered Northern Afghanistan. Ghazni fell on the 31st. The Mughal governor fled, but the people were well treated by the conqueror. The Hazāras in the hills south-west of Ghazni resisted, and were ruthlessly destroyed. Nādir then advanced upon Kabul, which after a brief defence fell on the 19th June. Here he heard from his envoy at the Delhi Court that the Mughal Emperor would neither reply nor give him his *congè*. At this Nādir Shāh despatched an urgent letter of protest with a fast courier accompanied by some leading men of Kabul to offer explanation of the steps taken by the Persians.

1. *Siyar*, i, 94 cited by Irvine, op. cit., p. 325.

Nāsir Khān, according to the *Tazkira*, described himself as 'a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a feted pageant, ill-provided and without spirit'—E. & D., op. cit., VIII, p. 77.

In this he pointed out how the Emperor had broken faith with him, and explained that in punishing the rebellious Afghan he was really serving the best interests of the Mughal Empire. But as ill-luck would have it, the messengers were murdered within Mughal territory and Nādir Shāh had to march against the clans who were responsible for this outrage. He left Kabul on the 19th July, and Jalālābād surrendered on 7th September 1738. The men were massacred and the women taken captive by way of reprisals against the assassination of the envoys. Some time was then spent in regulating the administration of the conquered country, after which Nādir Shāh marched into the Punjab. As the prospects of his returning home seemed distant, he invested his eldest son, Mirza Raza Quli, as his deputy or regent in Persia (3rd November) and sent him back with a great force and suitable pomp.

To Karnāl.

For consideration of space we cannot dwell on all the details of Nādir Shāh's Indian campaign. Peshawar was entered on 18th November. Wazirabad on the Chenab (60 miles N.-W. of Lahore) was crossed on the 8th January 1739. Zakariyā Khān, governor of the Punjab, finding resistance impossible surrendered on 12th January and thereby saved the city of Lahore from the wrath of the invader. He was made to pay a contribution of 20 *lakhs* of rupees and retained in his governorship. His son joined the train of the invader with 500 retainers "evidently as a hostage for his father's fidelity." Similarly, Nāsir Khān was restored to the viceroyalty of Kabul and Peshawar. "A Persian force was detached to guard the ferries and seize the boats on the rivers of the Punjab and see that travellers to and from the Persian army during its stay in India could easily pass. *Thus the flanks and rear of the invaders were completely secured.*"[1]

The situation is well described by Ānandrām Mukhlis in his *Tazkira*: 'Nādir Shāh was now in possession of all the

1. Irvine, op. cit., pp. 330-33.

country as far as Attock, and Muhammad Shāh and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them. They understood at length that *this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who would be sated with the spoil of a province and then return to his own country, but a leader of unshakable resolution, who shaped his course with his sword.*' But the writer goes on to state how the Emperor and his nobles failed to do the needful and the country was despoiled by the invader: 'How to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country! Wazīrābād, Imānābād and Gujrat, towns which, for population might almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth. Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised; property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer, and women the prey of the ravisher.'[1]

'On the 15th of the month,' continues Ānandrām, 'the Shāh continued his march towards Shāh-Jahānābād. He advanced rapidly. Leaving his camp equipage at Shāhābād, (17 miles e. of Ambāla) on the 15th *Zil kada* he appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnāl (20 miles from Pānīpat), where Muhammad Shāh's army awaited his coming.'[2]

BATTLE OF KARNAL, 1739

The fateful battle was fought on the 13th February 1739.[3] The following account of it by Ānandrām, who was an eyewitness, is valuable :—

'Near Karnāl flows through a broad plain a canal which issues from the Jamna river, near Mukhlispur, and continues its course to Shāh-Jahānābād. This place was found convenient for the encampment of the army. By degrees news was received of the progress of the enemy.....This disposition, which could hardly be considered worthy of an Emperor, was adopted partly to await the arrival of (Sàadat Khān) Burhānu-l Mulk Bahādur, *Nāzim* of Oudh,

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 78-80.
2. Ibid., p. 81.
3. Dr. Srivastava gives a different date; see *The First Two Nawābs of Oudh*, pp. 64-5.

who had been ordered to join the royal army. This nobleman, though suffering from sickness, advanced by forced marches at the head of 30,000 horsemen, and reached Karnāl, on the 14th of *Zi-l kada*. This addition to the strength of the army created universal joy, and all now thought victory certain.

'The Persians tried to intercept the army, which resulted in a premature clash. Muhammad Shāh, hearing of what was going on ordered *Amīru-l umara* (Khān Daurān) to reinforce the *Nāzim*. The *Amīr* represented that the army had not expected to fight that day, and that the soldiers were consequently quite unprepared; reinforcements could but add to the severity of the defeat. It was far better to delay a battle until the morrow, when the army could be disposed according to the rules of war, with advanced and rear guards, and their artillery on which everything depended in Indian warfare could be placed in the front. The struggle would then be one of comparative ease, and a little skill would insure an easy victory. The monarch was displeased with these objections, and addressed the *Amīr* as a *conceited idler*. But Amīru-l umara Bahādur was a chieftain who had the good of his master at heart; never had he been guilty of aught like disobedience, and now, arming himself and mounting an elephant, he gathered round him Muzaffar Khān Bahādur and a few horsemen, all that could be collected in that hour of bewilderment, and hastened to the support of the *Nāzim*. The struggle raged so fiercely that firearms and arrows were put aside, and swords and daggers were brought into play. Blood flowed from gaping wounds and crimsoned the combatants; the red *Kazalbash* caps had the appearance of poppies; a dense smoke hung over the field of battle.

'The heroic efforts of Amīru-l umara and his prodigies of valour could not prevail against the Persians, who far exceeded the Indians in number,[1] and had, moreover, the advantage of having been placed in position by the Shāh himself. The Mughals broke at length and fled; but Amīru-l umara maintained the combat until, mortally wounded in the face, he fell covered with glory[2]....Bur-

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar puts down the strength of the Persian army at 55,000 horse. "The number is nearest the truth." He also states "the total Indian fighting force at Karnāl could not have exceeded 75,000." But including the non-combatants it was very near a million men! See Irvine, op. cit., pp. 337-38.

2. 'By his decease, Asaf Jāh Bahādur (Nizāmu-l Mulk) became *Mīr Bakshi*. Officers were sent by the Emperor's order to seize the property of the late nobleman, which it would have been more generous to leave to the heirs.'—E. & D., op. cit., p. 84.

hānu-l Mulk and Nisar Muhammad Khān Bahādur became prisoners ....Had the Emperor himself led his powerful army to the support of Burhānu-l Mulk. there would have been no cause to lament the loss of such a *sardār* as Amīru-l umara ; and who can say that victory might not have smiled on his arms.'[1]

'It is probable,' states the *Bayan-i Waki*, 'that if the army of Hindustan had been fully provided with artillery, the Persians would not have been able to oppose it.'[2]

The Result.

The result of the defeat has been thus described by Ānandrām himself : 1. 'The consequences of this disaster were lamentable ; for the loss of baggage and the scarcity of supplies that soon prevailed (four rupees could hardly purchase a *sīr* of flour) totally deprived the soldiery of the little spirit they ever possessed.

2. 'The Persian Emperor sent a message offering to treat for peace ; for, though so powerful, he was not one to overlook the advantages of negotiation. Wazīru-l mamalik Asaf Jāh was opposed to the proposition ; but his argument did not prevail with the Emperor. On the 16th of the month Asaf Jāh Bahādur and Azīmu-llah Khān Bahādur were deputed to the Shāh, to conclude the negotiations ; they returned to camp that evening.'[3]

Negotiations.

'The next day Muhammad Shāh repaired in person to the Persian camp....When they drew near, the Shāh himself came forth, and the etiquette usual between the Persian and Mughal Courts was faithfully observed. The two monarchs, holding one another by the hand, entered the audience-tents, and seated themselves

1. Ibid., pp. 62-84.

2. Ibid., p. 83n, "The defeat of the Indians at Karnāl was due as much to their being outclassed in their weapons of war and method of fighting, as to their bad generalship."—Irvine, loc. cit., pp. 350-52.

3. According to other accounts Nizāmu-l Mulk conspired with Nādir Shāh to inveigle the Emperor into virtual imprisonment in the Persian Camp. See *Tarikh-i Hindi*, E. & D., op. cit., VIII, pp. 62-4 ; also Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, pp. 70-4. Cf. Irvine, op. cit., pp. 352-58 exculpating the Nizām.

side by side on a *mansad. It was as two suns had risen in the East, or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time*!

'As Muhammad Shāh was unaccompanied by any one of his chiefs, the subject of conversation between the two Emperors has remained unknown. After this had lasted some time, a repast was prepared, the remains of which were given to Amīr Khān Bahādur and the other noblemen. Nothing that courtesy and friendship require was omitted during the whole conference, which lasted a quarter of the day. These proceedings restored tranquillity to the mind of the soldiery; all looked forward with joy to renewed plenty, to return to their beloved Shāh-Jahānābād and the society of friends; *but fate smiled at these fond hopes, for more suffering and more bloodshed awaited them.*'

March to Delhi.

The dying *wazīr*, Khān Daurān Samsamu-d daulah, had enjoined, "Never take the Emperor to Nādir, nor conduct Nādir to Delhi, but send away that evil from this point by any means that you can devise." But the inevitable came to pass. The unsuspecting Asaf Jāh and the Emperor Muhammad Shāh during their second visit to Nādir Shāh's camp were surrounded and practically taken prisoners, it is alleged, at the instigation of Sàadat Khān Burhānu-l Mulk.[1] Nādir Shāh compelled them to march

1. Many details are omitted in this summary account. Nizāmu-l Mulk in his first visit to the Persian camp had negotiated for Nādir Shāh's return on payment of Rs. 50 *lakhs*. On his return, by Nādir Shāh's request, the Emperor paid a visit to the Persian camp, and was well received. After Muhammad Shāh's retirement, Saadat Khān, owing to his jealousy towards the Nizām, suggested to Nādir Shāh that he should secure Nizāmu-l Mulk's person as security for payment of the promised indemnity, and also that if they marched to Delhi, Nādir Shāh could extort more. The Nizām on his unsuspecting second visit was forcibly detained. This made the Emperor pay a second visit also. He too being secured was prevailed upon to go to Delhi together with the Persian host. This culminated in a tragedy.—Read Irvine, op. cit., pp. 354-60. For the part played by Saadat Khān in this whole affair, see Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 61-75.

to Delhi with the hope of extorting from the Emperor a larger indemnity than had been promised in the camp.[1] The Maratha ambassador at the Mughal Court, escaping from the embarrassing situation, with a sigh of relief exclaimed : "God has averted a great danger from me, and enabled me to escape with honour ! The Chaghatai Empire is gone, Irānī Empire has commenced ! "[2] Ānandrām too states, 'The Mughal monarchy appeared to all to be at an end.'[3]

The conqueror's justification was as follows :—

Addressing the Mughal Empire, he stated : 'It is strange that you should be so unconcerned and regardless of your own affairs, that notwithstanding I wrote you several letters, sent an Ambassador, and testified a friendship for you, your ministers should not think it proper to send me a satisfactory answer ; and by reason of your want of command and discipline over your people, one of my Ambassadors, contrary to all laws, has been killed in your dominions.

1. The conditions in the camp were heart-rending. According to Maratha eye-witness, 'Grain could not be procured even at 6 or 7 rupees the *seer*. The country was a desert, nothing could be had from the neighbouring villages....only six days after the battle, the supply of *ghee* had become entirely exhausted in the camp.'—Ibid., p. 357. For a description of the march to Delhi, see Fraser, op. cit., pp. 94-6. Fraser who wrote his account in 1742, and got his information from Mirza Zaman (Secretary to Sarbuland Khān), also describes the scarcity in the Mughal camp which among other reasons must have been a potent factor in determining the Emperor's abject surrender. "In Mahammed Shāh's camp," he writes, "What grain was to be had, was sold from 2½ to 3 rupees per seer, and whoever went to Nādir Shāh's camp, were allowed to buy as much as they consumed there, but not to carry any away....at last the Emperor declared that affairs were now gone beyond his power and that he must do one of three things ; to-morrow to march out and make one desperate push, to determine his fortune at once ; or put an end to all thoughts and misery by a dose of poison ; or else submit peaceably, to what terms may be imposed. The Emperor's inclination (tho' he did not then declare it) was for the last of these. —Ibid., pp. 90-91.

2. Rājwādé, vi, No. 131—cited by Sarkar (Irvine, op. cit., p. 360).

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 87.

'Even when I entered your empire, you seemed under no concern for your affairs, nor so much as sent to ask who I was or what was my design. . . .Moreover, your predecessors were wont to take the *Jeziah* from the infidels, and you in your reign have given it to them, having, in these 20 years, suffered the empire to be over-run by them.[1]

'But as hitherto the race of Temur have not injured or misbehaved towards the Seffi (Safawi) family, and the people of Persia, I shall not take the empire from you. Only, as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary expense, and my men, on account of the long marches, are much fatigued, and in want of necessaries ; I must go to Delhi, and there continue some days, until the army is refreshed, and the *peishecush* (tribute), that Nizām al Muluck has agreed to (50 *lakhs* of rupees), is made good to me, after that, I shall leave you to look after your own affairs.'[2]

The Massacre at Delhi.

The happenings related above had created a state of tense excitement and nervousness at Delhi. Even before the tragedy of Karnāl, according to Ānandrām : 'Many were the false reports circulated which there is no need to record here, and such was the state of the town, that, but for the vigilance of Kotwāl Hājī Fulad Khān, it must have been plundered, and the Persian army would have found the work done. The *Kotwāl*, no ordinary man, was at his post day and night ; his exertions were unceasing, and, wherever there was an appearance of sedition, he seized and punished the guilty parties. The roads were infested with malefactors, and there was safety for none.'[3]

Under such conditions, "The fallen descendant of Bābar and Akbar rode into his capital on a portable throne *takht-i-*

1. The reference is to the Marathas. Nādir Shāh was a staunch *Sunni*, and hated all infidels. See Fraser, op. cit., pp. 66-9.

2. Ibid., pp. 88-9.

3. E. & D., op. cit., p. 86.

rawan) in silence and humility ; no band played, and no banners were carried before him."[1] Nādir Shāh followed him into the city, the next day (9th March 1739). The Emperor welcomed his conqueror, spread the richest carpets, cloth of gold, and other rare stuffs, on the ground for him to set his foot upon (*pa-andazi*). Nādir Shāh occupied Shāh Jahān's own palace-chambers near the Diwān-i-khās, while Muhammad Shāh lodged near the *deorhi* of the Asad Burj. [Ānandrām.] On this day the Emperor acted as the host and placed dinner before Nādir. The Persian army encamped, some round the fort, some on the bank of the Jamuna near the city, and some were quartered in houses throughout the city. [Ali Hazin, Jahānkusha 355.][2]

For a time the prospect looked sanguine until it proved sanguinary : 'By a strange cast of the dice two monarchs who, but a short while before, found the limits of an empire too narrow to contain them both, were dwellers now within the same four walls!' But, as ill-luck would have it, a deep tragedy awaited the people of Delhi. It was heralded by the suicide of Sa'adat Khān Burhānu-l Mulk. Either his failure in raising the promised ransom or some other delinquency in the eyes of the conqueror, led to his severe reproof. The broken-hearted Nawāb "took diamond powder to save his name and honour and died about next morning."[3]

Nādir Shāh, according to all accounts, appears to have acted with great dignity and restraint. But the situation was such that, if all had gone well to the end, it would have been a great surprise. However, a clash occurred somewhere in the city, between the citizens and the army of occupation. It was the eve of the Holi festival for the Hindus, when excitement and intoxication are considered normal. 'The bad characters within the town,' says Ānandrām, 'collected in great

1. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 363.
2. Ibid., p. 363.
3. For a discussion on this point, read Dr. Srivastava, op. cit., p. 75.

bodies, and, without distinction, commenced the work of plunder and destruction. A discharge of firearms and other missiles was continued throughout the night. The darkness of the night and the difficulty of recognising friend or foe were the cause of numbers of the Kazalbashi (Persians) being slain in the narrow lanes of the town. Scarce a spot but was stained with their blood.

'On the morning of the 11th (March 1739, Sunday) an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants (as an act of reprisal for the murder of the Persians). The result may be imagined; one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction. *The Chandni chauk*, the fruit market, the *Daribah bazar*, and the buildings around the *Masjid-i-jama* were set fire to and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody; cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil. The author beheld these horrors from his mansion, situated in the *Wakilpura Muhalla* outside the city, resolved to fight to the last if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at least with honour. But, the Lord be praised, *the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above-named parts of the capital.* Since the days of Hazrat Sahib-kiran Amir Timur, who captured Delhi and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, up to the present time (A.H. 1151), a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur.'[1]

Results.

The loss in lives and treasure was indeed immense. No purpose would be served by dwelling either upon the horrors of the holocaust or counting the casualties. Neither age nor sex were respected by the

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 88.

furies let loose upon the city; the miscreants in some cases appear to have escaped leaving the innocent to be victimised. Several men and women were driven to insanity and suicide in their desperation. The streets and houses were glutted with corpses and soon the stench of these threatened to choke the living. The debris could be cleared and cleansed only by means of fire. The carnage lasted only for five hours, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. 'By degrees the violence of the flames subsided,' writes Ānandrām, 'but the bloodshed, the devastation, and the ruin of families were irreparable. For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with dead flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes, and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of 60 *lacs* of rupees and several thousand *ashrafis*; plate of gold to the value of one kror of rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about 50 *krors*. The Peacock throne[1] alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Shāh Jahān, had cost one *kror* of rupees. Elephants, horses, and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.'[2]

1. According to the *Jauhar-i Samsam*, the Peacock throne was 'bestowed on Nādir Shāh with his own munificent hand, as a parting present, by Muhammad Shāh. E. & D., op. cit., p. 89 n2. According to Fraser, the Peacock throne was broken to pieces by Sultan Ibrāhīm and Saiyid Abdullah, in 1720, to meet the expenses of the army.—*Nādir Shāh*, p. 30.

2. Ibid., p. 89. For a critical appraisal of details, read Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 370-74. "The entire population of Persia shared their King's prosperity. The revenue of that Kingdom was remitted for three years. The chiefs of the army were lavishly rewarded; the common soldiers received 18 months' pay together, one third of which was their due arrears, one third an advance, and the remaining one third as bounty [Bayan 53]. The camp-followers received Rs. 60 per head as salary and Rs. 100 as bounty [*Jaham* 361]." (Ibid., p. 374).

In the estimation of Fraser, 200,000 inhabitants of the Mughal Empire had fallen victims to the Persian invader ; and, in addition to 70 *krors* of rupees, Nādir Shāh carried away with him " 100 elephants, 7000 horses, 10,000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 writers, 200 smiths, 300 masons and builders, 100 stone-cutters, and 200 carpenters."[1]

A daughter of " Iesdan Bakhsh the son of Kām Bakhsh and grandson of Aurangzeb " was given in marriage to ' Nesr Allah Mīrza, Nādir Shāh's son. On Tuesday night the marriage was consummated. Mahommed Shah made the young princess a present of jewels to the value of 50,000 rupees, and in ready money 50,000 more."[2]

Finally, Nādir Shāh read the following homily to the Mughal Emperor :—

' In the first place, you must seize all the omra's jaguirs, and pay each of them, according to his mansab and rank, with ready money out of the treasury. You are to allow none to keep any forces of his own, but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen horsemen, at sixty rupees per month : every ten men to have *dehbashi* (officer over ten men), every ten dehbashis one *sudival* (officer over 100), and every ten sudivals one *hazari*. You ought to be well acquainted with the merits of each : his name, family and nation (race), not allowing any of them—officers, soldiers or others—to be idle or inactive ; (and) when an occasion may require, despatch a sufficient number, under the command of one whom you can trust for conduct, courage and fidelity, and when that business is over, recall them immediately, not letting any person to stay too long in command, for fear of bad consequences. *You are more particularly to beware of Nizāmu-l-Mulk, whom, by his conduct, I find to be full of cunning and self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a subject.*'

The reporter of the above, Mīrza Zouman, goes on to narrate : ' Mahommed Shāh knowing these advices proceeded from good-will, was very thankful, and desired him, as his empire depended on him, that he would appoint those whom

1. Ibid., pp. 119-20.
2. Ibid., p. 106.

he thought most deserving of the principal posts. Nādir Shāh said, "That will not be at all for your interest; such officers will have little deference for you in my absence; when I am gone, dispose of every post to those whom you think most worthy, and should they or any of them rebel, upon the first advice, I will send a person to chastise them; if it be necessary I'll send forces; or on occasion, I can be with you myself, in 40 days, from Kandahar; but upon all events do not reckon me far off."[1]

Persian Annexations.

Nādir Shāh before his departure on 5th May 1739, after a stay of 57 days placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Muhammad Shāh and tied a jewelled sword round his waist; and the Emperor gratefully declared (or was gracefully made to declare): "As the generosity of the Shāhan Shāh has made me a second time master of a crown and a throne and exalted me among the crowned heads of the world, I beg to offer as my tribute the provinces of my Empire west of the river Indus, from Kashmir to Sindh, and in addition the subahs of Tattha and the ports subordinate to it."[2]

Thus, the most vital part of the Mughal Empire, viz., the Trans-Indus provinces including Afghanistan, was now finally lost to the descendants of Bābur. "A considerable territory east of the Indus had also been seized by Nādir by right of victory over the local subahdārs before the battle of Karnāl, and his right to their revenue was not disputed, though they continued to be governed by Muhammad Shāh's officers. The governor of Lahore now signed an agreement to send Nādir 20 lakhs of Rupees a year on this account, to remove the reason for any Persian garrison being left east of the Indus."[3]

It must be here recorded with pride that, when Nādir Shāh wanted to acknowledge his gratification at Zakariyā

1. Ibid., p. 112.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 374.
3. Ibid., pp. 374-75.

Khān's (governor of Lahore) conduct during the invasion, by granting whatever he might desire, the latter *nobly begged of the conqueror for nothing more than the release of the Indian captives he was carrying away to Persia!*[1]

Lastly, it may be stated that, ever since Nādir Shāh's entry into Delhi, the *khutbah* (the emblem of sovereignty) had been read in the name of the conqueror. Now he graciously declared that henceforth all *farmāns* should be again issued in Muhammad Shāh's name, as also the reading of the *khutbah* and the issuing of coinage. Finally, Nādir Shāh also sent off four *farmāns* of his own to Nādir Jang, Nāsir-ud-daulah, Rājah Sāhu and Bāji Rao, urging them to respect the settlement he had made and to obey Muhammad Shāh in future.[2]

Nādir Shāh did not live long to reap the fruits of his triumphs. Eight years after his Indian invasion he died by the hand of an assassin.[3] We must now turn to the other invader: Ahmad Shāh Abdāli or Durrāni. He was one of Nādir Shāh's chief lieutenants. Of him the conqueror had said, "I have not found in Iran, Turan, or Hind, any man equal to Ahmad Abdāli[4] in capacity and character." This estimate of him was justified by Abdāli's successes. After the death of Nādir Shāh he established himself as independent

B. Ahmad Shāh Abdāli.

1. Ibid., p. 376.

2. *Jahanuksha*, 361-62, Rājwādé, vi, 167, Ali Hazin, 301, Bayan, 57, and Ānandrām, 803, cited, ibid., p. 375.

3. This took place on 9th June 1747 at Kuchān in the N. E. corner of Khurasan. It was the outcome of Nādir Shāh's deterioration into a ferocious tyrant. See Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 196-200.

4. Abdāli's original home appears to have been in Multān. His grand-father had migrated to Herat about 1717 A.D. (Srivastava, op. cit., p. 115). He was called *Ābdāl* (or a man of renunciation and communion with God) by his spiritual preceptor Khwajah Abu Ahmad *Ābdāl* of the Chisti order. *Duri-i-durrāni* (or 'Pearl among pearls') was the title he had himself assumed after his success. (Sarkar, op. cit., p. 200 n.)

ruler of Kandahar and Kabul, and consequently laid claim to Western Punjab as the rightful successor of Nādir. To make good this claim he led successive expeditions into Hindustan which culminated in the great disaster (for us) at Pānīpat in 1761. The situation in Hindustan leading up to this catastrophe is too complicated to be satisfactorily unravelled within the space at our disposal. We shall, therefore, here touch upon only a few of the most salient features to enable the reader to visualise the circumstances attending the extinction of the Mughal Empire. Although, as we have said in the Introduction, the last descendant of Bābur to bear the name and wear the crown of the Mughal Emperor was Bahādur Shāh II, who died in exile at Rangoon in 1862—a full century after the Third Battle of Pānīpat (1761)—the Empire might be considered to have been truly extinguished with the murder of Alamgīr II, on 28th November, 1759. His son Ali Gauhar, was at that time away from the capital and although he proclaimed himself Emperor Shāh Alam at Allahabad, he was not destined to return to Delhi except as the protégé of new powers (the Marathas and the English) that were contending for the mastery of his Empire. Meanwhile a puppet was raised to the throne, as Shah Jahan III,[1] by the rebellious *wazīr*, Gāzīu-d din Fīrūz Jang ;[2] but he never counted for a legitimate successor. This revolution was precipitated to a very large extent by the invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, which began in 1748 and ended in 1761.

Significance of Pānīpat.

One writer has said, "The Mogul rule began and ended on the field of Pānīpat."[3] The implications of this statement must be made clear. In the first battle of Pānīpat Ibrāhīm Lodi,

1. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (1934), p. 475. A grandson of Kām Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb. The *Ibrat-nāma* calls him Shāh Jahān II.—E. & D., op. cit., p. 243.

2. The wazīr also declared Shāh Alam a rebel. See Sarkar, op. cit., II, p. 166.

3. Kamdar and Shah, *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, p. 266.

the Afghan ruler of Delhi, was overthrown, and Bābur laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. In the second battle of Pānīpat, Akbar overthrew Hemu, the Hindu general of an Afghan King, who had set himself up as a new Vikramāditya at Delhi; but the real overthrow was not of Hindu power but of the Afghans. Throughout Mughal history the fallen and dispossessed Afghans were trying to regain their lost dominion in India; but they could never regain the capital, Delhi, the real political centre of gravity. Now, after a little over two centuries (1556-1761), it might appear that, Mughal power in India was really and finally extinguished even at Delhi as the result of an *Afghan* triumph on the gory field of Pānīpat. But it is not to be forgotten that the third battle of Pānīpat was *not* fought between the Mughal ruler of Delhi and the Afghan invader, but between the *Marathas* and Abdāli. The crushing defeat was therefore a disaster for the *Marathas* and *not* for the Emperor: if anything it was a triumph also for the Mughal Empire, because both Abdāli, Shujāu-d daula and the Rohillas, were to all appearances the champions of the Mughal (Muslim?) Empire against the immediate chances of founding a Maratha (Hindu) Empire at Delhi. After his victory at Pānīpat, Ahmad Shāh Abdāli retired from Hindustan recognising Shāh Alam as the Emperor of Delhi.' But here we are only dealing with *names* and not *realities*. The reality was that, as stated above, there was no Emperor at Delhi after the murder of Alamgīr II in November 1759. This was the work of the rebellious *wazīr*, Gāzīu-d din Fīroz Jang, in alliance with the Marathas. As a result, Abdāli occupied Delhi by way of challenge to the revolutionaries. The attempt of the Marathas to oust the Afghan from Delhi and the Punjab ended in a catastrophe, *to themselves* and *not to the Mughal Empire*: *the latter had already ceased to exist in 1759*. What Pānīpat decided was that *the Marathas were not to rule India*.[1]

1. Mr. Sardesai has argued with some reason that the Pānīpat disaster "did not materially affect the Maratha fortunes," and that

Abdāli's sudden withdrawal and recognition of Shāh Alam showed that his purpose in invading India *was not to re-establish Afghan rule at Delhi.*[1] The battle of Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764 also indicated that *not even a subahdār* or the *wazīr of the Mughal Empire was to succeed to his heritage of power.* Destiny had prepared an alien race for this important rôle. How this happened will become clear from what follows.

Five Durrāni Expeditions.

Ahmad Shāh Durrāni, like Bābur, led altogether five expeditions into Hindustan, the fifth ending with a victory on the field of Pānīpat; but the difference between the two was that the former, unlike the latter, did not follow up his triumph. The situation in India was somewhat similar on the two occasions : in 1526 the Empire of Delhi had shrunk to a kingdom, as in 1761 ; it was moreover very much distracted and weakened by internal squabbles and external dangers from its own nominal vassals ; a Hindu power, in both instances, was

the Marathas " made good their fortunes " ten years later when the next Peshwa and his spirited generals including Mahādji Sindia brought the legitimate Emperor to Delhi and installed him on his hereditary throne under Maratha protection, thus fulfilling *to the letter* the sacred undertaking of 1752, and *indirectly* also the grand ideal of Hindu-Pad-Pādshāhi for which the Peshwas had been striving from the beginning of their regime." But even he admits that at Pānīpat " the field was made clear for the third power, viz., the English. This is amply corroborated by the easy manner in which only four years after Pānīpat, Clive obtained the Diwāni of Bengal, i.e., practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India. Bengal had then been subjugated by the Bhonsla of Nagpur and *had the Peshwa been victorious at Pānīpat, one feels certain that neither the Bhonsla nor the Peshwa would have allowed Bengal to slip out of their hands so easily,* leaving the situation for Clive to manage as best as he could under the prevailing circumstances." (Italics mine.)—*The Modern Review,* September 1933, pp. 273-74.

1. Kāshirāj Pandit attributes the retreat of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli to the mutiny of his soldiers, as it had happened before with Alexander. Otherwise, he indicates, " He wished to seize on the Empire of Hindostan." But it is difficult to accept this statement in the light of Bābur's resolute action under exactly similar conditions. If Abdāli was really determined he could have overcome the opposition of his army. (See Rawlinson, *Pānīpat,* pp. 50-2.)

threatening to eclipse the Delhi suzerain (the Rajput confederacy under Rāna Sanga in the case of the Lodis, and the Maratha confederacy under the Peshwa in the case of the Mughals the latter being by far the more formidable) ; the foreigner, under similar circumstances was invited as an ally to support internal contentions ; but, as ill-luck would have it, the foreigner came to dominate over everything and everybody.

The differences were : Bābur came to stay, Abdāli was content with a military triumph and the booty it brought him ; Bābur fought against the ruler of Delhi, Abdāli against the Marathas, the virtual enemies and doubtful allies of the Emperor ; Bābur had been invited by Rāna Sanga (among others) the leader of the Hindu confederacy, Abdāli's principal adversary was the Maratha who—far from co-operating with the parties inviting him—took the main responsibility of fighting the enemies of the country.

First Expedition, 1748.

We have no room for all details of the expeditions, but shall record here only such facts as reveal the situation in India. It will be remembered that the Punjab, west of the Indus, had been annexed to Nādir Shāh's dominion with a further claim on the revenues of a part of Eastern Punjab as well. Abdāli started to reassert these rights, and rallying all the Afghans conquered Peshawar and marched on Lahore. Hayātullah, one of the sons of the great Zakariyā Khān, now his successor (or really usurper of the *subah*) had been one of the first to invite Abdāli to India to support his usurpation of his elder brother Yahiyā's deputy-governorship.[1] But when the

1. For a detailed account of these squabbles over the *subadāri* of the Punjab, after Zakariyā's death, see Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 191-96. "The civil war between Yahiya and Hayātullah rent the government of the Punjab into two, and made that province too weak to resist a foreign invader." "All these circumstances conspired 'to destroy the peace and prosperity which the just rule of Zakariyā Khān had given to the Punjab .... ' Disorder

invader actually came, blazing his path with fire and loot, Hayātu-llah appeared to have felt the enormity of his blunder, and attempted resistance when it was too late. Under the circumstances he had to bow

Low before the blast,
And let the legions thunder past.

"The capture of Lāhor more than doubled the strength of Ahmad. Not only did he gain immense wealth in the form of the city's ransom (Rs. 22 lakhs immediately paid) and the property of the governor and his family, but he was thus enabled to equip himself with all the imperial artillery and military stores in the fort, of which he had brought none from Peshawar. Further, he seized all the horses and camels that he could find in and near Lāhor, mounted his Afghan footmen on the horses and his swivel-guns on the camels, and in this way added five or six thousand hardy men to his mobile division, with a good number of rapidly portable light artillery."[1]

At such a moment of grave crisis the Mughal Emperor and his Court did not seem to have recovered from the paralytic stroke of Nādir Shāh's invasion. As the *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shāh* records : 'The condition of the country after the departure of Nādir Shāh was worse than before.' The chronicler's description of the situation is well worthy of reproduction :—

'Instead of being impressed with the importance of attending to the affairs of his kingdom, and turning his earnest attention as became an Emperor towards the management of the country, Muhammad Shāh from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play. This neglect on the part of the Sovereign was

broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunderers and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out of their holes and began to desolate the realm .... On one side the Rājah of Jammu rebelled, and on the other the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble." (Ānandrām, 289.) Ibid.

1. Ibid., pp. 210-11.

speedily taken advantage of by all the *amīrs* and nobles, who usurped possession of *subas* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and mounted to several *krors* of rupees. *From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the Royal chest*; but a small revenue was still derived from those few *khalisa parganas* which yet remained faithful to their allegiance. *As the Royal treasury became gradually emptied, the Emperor's army was reduced to great straits, and at last entirely broken up*; whilst the nobles of the land, who in the time of former sovereigns could never have got together such an amount of wealth, or so large a force, now amassed large sums of money from their own *jāgīrs*, and from those Government lands of which they had seized possession, and from the *jāgīrs* of others, a twentieth portion of which they did not give to the rightful owners. With this wealth they were able to keep up an immense army, with which the Emperor was unable to cope. Thus the Emperor found himself more circumscribed than his nobles, upon whom he, in fact, became dependent, and was unable to depose or displace any one of them."[1]

However, by a mere fluke of fortune, belated though the Imperial attempt was to withstand Ahmad Shāh's invasion, the enemy was beaten at the battle of Manupur, on 11th March, 1748. The Imperial army was under the nominal command of Prince Ahmad assisted by the *wazīr* Kamaru-d din Khān and Safdar Jang, the successor of Sa'adullah Khān, Nawāb of Oudh. Abdāli's precipitate retreat after this accidental defeat was due to an error of judgment arising from a miscalculation of his foe's fitful strength.[2] However, this was a stroke of good fortune, which saved the Empire for the time-being. The Mughals considered discretion the better part of valour and dared not follow up the victory with a pursuit. If they had done so, Abdali would probably have thought twice before he ventured into India again. But both sides exaggerated each others vantage!

1. This, in fact, is the description of the conditions obtaining on the eve of Nādir Shāh's invasion; after it, as the writer has pointed out, the situation became only worse.—E. & D., op. cit., pp. 104-5.

2. See Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 220-33.

The great loss of the victors in this battle was the death of the *wazīr* Kamaru-d din Khān. Its effect upon the Emperor Muhammad Shāh was like that of the death of Vishwās Rao and Sadāshiv Rao Bhāu upon the Peshwa Bālāji, thirteen years later at the battle of Pānīpat : the Emperor did not survive the shock. Whatever Kamaru-d din's failings might have been during his wazirship, the way he met his death is worthy to be immortalised. He was mortally wounded and, when he realised this, he called his son Muinu-l Mulk from the trenches, and said, "*My son, it is all over with me. But the Emperor's work is not yet finished. Before this news spreads, do you quickly ride out and deliver the assault.*" It was a very critical moment in the flux of the battle. The son rose equal to the situation. He suppressed his filial tears, buried his father hurriedly in his blood-stained clothes, and cried to his captains : "Advance with me or stand back from the battle as you like it, but do not take to flight during the fighting and thereby ruin our cause. I myself shall fight on till my death."[1]

Muin had earned his laurels and was rewarded with the *Subahdāri* of Lahore ; Nāsir Khān[2] was sent to Kabul. Prince Ahmad returned to find his father dead, and promptly ascended the throne as Emperor Ahmad Shāh. In fact, the news of Muhammad Shāh's death had reached the Mughal camp at Pānīpat, and as it had happened with Akbar after the battle of Sirhind (when, on receiving the news of Humāyūn's death at Agra, Bairam Khān effected his coronation on an improvised throne at Kalanaur), so now Ahmad's impromptu coronation was effected by Safdar Jang, a Persian minister who aspired to play the rôle of a second Bairam Khān. Safdar Jang indeed became the *wazīr*, tried to be his masters' master, and almost suffered the fate of Bairam Khān. He was forced to retire from court politics, and died soon after, as we shall presently see.

1. *Bayan*, 233 ; cited ibid., pp. 223-24.

2. He was already governor of Kabul, but had been put to flight by Abdāli.

Ahmad Shāh's Reign.

Muhammad Shāh had come to the throne at the age of 17, in 1719. He, therefore, reigned for 28 years, and died a natural death at the age of 45. Ahmad Shāh was 22 at his accession, but "the Emperor's mind inclined to the society of vulgar persons (only), and he practised evil deeds which made him a shame to the country." Under the evil direction of his depraved mother Udham Bai and her shameless paramour Javid Khān, the administration grew weak and degraded; "the pillars of the State were daily shaken; (and) the Emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury,—the three foundations of an Empire." He buried himself, as we have seen earlier, in his *harem* for weeks together, and indulged in all kinds of puerilities and frivolities. "Never since Tīmūr's time," laments a Delhi historian, "had a eunuch exercised such power in the State (as did Javid); hence the Government became unsettled. The hereditary peers felt humiliated by having to make their petitions through a slave and to pay court to him before any affair of State could be transacted."[1] After a fatuous reign of six years, Emperor Ahmad Shāh was dethroned by one of his officers, Imādu-l Mulk, and imprisoned and blinded by formal order of his successor Alamgir II, who was placed on the throne in 1754. It is pathetic to note that when the fallen Emperor cried in his agony of heart and thirst for water to drink, Saifullah, the officer in charge, held up to his lips some water put in a pot-sherd lying in the dust: the King of kings of an hour ago was glad to drink from it![2]

Abdāli's 2nd & 3rd Invasions: 1748-52.

The next two invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli took place before the palace revolution above referred to. Before his defeat and flight, according to the *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shāhi*, Abdāli had sent 'a camel, with melons, apples, etc., and a letter to the Prince (Ahmad Shāh), desiring peace, and stipulating that if

1. For a full and vivid picture of the times read Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 328-59.

2. Ibid., p. 544.

the Emperor would leave him Kabul and Thatta, which Nādir Shāh had given him, and all the gold which Nādir Shāh had brought from Delhi, he would evacuate the country.'[1] But this overture, as we have seen, proved futile, Abdāli now returned to retrieve his fortune. Mīr Mannu or Muinu-l Mulk, son of the *wazī* Kamaru-d din Khān, who had distinguished himself in the first fight against Abdāli, was then the *subahdār* of Lahore. He had proved himself a capable governor, but unfortunately he received no support from Delhi. 'Ahmad Khān's (Abdāli's) forces, separating in all directions, laid waste the villages and fields on every side, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, destroying all the country in its proximity. . . . The news of Ahmad Khān's attack speedily reached the ears of the Emperor and the *wazīr*, but no one thought of sending troops to assist Muinu-l Mulk,' says the *Tarikh-i Ahmad Shāhi*; on the contrary, the wazir was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment. At last news arrived that Muinu-l Mulk had, according to the advice and instructions of the Emperor, ceded to Ahmad Afghan the four *Mahals* of Lahore, viz. Sialkot, Imanabad, Parsarur, and Aurangabad, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kabul. Nāsir Khān, was appointed to manage the four mahals and send the yearly revenue to Kabul. Ahmad Khān, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Punjab for Kabul, and Muinu-l Mulk returned to Lahore.[2]

But Mīr Mannu would not continue to yield the tribute which had been exacted from him under duress. This brought the Durrāni on him for a second time in 1750-51. 'Ahmad came by forced marches to Lahore, and began to devastate the country (again). . . . .Mīr Mannu marched back in alarm to the city, barricaded all the streets, and strengthened the interior defences. Every day there were skirmishes, till at last the supply of provisions was closed on all sides. There was such a dearth of corn and grass that with the utmost difficulty two *sirs* of wheat flour could be had for a rupee, to say nothing of rice. To procure for horses other forage than rushes or house-thatch was next to an impossibility. This obliged Mīr Mannu and his army to take the field.'[3]

The Emperor under the direction of his IRĀNI *wazīr* (Safdar Jang) did worse than nothing. 'The nobles and *mirzas* of Delhi

1. E. & D. op. cit., p. 108.

2. Ibid., p. 115. Muhammad Aslam's *Farhatun Nasirin* confirms the account—Ibid., p. 166.

3. Ibid., pp. 166-67.

hoped that Mīr Mannu (who was a TURĀNI) might be destroyed, and after this desirable event they would take measures against Abdāli(!). They would thus extirpate the thorn which the *Turānis* had planted in their side."[1] Pursuing this suicidal policy, a rival had been appointed governor of Multan who was promised the *subahdāri* of Lahore if he should succeed in getting rid of Muinu-l Mulk. Under these circumstances even the lion-hearted Mannu could do little. He was defeated and obliged 'to kiss the threshold of the Durrāni." The honourable way in which he did this is worthy of record. Like Porus before Alexander the Great, Muinu-l Mulk addressed the Durrāni thus : "*If you are a shop-keeper sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a Padisha then grant me your grace and pardon.*"

Like Alexander also the Afghan conqueror had the magnanimity to appreciate this courageous bearing of the vanquished. He embraced Muin, called him his son (*Farzand*), and bestowed on him a *khilat* (robe of honour), and aigrette for the crest, and the very turban from his head![2] Like Zakariyā Khān before Nādir Shāh, Muinu-l Mulk pleaded mercy also for his starving people, and Ahmad Shāh at his request released his Punjābi captives, and posted his provost-marshalls in the city to prevent his soldiers from robbing or maltreating the citizens. Next day a dinner was given to Abdāli and his troops by the grateful Muinu-l Mulk and the *subahs* of Lahore and Multan were ceded to the Afghans. This was further confirmed by the Emperor who in effect agreed to pay an annual tribute of 50 *lakhs* of rupees to the Durrāni : Mīr Mannu was reinstated in his charge, but now as a virtual vassal of Abdāli.

Marathas and the Punjab.

A complication soon arose out of an agreement between the *wazīr* Safdar Jang and the Marathas. The latter since the time of Bāji Rao I had become by far the most conspicuous power to reckon with in North India. Whether it was the threat of an invasion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Bhonsle of

1. Ibid., 166.
2. *Miskin and Husaini*, cited by Sarkar, op. cit., p. 433.

Nagpur (who was a rival of the Peshwas), or a conflict between the Rohilas and the Nawāb of Oudh, an internal dispute about succession in Rajputana, or again the fear of a Durrāni invasion in the Punjab, it was the Peshwa and his Maratha confederates that were looked up to as saviours. Thus the Peshwāi Marathas were called into Bengal by Ali Verdi Khān in 1743 to save his province from the Nāgpuri Marathas.[1] This resulted in the annual grant, by the Emperor Muhammad Shāh to Rāja Shāhu, of 25 *lakhs* of rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal and 10 *lakhs* as that of Bihar, promised in November 1746.[2] In 1751 likewise, Safdar Jang the *wazīr*, finding himself unequal to the task of suppressing the Bangash and Rohilla Afghans,[3] who had become a menace both to the Empire and to his own *subah* of Bihar, summoned the Marathas to his assistance. This alliance, originally effected to meet a local problem, soon ripened into what appeared to be a more formidable coalition between the Marathas and the Empire as represented by the *wazīr*. The treaty embodying this was made during the third Abdāli invasion of the Punjab (1751-52). Its terms were as follows :

1. The Peshwa agreed to protect the dwindling Empire from all its enemies, whether foreign invaders like Abdāli or domestic rebels like the Jāts, Rohillas, or the Sikhs.

2. Fifty *lakhs* of rupees were to be paid to the Peshwa for this : 30 *lakhs* for driving out Abdāli and the rest for other services.

3. In addition the Peshwa was granted the *chauth* of the Punjab and Sindh including the *mahals* of Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujrat, Aurangabad, and the districts of Hisar, Sambhal, Muradabad and Badaun.

1. See Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 94. ff.

2. Ibid., p. 127. Complications arising from this need not be dealt with here.

3. For a fuller account of these see ibid., pp. 41-66, 374-404. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 106-112 ; 142-195.

4. The Peshwa was also to be appointed Governor of Ajmer (including the *faujdāri* of Narnaul) and Agra (including the *faujdāri* of Mathura).

5. The above charges were to be administered strictly according to the laws of the Mughal Empire and nominally subject to the Emperor.

6. And finally, the Maratha *sardārs* were to be enlisted in the ranks of the Imperial *mansabdārs*.[1]

This, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar points out, practically placed the Marathas "in possession of the north-western frontier province, though under the Emperor's suzerainty, so that it would be their interest to resist Abdāli, and the Emperor would be relieved of the task of defending it . . . . Safdar Jang even talked of reconquering Kabul with Maratha help." Although the scheme did not materialise immediately, it sufficiently indicated the importance of the Marathas and foisted their gaze upon the province of their doom.

The obstacle in the way of their realisation was the existence of a party at Court opposed to the Irāni *wazīr* Safdar Jang, during whose absence from Delhi, was precipitated the agreement with Abdāli already referred to above. By this the Punjab had already been yielded up to the Durrāni (1751-52). Under these circumstances, Safdar Jang's inability to fulfil his agreement with the Marathas brought matters to a head at Delhi. The eunuch Javid Khān the dictator at Court was naturally held responsible by the *wazīr*. Failing all other remedies, Safdar Jang determined upon and effected his murder on 27th August 1752.[2] This political assassination and the domination of the *wazīr* over the Emperor and his Court only

1. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 200-201 ; Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 360-62. The latter points out, "This was an anticipation of the policy which Wellesley adopted when he made the English hold the ceded districts along the w. border of Oudh, so as to face Sindhia's dominions and bar the path of Maratha advance into the Company's territory."

2. Ibid., pp. 364-74.

made the position worse for Safdar Jang ; it increased the number of his enemies. To strengthen himself, Safdar Jang quartered his Maratha allies round about Delhi, and the two together established a tyranny that became increasingly intolerable to all. " The Emperor (Ahmad Shāh) keenly resented being reduced to the condition of a captive cut off from free intercourse with society by Safdar Jang's partisans. Such high-handedness on the part of the prime minister could have been borne if his administration had been a success, the revenue secured, and the enemy kept out. But a dictator under whom the capital was insulted by a permanent camp of Marathas at its gates, the provinces passed out of the Central Government's control, and the royal house-hold officials and troops all starved, was sure to provoke a universal revolt against his unwholesome domination."[1]

From the close of 1752 there were persistent reports of a fresh Durrāni incursion. On 5th February 1753, an envoy from Ahmad Shāh Abdāli actually presented himself at the Court of the Mughal Emperor demanding the 50 *lakhs* promised to him in 1751-52. The baffled Emperor consulted his courtiers who only taunted : " The Marathas have undertaken to fight Abdāli. You have given them the two provinces of Agra and Ajmer, and the *chauth* of all the 24 *subahs*. You have paid them money and placed all authority in their hands. Ask *them* what should be done now."

This precipitated a crisis at Court. The party in opposition to Safdar Jang cried for his dismissal. A civil war ensued, in the course of which the jats as the allies of the *wazīr* plundered Old Delhi : ' lakhs and lakhs were looted, the houses were demolished, and all the suburbs and Churania and Wakilpura were rendered totally lampless.'[2] The capital and its suburbs, when the Afghan was knocking at their gates,

1. Ibid, p. 460.
2. Ibid., p. 481.

were turned into a Field of Mars, not for fighting against the external enemy, but on account of the internal quarrels between the Emperor and his insubordinate officers. At last peace was restored through the mediation of Madho Singh the Rājah of Jaipur, to whom the helpless Emperor appealed in the hour of distress. The mediator was rewarded with the restoration of Rantambhor which the Rajput had begged for in vain from Muhammad Shāh. Safdar Jang, dismissed from his office as *wazīr* retired to his *subah* of Oudh where he died on 5th October, 1754.[1]

"This final withdrawal of Safdar Jang from the capital," observes Sarkar, "completed the process by which the ablest and most experienced of the elder peers, who could possibly have reformed the administration if properly supported by the Emperor, gave up the task in despair and retired to some distant province where they could at least achieve something really great and good, though in a smaller sphere. The practical independence of these provincial governors and their scornful unconcern with the affairs of Delhi, in Bengal, Oudh, and the Deccan, coupled with the Maratha seizure of Gujarat and Malva, and the Afghan annexation of the Punjab, contracted the Empire of India into a small area round Delhi and a few districts of the modern U. P., where small men only fought and intrigued for small personal ends."[2]

Imādu-l Mulk's Domination.

The retirement of Safdar Jang, however, brought no peace either to the Emperor or to his capital. The parties changed, but the civil strife continued. The hero of the triumph against Safdar Jang had been Imādu-l Mulk, a grandson of Nizāmu-l Mulk. He was then the *bakhshī* or the pay-master of the Imperial troops. On the dismissal of Safdar Jang, Intizāmu-d daulah, uncle of Imād and leader of the Turani

1. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 249-50.
2. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 505.

party, had become the *wazīr*. Now the two, uncle and nephew, the *wazīr* and the *bakhshī*, quarrelled for supremacy over the Emperor. The latter, being the more impetuous and capable, triumphed in the end over his self-indulgent rival. The Emperor, had naturally sided with his *wazīr* ; but when his plans were foiled, the whole strife recoiled on him. Imad set aside both the Emperor and the *wazīr*, and raised, as stated already, Azīzu-d din, a son of Jahandar Shāh, to the throne as Alamgīr II,[1] and himself became the *wazīr* and dictator.

The Marathas.

In these squabbles within the Imperial arena, the Marathas had been more than mere disinterested witnesses. We have seen how their puissant arms were coveted in all places. They were not, however, wedded to any party in particular. They assisted Safdar Jang and the Emperor as it suited their ambitious policy in the North. In the civil war between Safdar Jang and the Emperor they had no hesitation in siding with the latter. In the sequel to this struggle they sided with Imādu-l Mulk. They were clever in always backing the winning horse.[2] The revolutions at the capital, although not the fruits of their intrigues, were all carried out with their assistance. Raghunāth Rao, the Peshwa's younger brother, Malhār Rao Holkar, and the Sindhias (Jayappa and Dattāji) were their great generals in the North. They exacted heavy tribute from all and sundry : from the Rajputs, the Jāts, and the Mughals alike, and dominated everywhere.[3] The overthrow of Emperor Ahmad Shāh was not the last word the Marathas had to say in this tumultous situation. They continued to be the allies of the vigorous young *wazīr*, Imādu-l Mulk, the new "King-maker" of Delhi.

1. The new Emperor was 55 years of age at his accession.

2. The Peshwa's letter to Dattāji and Jankoji Sindhia, dated 21 March 1759, is an illustration in point. The Peshwa directs them to raise to the *wazīr*-ship whosoever might pay 50 *lacs* in addition to other territorial promises. Sarkar, op. cit., II, p. 232.

3. Ibid., pp. 514-22.

Reign of Alamgīr II.

The new Emperor Alamgīr II, whose character and fate have already been described by us, was a mere figure-head. His overthrow and murder in 1759 was due to his own pusillanimity. Like his weak predecessors he gave no unequivocal support to his 'maker' the powerful *wazīr*. The latter following a vigorous policy had incurred the enmity of Najibu-d daulah the new Rohillah leader, as well as the hereditary enemy of his house, the Nawāb of Oudh, Shujāu-d daulah who had succeeded his father Safdar Jang. In the Punjab also Ghāzīū-d din (Imād had assumed the title of his father), taking advantage of Minu-l Mulk's death had appointed a capable officer named Adina Beg in order to subdue the turbulent Sikhs and to drive out the Afghans. Ghaziu-d din, therefore, had made a promising beginning to bring the anarchical situation under control. If the Emperor had whole-heartedly supported him in this policy everything would have gone on well. But unfortunately for all concerned, he played into the hands of the *wazīr's* enemies. The *wazīr* in his desperation had recourse to the familiar stratagem of killing the faineant Emperor and replacing him with another puppet. This was, according to the *Ibrat-nāma,* a youth named Muhiu-l Millat, son of Muhius Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh. He was raised to the throne as Shāh Jahān II.[1] But he was not recognised by anybody; for the Durrāni was once again upon the scene; and the Kingmaker himself had to fly for his life. The murdered Emperor's son, Ali Gauhar, was then a fugitive in Bihar. His succession was sponsored by Najibu-d daulah, Shujāu-d daulah and Abdāli; yet, he could not return to his capital except under the 'protection' of the Marathas in 1772. We repeat, therefore, although the 'emperor' continued for another century, the Mughal Empire ceased to exist with the political 'vacuum'[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., 243.

2. This phrase is to be understood to mean the compulsory absence of the Emperor from the throne of his ancestors at Delhi. Shāh Alam's heir was no doubt all the time at the capital and

created at Delhi in 1759, and the occupation and destruction of the capital by the rival forces of the Durrānis and the Marathas in 1760. With the subsequent slaughter of the Marathas on the fateful and fatal field of Pānīpat in the early months of 1761 the Empire had nothing to do ; for the very simple reason that it had already ceased to be.

Iram indeed is gone with all his Rose,
And Jamshyd's Seven-ringed Cup, where no one knows ;

One Moment in Annihilation's waste,
One Moment in the Well of Life to taste—
The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste !

VI PĀNĪPAT AND AFTER

We cannot close this denouement of the Imperial drama, however, without depicting the tragic circumstances surrounding the chief actors when the curtain dropped for the last time. The main facts of the situation were that the friends of the Empire had turned its enemies and its enemies friends : Abdāli and the Marathas had interchanged their places in relation to the Emperor ; similarly the *wazīr* and the Rohillas. This 'reversal of alliances' (1757-59) is not less interesting than 'the diplomatic revolution' (1748-56) in the European history of about the same period. Like France and England changing sides in respect of Austria, we find that Abdāli and the Marathas exchange places in respect of the Emperor. In the case of the latter, however, the turn of the tide was brought about, not so much by diplomacy, but by sheer force of events.

Najibu-d daula was acting in his name. But the fact that the Emperor himself *could not* return to his capital was significant of his impotency. As Sarkar has put it : "From 10th Oct. 1760, when Sadāshiv Rao Bhau deposed the wazir's puppet Shāh Jahān II and proclaimed Shāh Alam II as Emperor in Delhi, to the 6th of January 1772, when Shāh Alam rode into the capital of his fathers for the first time as sovereign, *the imperial city was widowed of her lord.*"—Sarkar, op. cit., II, p. 373 ; cf. ibid., p. 525.

These must be clearly traced in order to view the third battle of Pānīpat in its proper perspective from the point of view of the Mughal Empire.

4th Invasion of Abdāli, 1757.

The history of the first three invasions of Abdāli has made it plain that the invader was considered an enemy of the Empire. The efforts made by the Emperor and his *wazīr* to win the support of the Marathas also made it clear that the latter were considered the best friends and defenders of the Empire. The Emperor Alamgīr owed his position to the *wazīr* Imādu-l Mulk Gāzīu-d din Fīroz Jang and his Maratha allies. This relationship continued from the accession of Alamgīr II in 1754 to the fourth invasion of the Durrāni in the year of the battle of Plassey (1757). The years following, up to the battle of Pānīpat (1761), were momentous years in the history of India. Dr. V. A. Smith has pointed out how "during the short space of time which intervened between June 1756 and the tragedy of Pānīpat in January 1761 a marvellous change was wrought in the English position both in Bengal and in the peninsula. The conflicts in the south between the English and the French, in which each side was supported by Indian allies, began in 1746 with loss of Madras and ended on January 6, 1761, a week before the battle of Pānīpat, with the conditional surrender to British arms of Pondicherry, the chief French settlement. The events in Bengal were still more startling and fateful. The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756 were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later."[1]

It is hazardous to assert what might have happened to the destiny of India had the reverse happened on the field of Pānīpat. But the fact that India did not present a united front to the Durrāni needs to be well borne in mind. Although in his earlier raids Abdāli had been encouraged by invitations from rebellious Indian *amīrs*, the disunity of India was not pressed to a fatal point until during the 4th and the 5th in-

1. *O. H.*, p. 466.

vasions of Abdāli. These two last raids of Ahmad Shāh took place during the fateful period 1757-59, and under the following circumstances.

Emperor and Wazīr fall out.

The zealous efforts of the *wazīr* Gāzīu-d din to bring matters under his control have already been referred to. 'Imādu-l Mulk, after arranging the revenue and other matters,' says the *Ibrat-nāma*, 'set about the reformation of the cavalry and the *sin dagh system*,[1] which had fallen into a very corrupt state. He removed the Emperor from Shāh-Jahānābād to Pānīpat, and then taking away from the officials of the cavalry the lands which they held round the capital, he appointed his own officers to manage them. The chiefs of the cavalry, *being encouraged by the Emperor and some of his councillors*, were clamorous against the *wazīr*, and sent their *vakils* to him to demand their pay.' These demands were followed up by soldiers who 'went to the pavilion of the *wazīr*, and, collecting there in a mob, raised a great tumult. The *wazīr* heard this, and, proud of his rank and power, came fearlessly out to quell the disturbance. The rioters seized him, and began to abuse him in terms unmentionable. Numbers gathered together from every side, and the mob increased. They tore off his (*wazīr's*) clothes, and in the struggle his turban even fell from his head. Then they dragged him through the streets of Pānīpat to their camp .... Meanwhile a message was brought from the Emperor (Alamgīr II) to the officers, offering to make himself responsible for their pay *if they would deliver over the wazīr to him as a prisoner*, and telling them that if he escaped from their hands, they would have hard work to get their pay from him .... Imādu-l Mulk was much hurt and troubled by the part the Emperor had taken. In a few days they returned to Delhi, and he, leaving the Emperor under the watch of his confidants, proceeded to Lahore.'

1. This had been introduced by Safdar Jang, and was so called because horses were branded with the first letter of his name—*Sin*.

Abdāli's 4th visit.

At Lahore, with the help of Adina Beg, an adventurer, he took possession of the late *subahdār* Muinu-l Mulk's family and belongings and 'gave the province of Lahore to Adina Beg Khān for a tribute of thirty *lacs* of rupees..' The widow (of Muinu-l Mulk), hurt by the treatment she had received, let loose her tongue, and in a loud voice reviled and abused the *wazir*. She added, "*This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Shāh Jahānābād, and disgrace to the nobles and the State. Ahmad Shāh Durrāni will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you.*"[1]

Ahmad Shāh, on hearing of this daring act of Imādu-l Mulk, came hastily to Lahore. Adina Beg Khān, being unable to resist, fled towards Hansi and Hissar. 'Imādu-l Mulk was frightened ..... When Ahmad Shāh drew near to Delhi, Imādu-l Mulk had no resource but submission, ... With all the marks of contrition he went forth to meet the Shāh, and ..... he was confirmed in his rank and office, upon condition of paying a heavy tribute. On the 7th of *Jumada-l awwal*, 1170 A.H. (28 Jan. 1757 A.D.), he entered the fortress of Shāh-Jahānābād, and had an interview with the Emperor Alamgīr. He remained in the city nearly a month, plundering the inhabitants, and very few people escaped being pillaged.'[2]

The *Tarikh-i Ibrāhīm Khān* adds other details of Abdāli's 4th invasion. It says that the Shāh married a daughter of the Emperor's brother to his own son Tīmūr Shāh. He also marched against Suraj Mal Jāt: After causing a general massacre of the garrison, he hastened towards Mathura, and having razed that ancient sanctuary of the Hindus to the ground, made all the idolators fall a prey to his relentless sword .... At this time a dreadful pestilence broke out with great virulence in the Shāh's army, so that he was forced to abandon his intention of

1. Cf. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, p. 58-61; for the help she rendered to Abdāli, see Ibid., pp. 64-65.

2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 238-41.

chastising Suraj Mal, and unwillingly made up his mind to repair to his own kingdom.' [1]

Internal Conflicts.

The attempt to collect from Oudh the amount of tribute due to Abdāli brought the *wazīr* into conflict with Shujāu-d daula. The same time, 'Imādu-l Mulk, who was very apprehensive of Najibu-d-daula (the Rohilla chief), excited Dattā Sindhia and Jhanku Mahratta to hostilities against him, and promised them several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of their expelling him from the country which he occupied. The Mahratha chiefs accordingly, at the head of their southern armies, attacked Najibu-d daula with impetuosity, and he, as long as he was able, maintained his ground against that force, which was as numerous as ants and locusts, till at last, being unable to hold out longer, he took refuge in the fort of Sakartal. The southrons laid siege to the fort, and having stopped the supplies of grain, put him to great distress. Sindhia, seeing Najibu-d daula reduced to extremities, sent for Imadu-l Mulk from Shāh-Jahānābād, in order to complete the measures for chastising him.' [2] In the meanwhile, 'Imādu-l Mulk, suspicious of the Emperor, and knowing that Intizamu-d daula Khān-khānan was his chief adviser, murdered that noble in the very act of saying his prayers.' Likewise was the Emperor also murdered, and his body thrown out of the window, 'stripped of all the clothes,'

1. E. & D. op. cit., pp. 246-65. For a full account of the atrocities and ravages committed by the Afghan invaders on this occasion, which seem to exceed even those of Nādir Shāh 's invasion, see Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 98 ff. The immensity of the booty carried away on this occasion may be estimated from the following account :—'Abdāli's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, etc., while 200 camel-loads were taken by Muhammad Shāh's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. 80,000 horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their charges. For securing transport, the Afghan King left no horse or camel in any one's house, *not even a donkey*. The guns he had brought .... were left behind, because their draught-cattle had to be loaded with plunder, ... In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody."—cited ibid., p. 130.

2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 241-42.

and the corpse left stark naked. 'After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, the body was taken up by order of Mahdi Ali Khān, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humāyūn.'[1] Immediately a new puppet (Shāh Jahān III?) was raised to the throne, and Imād marched against Sakartal. 'In the meantime,' says the *Ibrat-nāma*, from which the above narrative has been abstracted, the report of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's invasion spread among the people. Imādu'l Mulk, in fear of his life, saw no other means of safety than in seeking the protection of Suraj Mal (Jāt), and accordingly departed without delay for that chief's territory.'[2] With his flight his puppet 'Emperor' lost this only champion, and when the next year Sadāshiv Rao Bhāu occupied Delhi, on 9th Oct. 1760, he 'removed Shāh Jahān' and 'seated the illustrious Prince, Mirza Jawan Bakht, the grandson of Alamgir II, on the throne of Delhi.'[3] But since Sadāshiv Rao also died on the field of Pānīpat in the course of a few months, this Prince also was left without a champion. This brings us to the last scene of the last act.

Dhurrāni's 5th Invasion.

We have anticipated a little in speaking of Bhāu's occupation of Delhi and his subsequent fate. That was the outcome of the conflict between the Marathas and Abdāli rendered inevitable by the entry of both into the Punjab. To understand this situation we have to turn to events upon Abdāli's 4th invasion. In the words of the *Tarikh-i Ibrāhīm Khān*, 'The Shāh, after forming a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of his late Majesty Muhammad Shāh, and investing Najibu-d daula with the title of *Amīru-l umara* and the dignified post of *bakhshi*, set out for Lahore. As soon as he had planted his sublime standard on that spot, he conferred both the government of Lahore and Multan on his son, Tīmūr Shāh,

1. Ibid., pp. 242-43. 'This tragedy,' according to this writer, 'occurred on Thursday, the 20th of *Rabiu-s sani*, 1173 A.M. (30th Nov. 1759 A.D.).

2. Ibid., p. 243.

3. *The Tarikh-i Ibrāhim Khān*, *Ibid.*, p. 278.

and leaving Jahān Khān behind him, proceeded himself to Kandahar.' Although Adina Beg was placed in charge of the Doab under the new regime, he soon found himself in conflict with his new masters. On account of this Adina Beg allied himself with the Sikhs and the Marathas,[1] the latter of whom had already come to the rescue of Imādu-l Mulk against Najibu-d daula.

Our chronicler continues, 'Raghunāth Rao and the rest of the Maharatta chiefs set out from Delhi towards Lahore, at the solicitation of Adina Beg Khān, of whom mention has been briefly made above. After leaving the suburbs of Delhi, they arrived first at Sirhind, where they fought an action with Abdūs Samad Khān, who had been installed in that place by the Abdāli Shāh, and took him prisoner. Turning away from thence, they pushed on to Lahore, and got ready for a conflict with Jahān Khān, who was stationed there. The latter, however, being alarmed at the paucity of his troops in comparison with the multitude of the enemy, resolved at once to seek refuge in flight. Accordingly, in the month of *Sha'bān*, 1171 A.H. (April, 1758 A.D.), he pursued the road to Kabul with the utmost speed, accompanied by Tīmūr Shāh, and made a present to the enemy of the heavy baggage and property that he had accumulated during his administration in that region. The Maharatta chieftains followed in pursuit of Tīmūr Shāh as far as the river Attock, and then retraced their steps to Lahore. *This time the Maharattas extended their sway up to Multan.* As the rainy season had commenced, they delivered over the province of Lahore to Adina Beg Khān, on his promising to pay a tributary offering of seventy-five *lacs* of rupees; and made up their minds to return to the Dakkhin, being anxious to behold again their beloved families at home.

'On reaching Delhi in the course of their return, they made straight for their destination, after leaving one of their warlike chieftains, named Janku, at the head of a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis. It chanced that in the year 1172 A.H. (1758-9 A.D.) Adina Beg Khān passed away; whereupon Jankuji entrusted the government of the province of Lahore to a Maharatta, called Sama, whom he despatched thither. He also appointed Sadik Beg Khān, one of Adina Beg Khān's followers, to the administration of Sirhind, and gave the management of the Doab to Adina Beg Khān's widow. Sama, after reaching Lahore, applied himself to the

1. Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 70-79.

task of government, and pushed on his troops as far as the river Attock. In the meanwhile, Imādu-l Mulk the *wazīr*, caused Shāh Alamgīr II to suffer matyrdom .. On the other side, Duttāji Sindhia, invaded Rohilla territory which made Najibud-d daula write numerous letters to Abdāli to induce him to come to Hindustan. The Shāh who was vexed at heart on account of Timūr Shāh and Jahān Khān having been compelled to take to flight, and was brooding over plans of revenge, accounted this friendly overture a signal advantage and set himself at once in motion.'[1]

The story of the struggle which ensued out of the situation so far described does not form part of the history of the Mughal Empire. As Mr. Sardesai has pointed out, " it became a point of honour with both powers (the Marathas and Abdāli), the one to keep what was once conquered, the other to reclaim what was lost."[2] Only a few facts connected with this struggle are relevant to our study, and they are as follows :—

1. Ahamad Shāh Durrāni having killed Dattāji Sindhia and put to flight Malhār Rao Holkar at last reached the capital, Delhi, and took up his quarters in the city.

2. On the return of Raghunāth Rao to Poona from the North, in 1759, a more formidable army was immediately despatched by the Peshwa Bālāji Bāji Rao, under the command of his son Vishwās Rao and cousin Sadāshiv Rao Bhāu to drive away the Durrāni : " You must destroy the enemy finally, and hold all the territory up to the Indus."[3] This was the mission on which they were sent.

3. They reached Delhi on 23rd of Sept. 1760, and invested its fort which was then in charge of Yākub Ali Khān, a brother of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's prime-minister Shāh Wali Khān. After a strenuous siege and defence of the fort fell into the hands of the Marathas. ' Bhāu, entered the fort along with Viswās Rao, and took possession of the property and goods that he could find in the old repositories of the royal family. He also broke in pieces the silver

1. E. & D., p. cit., pp. 264-68.

2. *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Pānipat*, p. iii. On account of Raghunāth Rao's exploits in the Punjab the nominal ownership of that province had been passed on to the Marathas, with a promise of 75 *lacs* as tribute from Adina Beg. Likewise, in return for 13 *lacs*, the Marathas had undertaken to keep 5,000 horse at Delhi for the protection of the Emperor.—Sarkar, op. cit., II, p. 159.

3. See Rawlinson, *Pānipat*, p. 63.

ceiling of the *Diwāni Khās*, from which he extracted so much of the precious metal as to be able to coin seventeen *lacs* of rupees of it. Nārad Shankar Brahmin was then appointed by Bhāu to the post of governor of the fort.'[1]

4. Najibu-d daula (Rohilla), already an ally of Ahamad Shāh Abdāli, now tried to win over Shujāu-d daula to his side. Najib went in person 'with a conciliatory epistle, which was as it were a treaty of friendship.'[2] Shujāu-d daula ultimately came into the net.

5. Sadāshiv Rao, 'on the 29th of the month of *Safar*, 1174 A.H. (9th October, 1760 A.D.), removed Shāh Jahān, son of Muhiu-s Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh, son of Aurangzeb Alamgīr, and having seated the illustrious Prince, Mīrzā Jawan Bakht, the grandson of Alamgīr II, on the throne of Delhi, publicly conferred the dignity of *wazīr* on Shujā'u-d daula. His object was this, that the Durrāni Shāh might become averse to and suspicious of the Nawāb in question.'[3]

6. 'In the interim, Rāja Suraj Mal Jāt, who discerned the speedy downfall of the Maratha power, having moved with his troops, *in company with Imādu-l Mulk the wazīr*,.....betook himself to Balamgarh, which is one of his forts.'[4] This is the last we hear of the Emperor of Delhi and his *wazīr*. The gods declared against the Marathas in the wager of battle at Pānīpat, and consequently the 'Emperor' placed on the throne of Delhi by Bhāu in 1760 disappeared with him. The victor, too, was not destined to to rule from Delhi. He declared that he came to Hindustan 'at the solicitation of his countrymen, the Rohillas, and other Musalmans, to relieve them from their fear of the Mahratta yoke.'[5]

"Even at this distance of time, the pulses leap as we read of the Abdāli, reflectively pulling at his hookah as he watches

1. E. & D., op. cit., p. 276; Sarkar op. cit., pp. 252-55, 265-67.

2. Ibid., Najib told Shujau-d dauda: "the Bhao bears a mortal hatred to all Musalmans; whenever he has the power to show this enmity neither you nor I, nor any other Musalman will escape. Though, after all the destiny of God will be fulfilled yet we ought also to exercise our own faculties to their utmost."—Ibid., p. 11.

3. Sadāshiv Rao tried in vain to secure at least the neutrality of Shujau-d daula.—Ibid. See Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 268-69; also pp. 274 ff.

4. Ibid., pp. 277-78.

5. Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 28.

the long lines of the Marathas deploying for action in the dim winter dawn: the Vazīr, in full armour, rallying his men with the cry, 'Our country is far off, my friends; whither do you fly?': the choking dust: the combatants rolling on the ground, locked in a deadly embrace; the cries of 'Din! Din!' and 'Har, Har, Mahādev!' and lastly, the dramatic annihilation of one of the most splendid and gallant armies that ever took the field. A defeat is, under some circumstances, as honourable as a victory; and never in all their annals, did the Maratha armies cover themselves with greater glory, than when the flower of the chivalry of the Deccan perished on the stricken field of Pānīpat, fighting against the enemies of their creed and country."[1]

LAST OF THE MUGHALS

Nothing more remains to be said about the Mughal Empire excepting the fate of the last descendants of Bābur and their shadowy 'power.' The genealogical table of the Later Mughals down to Bahādur Shāh II, has been given elsewhere in this book. A brief account may be here given of the following, representing 'Mughal Emperors' who were *virtual prisoners*, at first of the Marathas and then of the British, until the very last of them, Bahādur Shāh II, was formally *deposed* and deported in 1858:—

Alamgīr II
(1754—59 murdered)
|
Shāh Alam II
(Nominal accession 1759; restored to Delhi by the Marathas 1772; d. 1806)
|
Akbar II
(1806—37)
|
Bahādur Shāh II
(1837—58 deposed and deported; d. 1862)

1. Rawlinson, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

The only omissions in this are the two Princes raised to the throne of Delhi respectively by the rebellious *wazīr* Imādu-l Mulk and Sadāshiv Rao Bhāu, during the revolution created by the last invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdāli (1759-60). The first of these, Shāh Jahān III, was displaced by Mīrzā Jawan Bakht (grandson of Alamgīr II). But the fact that after Pānīpat, in 1761, Abdāli recognised Shāh Alam II as Emperor eclipsed both the nominees above referred to. The latter of the two (Mīrzā Jawan Bakht) continued to act as his father's representative during the 12 years' exile of Shāh Alam from Delhi.

After his victory Ahmad Shāh Durrāni came to Delhi. According to Kāshirāj Pundit, "He wished to seize the empire of Hindostan; but God disapproved of this design." His soldiers mutinied and insisted upon immediate retreat to Kabul. So Abdāli "was obliged to give up his views in Hindostan, and return to Kabul; having received above forty lacs of rupees from Nujeib-u-Dowlah for the assistance which he had given him.....Providence made use of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Mahrattas."[1]

The Persian *Life of Najibu-d daula* lately published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, gives the following account of the happenings at Delhi after Pānīpat :—

'Ahmad Shāh entered Delhi. Wakils of the Jāt with Rājah Nagar Mal—who was an old imperial *mutasaddi* and had been *diwan of Khalsa*, enjoying honours under Muhammad Shāh, Ahmad Shāh and Alamgīr II—came from the Jāt forts and saw Abdāli. The camp of Ahmad Shāh was pitched near the city of Old Delhi. Rumours arose that he would march towards the Deccan. Najib gave the advice that, if that King went to Malwa, a vast amount (of tribute) would be collected. The Jāt Rājah also agreed through Najib to pay a *peshkash* and send a contingent to accompany Abdāli in this march. The Marathas also knew it for certain that Ahmad Shāh would go to the Deccan. But the Durrānis made a great row ....Ahmad Shāh had no help but to retreat. Najib undertook to

1. Rawlinson, pp. 20-52.

pay the expenses of the Durrāni troops and also said, 'No fighting is now left to be done. If you go to Malwa, I shall bring Nizām Ali Khān to join you on the Narmada, and a spacious and rich kingdom would come into your possession.' But Ahmad Shāh, out of regard for the feelings of his regiment of Khāns, at once marched for Qandahar. Shuja and the Indo-Afghan sardars went back to their homes.'[1]

The arrangements made at Delhi by the Durrāni before his departure are worthy of note. The above narrative concludes with the statement : "At the time of marching away, Ahmad Shāh, by the advice of his own *wazīr*, sent the robe of the *wazīr* of *India* to Imādu-l Mulk and wrote to him to come and enter the city of Delhi, declaring him plenipotentiary on behalf of Abdāli,....In the fort of Delhi were the mother of the Emperor Shāh Alam II and (Prince) Mīrzā Jawan Bakht, passing their time in fear and trembling on account of Imād." The fate of Najibu-d daula, considering the part he had played in egging on Abdāli against the Marathas and his further solicitude towards Ahmad Shāh after Pānīpat, is strange indeed. But it is not unintelligible inasmuch as, according to the same account, Shujāu-d daula too was equally disappointed in his expectations from the Durrāni, and went away from him in a huff. Evidently, Ahmad Shāh considered both of them traitors to their own country and therefore unworthy of trust and patronage. This is the only explanation we can give for his appointment of Imādu-l Mulk as his plenipotentiary ; for Imād had retired from Pānīpat together with Suraj Mal Jāt and had kept himself aloof from the struggle.[2]

1. Sarkar, "An original account of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni's campaigns in India and the battle of Pānīpat : From the Persian life of Najib-ud-daulah, Br. Museum Persian MS. 24,410," in *Islamic Culture*, vol. VII, No. 3 (July 1933).

2. Cf. Sarkar, op. cit., II, pp. 377-78 ; and n p. 532. Najib stole a march over Imād and established his Dictatorship at the capital virtually bamboolzing the Heir of Shāh Alam II and the Queen-Mother. He kept himself in touch with Abdāli till 1767 and consulted him about the situation in India from time to time : e.g., in 1672 it was agreed that the Durrāni should call upon all Indian princes to recognise Shāh Alam II and he should receive an annual tribute of 40 *lacs* from India—Ibid., p. 489.

The Cambridge Shorter History of India (published in June 1934), however, states : "Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, before leaving India, nominated 'Ali Gauhar as Emperor of Delhi under the title of Shāh Alam.' *Shujā-ud-daula* was appointed *minister*, from which circumstance he and his successors in Oudh were known to the British as nawāb wazīr, or 'Nabob-Vazīr,' until permitted, in 1819, to assume the royal title, and Najib Khān was confirmed in the rank and appointment of Amīr-ul-umarā."[1]

The *Farhatu-n Nazirin* also states : 'Muhammad Kulī Khān came to Allahabad, and the news of Alamgīr's death reached Shāh Alam in Patna on which he was much afflicted in his mind ; but ascribing the event to the wise dispensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of *Jumada-l awwal. Nawab Shujāu-d daula*, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and having invited the Emperor from Azīmābād, *obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of wazīr*, and afterwards accompanied him to Allahabad. *It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sahib Kiran Gurgan (Tīmūr) still remains ; otherwise, the Abdāli would not have allowed any of his descendants to survive.*'[2]

But we are more concerned with the state of the Empire under this titular sovereign. The *Jami-i Jahān-numā* (written in 1779, already cited) gives us an insight :

'When twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Shāh Alam,.... in every corner of the kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Allahabad, Oudh, Etawah, Shukohabad, and the whole country of the Afghans (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawāb Wazīr Asafu-d daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingis. The country of the Jāts is under Najaf Khān, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizām Ali Khān, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haidar Naik and Muhammad Ali Khān Sirāju-d daula of Gopamau. The Sikhs hold

1. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* p. 478 (*Italics mine*).
2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 172-73.

the whole *suba* of the Punjab, and Lahore, and Multan ; and Jainnagar and other places are held by Zabita Khān. In this manner other *Zamīndārs* have established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imām Mahdi, who is to come in the latter days. Shāh Alam sits in the palace of Delhi, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed unto death.'[1]

Only a few events need be mentioned here in order to indicate the helplessness and miserable condition of Shāh Alam. In 1765, after the English victory over the Nawāb Wazīr at Buxar the previous year, the Emperor received from the English the districts of Kora and Allahabad with an agreement to pay him 26 *lakhs* of rupees a year out of the revenues of Bengal, in return for which he issued a grant, to the English, of the *diwāni* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Emperor thereafter lived under British protection until he chose to go over to the Marathas who, under Mahādaji Sindhia restored him to his throne and palace at Delhi in 1772. Thereupon Shāh Alam forfeited Kora and Allahabad, which were given to the Nawab Wazīr, and also the 26 *lakhs* promised by the English.

In 1788 the Emperor was brutally blinded and subjected to unspeakable horrors in his own palace by an Afghan ruffian named Ghulam Kādir. The *Ibrat-nāma* gives harrowing details of the havoc wrought by this fiendish rogue, which only serve to illustrate that the Emperor was not now master even of his own palace and person. He was dethroned, beaten, imprisoned, blinded, robbed ; his sons were similarly manhandled and made to dance and sing before the tyrant ; the ladies of his household were outraged in the most heinous fashion imaginable ; and finally, the monster called for a painter, and said, " Paint my likeness at once, sitting, knife in hand, upon the breast of Shāh Alam, digging out his eyes ! "[2]

1. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 184-85. Sarkar attributes the failure of Shāh Alam largely to the moral decay of the Mughal nobility. " Nowhere could he find a single faithful friend or able lieutenant." —op. cit., II, p. 527.

2. E. & D., op. cit., pp. 244-54.

When a descendant of Bābur and Akbar had fallen into such low and miserable impotency, little need be said about his last two successors. Although the East India Company had refused to pay Shāh Alam the 26 lakhs of rupees promised to him in return for the *diwāni*, they continued to respect his authority as Emperor for all formal purposes : "The seal of the governor-general purported to be that of a servant of the Mughal. The coinage was still struck in Shāh Alam's name. In international discussions the English did not claim sovereignty except in Calcutta and the surrounding region, posing elsewhere as the influential adviser of the nawab who reigned, but did not rule, at Murshidābād."[1]

But the times were changing very fast indeed. "Cornwallis was the first governor-general (1786) to object to the empty formulas in which the company's government was accustomed to protest obedience in his letters to the emperor. Wellesley, who indeed projected the establishment of British predominance in India, carried matters much further. By Lord Lake's victory at Delhi (1803, over Daulat Rao Sindhia), the person of the Emperor passed into the custody of the East India Company. By the arrangements which Wellesley then made, the administration of Delhi was to be conducted in the imperial name, but the only spot in which the Imperial orders were really effective was the palace and its precincts. . . . Lord Moira, who arrived as governor-general in 1813, brought out with him a fixed determination to make an end of 'the fiction of the Mogul government.' The phrase denoting 'the imperial supremacy was removed from his seal. No more ceremonial gifts were offered to the Emperor, Akbar II, Shāh Alam's son, unless he waived all authority over the company's possessions . . . . in 1827 the Emperor consented to meet Moira's successor, Amherst, on equal terms. . . . In 1835 the coinage of Bengal ceased to be struck in the name of the dead Emperor, Shāh Alam, whose titles had continued to appear on the company's

1. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 683.

rupees till that year. Then it was resolved to induce the imperial family to remove from the old palace at Delhi to a new residence which was to be built for it near the Kutb Minār, and at last Canning decided no longer to recognise the imperial title after the demise of the existing emperor, Bahādur Shāh. Immediately after this the Mutiny broke out. After the fall of Delhi, the emperor was placed on his trial for complicity in the murders which had taken place at Delhi and, more doubtfully, for rebellion against the East India Company. He was declared deposed ; he passed the rest of his days as state-prisoner at Rangoon, and the British government became both in form and in substance supreme as well as sovereign in India."[1]

1. *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp. 684-85. At the Round Table Conference, it was reported some scions of the old Imperial Mughal Family asked for special representation. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamier in illis* : the times are changed, and we with them !

CHAPTER XII

REVIEW OF THE EMPIRE : ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES

"India as she is is a problem which can only be read by the light of Indian History. Only by a gradual and loving study of how she came to be, can we grow to understand what the country actually is, what the intention of her evolution, and what her sleeping potentiality may be."—SISTER NIVEDITA.

'History is not simply information regarding the affairs of Kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.'—TARIKH-I DAUDI.

Our study of the Mughal Empire in India has been laborious but authentic. We have, as it were, combed the pages of contemporary chronicles in order to arrive at a collocation of *facts* that should be the basis of all warrantable generalisations. For "facts are the bricks on which reason builds the edifice of knowledge."[1] But, as the author of the *Tarikh-i Daudi* reminds us, 'History is not simply information regarding the affairs of Kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.' Mughal history is not without its lessons, its inspirations and its warnings. An attempt will be made in this concluding survey to review the Imperial venture as a whole, with a view to assess its achievements no less than its failures. The roots of the present are imbedded in the past, and the glory as well

1. Pigou, *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*, p. 86 (Macmillan, 1925).

as the mortification of so recent a past, as that we have studied through authentic and undeniable sources, should influence our destiny as a nation, for good and for evil. "History," said Goethe, "must from time to time be re-written, not because new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects come into view, because the participation in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner." The *facts* of Mughal history have been fairly well known ; the *new aspects* will come into view as we proceed. We shall focus our attention here upon the following points :—

i. The Mughals and the Empire ;
ii. The Empire and the Afghans ;
iii. The Empire and the Rajputs ;
iv. The Empire and the Marathas ;
v. The Empire and the Europeans ;
vi. The Legacy of the Empire ;
vii. The Lessons of the Empire.

i. The Mughals and the Empire.

Although we have called our study a history of the *Mughal Empire* in India, following an established vogue, the reader will recall to mind the observation made in a note appended to the Genealogical Table of Bābur, its founder, viz., that Bābur was really a *Turk* descended through the main line from Tīmūr, and Mongol (or Mughal) only in the female line from Chengiz Khān. The practice of calling Bābur and his descendants *Mughal* arose from the fact that all Musalmans, coming from the North-West of India, excepting the Pathans, were so called from their earliest contact with this country. At any rate they were known to the Arabs and the Persians.[1] Any satisfactory discussion of the ethnic origins and traits of the Indian Mughals, while it should be of considerable interest and value as an independent study, is too much for us to

1. See *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.).

undertake here.[1] For our purposes the following observations of Khāfī Khān should suffice :—

'Although from the time of Akbar the word Mughol has been applied to the Turks and Tajiks of Iran (Persia) to such an extent that even the Sayyids of Iran and Khorasan were called Mughols, yet in reality the word is the proper term for those Turks who belong to the descendants and house of Mughol Khān ; and it was used in this sense in the time of the earlier (Moslem) kings of Delhi. The pedigree of the descendants of Mughol Khān reaches down to Changez Khān and the Amīr Tīmūr.'[2]

To the above remarks might be added the comments of H. G. Keene who says, "The more the matter is looked into the more likely will it appear that the distinction between Turk and Mongol is not altogether a natural distinction, but one proceeding from comparatively recent and artificial causes —causes arising out of a fusion, more or less complete, of Tajik (Aryan) and Tartar (Mongol nomad). It may be going too far to conclude that a Mongol is merely a Turk in embryo ....a Turk little more than a civilized and circumcised Mongol or Tartar ; but Mongol in Turkish mouths becomes 'Moghol' ; the Persians, softening still further, turn it into 'Mughul,' or 'Mughal' ; and thus the words 'Mughal Empire'.....an evident misnomer—may have come to be applied to the government of India by Tartar conquerors, who had adopted Aryan manners and a Semitic creed (assimilating themselves in both respects to their Osmanli kindred in Eastern Europe), and

1. For further light on this subject the reader is referred to Erskine's Introduction to his *Baber and Humayun*, his Introduction to the *Memoirs of Babur*, and Keene's *The Turks in India*.

2. Cited by Keene, op. cit., p. 24, who also adds : "The writer also notices that the second vowel ought to be written and pronounced long, as indeed it is written in Taimur's Memoirs. So that, of all spellings, Mogul, Mongol, Mughal, and Mughol or Mughól, it is the last only that is quite correct. The poet Khūsrū, too (Arc. 1300) makes the word rhyme with Arabic words of the conjugation faúl."

who had kept little or nothing of the old wild Mughal, or Mongol, either in features or character." [1]

Chengiz Khān & Tīmūr.

Chengiz Khān and Tīmūr, especially the latter, were names to conjure with among the Indian Mughals who retained some of their fundamental traits for generations. Hence a few observations about each one of these great conquerors would not be out of place. Both of them were noted for their great and untiring energy and ferocity. The Mughal Emperors of India, excepting perhaps their last decadent representatives, retained both these characteristics of their remote ancestors, though, owing to other influences, most of them drew a veil of humanity over their primitive ferociousness.

An examination of the *Yassa* or the Code of Chengiz Khān reveals the fact that the humaner instincts of the Indian Mughals were not altogether wanting in their Mongol forefathers. As Mr. Harold Lamb has pointed out, "A psychologist might say that the *Yassa* aimed at three things—obedience to Genghis Khān, binding together of the nomad clans, and the merciless punishment of wrong-doing." "Himself a man of violent rages, Genghis Khān denied his people their most cherished indulgence, violence." "Regarding strong drink, a Mongol failing, he said: 'A man who is drunk is like one struck on the head; his wisdom and skill avail him not at all. Get drunk only three times a month. It would be better not to get drunk at all. But who can abstain at all?'" "The Mongols were both tolerant and rapacious ..... He (Chengiz Khān) instilled into his victorious Mongols three ideas that persisted for generations—that they must not destroy peoples who submitted voluntarily, that they must never cease from war with those who resisted, and that they must tolerate all religions in equal measure." [2]

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1. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

2. *Genghis Khān*, pp. 74-5, 128 *n.* (Key-stone Library, London, 1934.)

As a leader of men "Genghis Khān had the gift of eloquence to stir deep-seated emotions in them. And he never doubted his ability to lead them." The Mongols had the instinct for organised warfare. As the writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th ed.) has observed, "The Mongol force was a machine which worked like clock-work, and this very mobility made it irresistible to troops far more strongly armed and numerous." This was largely the achievement of Chengiz Khān. Under him, Mr. Lamb points out, "The horde itself was no haphazard gathering of clans. Like the Roman legion it had its permanent organization, its units of ten to ten thousand the *tuman* that formed a division, needless to say of cavalry ..... The *Yassa* ruled it, the lash of inexorable authority held it together. Gengiz Khān had under his hand a new force in warfare, a disciplined mass of heavy cavalry capable of swift movement in all kinds of country. Before his time the ancient Persians and Parthians had perhaps as numerous bodies of cavalry, yet they lacked the Mongols' destructive skill with the bow and savage courage."[1] To this the Indian Mughals added the Turkish accomplishment of the more destructive artillery which Bābur introduced into India for the first time.

For almost every one of the observations made above, the reader will recall scores of illustrations from Mughal history in India : The tireless energy of Bābur, Akbar, and Aurangzeb ; their control and discipline of their armies through the influence of personality, eloquence and punishment ; their restraint over soldier and subject in the matter of drink and violence, despite their own personal weakness for both ; the religious toleration of most of the descendants of Bābur ; and the *mansabdāri* organisation of Akbar based upon cavalry units of ten to ten thousand and above, etc.

Tīmūr appears to have imparted to the Mughals most of their unamiable traits ; the fanaticism, cruelty, greed for wealth and lust of mere conquest that we find in some of the Mughals

1. *Genghis Khān*, pp. 79-80. (Key-note Library, London, 1934.)

is traceable to this source. "*My object in the invasion of* Hindustan," said Tīmūr, "*is to lead an expedition against the* infidels, that, according to the law of Muhammad, we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and poly-theism ; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *Ghāzīs* and *Mujahids* before God." His achievements in India may be summed up in his own words : "The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain, which for many a long year had been stored in the fort, became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes and they razed the buildings and the fort to the ground." His orders were so strict that, according to the *Malfuzat-i-Timūrī*, Maulana Nāsiru-d din Omar, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill fifteen idolatrous Hindus. But with the instinct for savagery that Tīmūr displayed in erecting pyramids of skulls of people destroyed there was also mingled a genius for buildings. This made him spare the artisans, builders, and other craftsmen, even in India, and carry them away like Mahmud of Ghazni to his own homelands. "Several thousands craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Tīmūr, some were divided among the princes, *Amīrs* and *Aghas* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Tīmūr had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i-Jami* in Samarqand, his capital and he now gave orders that all the stone-masons should be reserved for that pious work."[1]

The Indian Mughals.

The Indian Mughals, therefore, it will not be wrong to conclude, were the fulfilment of the best and the worst instincts of their forebears. By a prophetic instinct also the followers of Tīmūr as well as Bābur had felt that settlement in India

1. *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* and *Zfar-nāma* : E. & D., op. cit., III, pp. 394-477 ; 479-522.

would mean deterioration of their character as warriors and conquerors. Their worst fears were fulfilled, though gradually and imperceptibly, in the course of over two centuries. This may not be attributed entirely to the enervating influence of the Indian climate : the Indian part of the modern army has proved its efficiency under all tests. The deterioration of the Mughals must therefore be attributed to other causes. But before we proceed to analyse these, we might refer to another dubious factor, viz., the racial inter-mixture of Mughal with Hindustāni and Persian blood. The reader will remember that mothers of most of the Mughal Princes, Jahāngīr onwards, belonged to one or other of these two races. But neither the Persians nor the Rajputs or other Hindustānis who supplied the stalks on which the Indian Mughals were bred were wanting in martial qualities or traditions. There is no reason why any intermixture of them should have proved destructive to those qualities. On the contrary there is ample evidence to believe that, with rare exceptions among the later Mughals, all the descendants of Bābur kept up their physical stamina and courage remarkably well, in the midst of the most adverse circumstances.[1]

There are instances, no doubt, of Mughal Princes who died of consumption and other wasting diseases ; but these exceptions were due to their own personal dissipations and not the result of the deterioration of the stalk from which they sprang.

What has been said of the Imperial house may not have been equally true of the rank and file. There must have been comparatively greater deterioration among lesser men of the ruling race. But even here it is necessary to remember that

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1. Keene thinks that the fact of the "uncommon succession of high qualities in a race born to the purple", among other reasons, may be ascribed to "the habit of contracting marriages with Hindu princesses, which ..... was a source of fresh blood, whereby the increase of family predisposition was checked."—*The fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan*, p. 16.

the larger part of the Imperial army, after Bābur and Humāyūn, consisted not of the Mughals but other Musalmans and Hindustānis. There were only a few divisions of Mughals as such, in the army, though among the nobility the Mughal or Turani party continued to exercise power in the Empire for quite a long period. These nobles were undoubtedly demoralised on account of a variety of circumstances, but their deterioration need not necessarily have proved fatal to the Mughal Empire.

Causes of Downfall.

If the complex disease with which the Imperial structure was stricken in its later days is to be indicated by two of its most outstanding symptoms, we might say that its prostration was brought about by LUXURY and INTESTINAL FEUDS :

'Where wealth accumulates men decay;'
And disloyalty on the Empire did prey.

The decadence of the Emperors and the nobility under the deadly effects of these two poisons may be illustrated by a few examples. Jahāndar Shāh and Ahmad Shāh may be cited as the worst specimens of the descendants of the hardy and noble warriors Bābur and Akbar. Despite the luxury and pomp of the prosperous reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, the Mughal Emperors had to a large extent succeeded in maintaining their personal *vim* by means of military campaigns and hunting expeditions. Bahādur Shāh I, son and successor of Aurangzeb, was noted for his craze for outdoor life. He never felt at ease under any roof. Even Farrukhsiyar was a fine specimen of the Mughal physique. Kām-Bukhsh as a captive on his death-bed regretted that a descendant of Tīmūr was captured alive. But Jahāndar Shāh and Ahmad Shāh were not ashamed to be caught up in the tresses of their concubines who came between them and their duties as Emperors.

They looked on beauty
And turned away from duty.

The former fooled himself in public with his Lāl Kunwar; the latter buried himself in his seraglio—which extended over four miles square—for weeks together without seeing the face of a male! When gold rusts what will iron do? The *amīrs* were only in a worse condition. With the exception of a few honourable exceptions like Nizāmu-l Mulk, even where they were not wanting in personal bravery they too were spoilt by luxury, personal ambition, envy of fellow-nobles, and above all by their want of loyalty either to the Empire or to the Emperor. We have seen how the strength and fortunes of the Empire varied with the strength of the Emperor's personal character. The Emperor, in fact, was the keystone of the arch; the army and the treasury constituted the cement that held the whole structure together. The nobles were the flag-stones. The Empire indeed fell on evil days when corruption set in all these elements. Foreign invaders like Nādir Shāh and Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, on the one hand, and internal parasites of all descriptions sucked the Imperial treasury dry; the army lost its cohesion, discipline and loyalty, being composed more and more of mere mercenaries. "In short," as Irvine has pointed out, "excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Moghuls: indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat, and combrous equipment."[1] Or, indeed, as another writer has described, "The heroic soldiers of the early Empire, and their not less heroic wives, had given place to a vicious delicate breed of grandees. The ancestors of Aurangzeb who swooped down on India from the north were ruddy men in boots: the courtiers among whom Aurangzeb grew up were pale persons in petticoats. Bābur, the founder of the Empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years' campaigning; the luxurious nobles around the youthful Aurangzeb wore skirts made of innumerable folds of the finest white muslin and went to war in palan-

1. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 300.

quins."[1] Riding on richly caparisoned horses with bells, chains and ornaments of precious gems and metals, they were more admirably fitted to prance in a peaceful procession than capable of long exertion in protracted warfare. Each nobleman endeavoured to vie with his master in magnificence, and even private soldiers attended to comfort in their tents, "and the line of march presented a long train of elephants, camels, carts, and oxen, mixed up with a crowd of camp-followers, women of all ranks, merchants, shopkeepers, servants, cooks, and all kinds of ministers of luxury, amounting to ten times the number of the fighting men."[2]

This effeminacy of the nobility and army was rendered worse by their internal feuds and jealousies fostered by rival claimants to the throne in the Mughal ruling house itself. When Princes of the Royal blood fought among themselves casting all principles of humanity and decency to the winds, for *takht ya takhta* (crown or the coffin),, the nobles were compelled to take sides and often act hypocritically and to gain only selfish personal ends. This tendency of rebellion and disloyalty is seen from the very beginning : Kāmrān, Hindāl and Askeri, under Humāyūn ; Mīrzā Muhammad and Salim, under Akbar ; Prince Khūsrū under Jahāngīr ; Aurangzeb, Dārā, Shūjā and Murād under Shāh Jahān ; Princes Muhammad Muaazam and Akbar under Aurangzeb ; Azam and Kām Bakhsh under Bahādur Shāh ; and so on the tale of treason and fratricidal strife is carried on to the very end of the utter destruction of the noble house of Bābur and Akbar. No wonder that "King-makers", abortive or successful, arose under each reign : Ali Khalifā under Bābur and Humāyūn ;

1. "The hardy troops of Balkh had grown soft in the Capua of the Jamna, and their religious convictions had gone the way of the Deputy of Achaie ..... The rough breath of their highland birth-place was changed to sickly essences ; ..... and immortality and debauchery had followed close upon the loosening of the religious bond."—Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib* pp. 18-19.

2. Elphinstone, op. cit., pp. 659-60.

Bairam Khān under Humāyūn and Akbar; Mān Singh under Akbar and Jahāngīr; Mahābat Khān under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān; Mīr Jumla under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb; Munīm Khān under Bahādur Shāh. These had their heyday under the later Mughals: The Saiyad Brothers, Safdar Jang and Imādu-d Daula are all familiar to the reader. Last but not the least, the Marathas and the English should be remembered for their rôle, if not of 'making' kings, of 'unmaking' them. Indeed, as we have pointed out in the Introduction, when Nādir Shāh invaded, he not merely despoiled the capital of its wealth, but also robbed the crown of its prestige. In other words, Nādir Shāh saw the Empire already at its *nadir*. Abdāli and the Marathas only flogged a dead horse and tried either to kill or prop up a creature that was already dead.

The Empire & the Afghans.

Bābur founded the Mughal Empire in 1526 by overthrowing the Lodies who were Afghans. In the following years, besides the Rajputs, he had to fight Afghan chiefs in Jaunpur and Bihar before he could make sure that his Empire in India would endure. Still, when he died in 1530 he had not subdued important Afghan dynasties in Hindustan like those of Bengal and Gujarat. After his death the Afghans gave his son Humāyūn no end of trouble. They rallied round particularly two leaders, viz., Bahādur Shāh and Sher Shāh. The latter, as we have seen, in the course of less than ten years, drove the son of Bābur into exile. The Afghans were inspired to feel that they were in no way inferior to the Mughals; they were made to realise that they had lost their dominion in Hindustan only on account of their clannishness and want of unity; and finally they were organised to recover their lost hegemony. And although the death of Sher Shāh made this glory a shortlived triumph and enabled Humāyūn to come back to his own, the real work of the Afghan adventurer endured. Akbar raised his whole administrative structure on the foundations laid by an Afghan genius. The Rajputs were

assimilated into the Empire by Akbar's statesmanship, but the Afghans refused to be so absorbed. Gujarat sheltered many a rebel against the Mughal Emperor, and was not subdued until 1573, and Dāūd Khān in Bengal held aloft the Afghan standard until three years later (1576).

The next five years were memorable on account of the great social and religious reforms sought to be introduced by Akbar. As we have seen, matters came to a crisis in 1581 when all the reactionary elements attempted to overthrow the régime of the reforming Emperor. The Afghans during this period of storm and stress must have aligned themselves with the enemies of Akbar, but the tempest subsided soon after. There was no trouble from the Afghans for the rest of the reign. But after the death of Akbar, on account of the frequent transfer of governors, they found an opportunity in the eastern province of Bengal. The rebellion of Usman during this period has already been dealt with in the proper context. On 12th March 1612 the rebels were defeated finally and Usman, the Afghan Hereward the Wake, died of a fatal wound. "The political power of the Afghans, who had been so long hostile to the Mughal rule, was completely broken, and Jahāngīr by his conciliatory policy turned them from foes into friends of the empire." As the author of the *Mukzan-i Afghana* observes: 'Nuruddin Ghāzī (Jahāngīr) pardoning them their former trespasses, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty; and paid so much attention to them, that they abolished all further treasonable designs from their minds, and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him, even to the sacrifice of life.'[1] Thereafter the Afghans merged their separate and independent existence in the fabric of the Mughal Empire and seemed to reconcile themselves to the lot of many another proud community. Soon

1. See Sarkar and Datta, *Text-Book of Modern Indian History*, Vol. I. pp. 109-10.

they were favoured with the loaves and fishes of the official hierarchy and were all but absorbed like the Rajputs.

The hold of the Mughals over Kabul, from 1504 (when it was first acquired by Bābur) to 1738 (when it was captured by Nādir Shāh) gave the Empire a vantage-ground for full 235 years. In it the Emperors possessed the key to the north-western gateway of India ; and it also proved an invaluable recruiting centre for an important section of the Imperial army. But, when it slipped away, on account of the bungling and impotency of Muhammad Shāh and his successors, the life-blood of the Empire oozed away. The master of Kabul appeared to be destined to dominate over the plains of the Punjab and Hindustan. As Bābur had done two centuries and a half earlier, Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, made use of Kabul as a stepping stone for entry into India. That he did not attempt to found another Afghan dynasty at Delhi was one of the accidents of history. He found among the Rohillas and Bangash Afghans of Hindustan loyal supporters and allies, but still he chose to reinstate a Mughal Emperor rather than uproot the usurpers of the dominion of his race. The Afghan generals (whether Bangash, Rohilla, or Pathan) played an important rôle under the later Mughals ; and they also formed the backbone, together with some of the Turānī nobles, of the orthodox *Sunni* party—opposed to the *Shias* who were mainly composed of the Hindustānī Musalmans and the Irānīs or Persians. It was these Afghans that, after two centuries and a half, had their full measure of vengeance against the Mughals. It was they that invited their national hero, Durr-i-durrāni, to invade India once more, and under the guise of friendship really established an Afghan dictatorship at Delhi under Najibu-d Daulah for nearly a decade after the third battle of Pānīpat (1761-69). But, alas, it was the revenge of the blind Sampson. The whole Philistine structure crashed over their heads no less than over others. The Marathas and the English did not allow them to enjoy this dubious satisfaction for long.

The Empire & the Rajputs.

Bābur's victory over Ibrāhīm Lodi had placed him on the throne of Delhi; but before he could make sure of his mastery over Hindustan, he had to subdue Rāna Sanga and Medini Rai, besides the fugitive Afghan chiefs scattered over North India. The strength of the Rajput resistance to the founder of the Mughal dominion is not to be minimised because of its failure. But for Bābur's advent the Rajputs had come very near recovering their hegemony over western Hindustan, at any rate, down to Gujarat and Malwa. Bābur himself recognised the strength and valour of Rāna Sanga and had to put forth all the skill and effort his genius could command.

Rāna Sanga left no worthy successor, and Rāni Karnawati of Mewar had to appeal to Humāyūn for assistance when Chitor was besieged by Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat. Yet, Sher Shāh, who succeeded in driving the Mughal out of India and refounding Afghan dominion, confessed, at the end of his arduous Rajput campaign, that, for a handful of *bajra,* he had come very near to losing his empire in Hindustan. He could defeat the Rajputs only by having recourse to the ruse of the forged letters. It is not surprising to note that he entrusted the building of New Rohtas to Rājah Todar Mal[1] who appears on the stage of history for the first time in this connexion.

Humāyūn had sought refuge in vain from Rājah Maldeo of Jodhpur during his flight. Nevertheless it was the Rāna of Amarkot that sheltered the fugitive for a time, and Akbar seemed to carry in his blood the feelings of gratitude that his sorely tried father must have felt at that moment. Despite the ruthlessness that attended his conquest of Chitor, his

1. Rāja Todar Mal seems to have been a *Khatri* by caste, and Rājah Bīrbal (referred to later in this section) a *Brahman.* But both these have been included here under the *Rajputs,* because *in spirit* and *outlook,* as well as by *vocation,* they were indistinguishable from the Rajputs. Likewise, no distinctions of clans and sections of the Rajputs have been specified, the term being used in a very broad sense.

policy and attitude towards the Rajputs as a whole were characterised by a broadmindedness that converted the enemy into a bulwark of the Empire. The chivalrous instincts which prompted Akbar to erect memorials to his heroic enemies, Jai Mal and Patta, could not but evoke an echo in the hearts of his more chivalrous adversaries. Rājahs Bhār Mal, Bhagwān Dās, Bīrbal, Todar Mal and Mān Singh were the most loyal supporters of Akbar, who formed the pillars of his State. As the exalted position accorded to these and the dignified terms that were conceded to the Hadas of Bundi (cited earlier in this book) indicated, Akbar respected the Rajputs and the Rajputs respected him. But for the strength derived from the Rajputs, both in the civil and the military departments, the Mughals would have lost much of the glory that they achieved under Akbar and his immediate successors.

Thanks to Akbar's marriage policy, his son Jahāngīr was in blood half Hindu and half Muslim.[1] Jahāngīr in his turn, following in the footsteps of his father, left a successor, Shāh Jahān, who was racially more Hindu than Muslim. It is strange, in view of this pedigree, that Shāh Jahān should have initiated the swing of the liberal pendulum in the opposite direction. Akbar had wisely attempted to knit the social and political fabric of his Empire closely by means of inter-marriages and abolition of all racial and religious distinctions in the matter of 'Imperial preference.' Jahāngīr's reign saw no 'rift in the lute'; on the other hand, the cement was allowed to set. But in the next generation, the Muslim blood in the veins of Shāh Jahān seemed to be in conflict with his Hindu blood. This made him partially to reverse his father's and grandfather's policy, as shown by his abolition of the *sijdah* and sun-worship and more positively by his destruction of the Hindu temples at Benares. This reaction, as we have seen,

1. Readers will recall to their minds the union of the Lancastrians and Yorkists in England by Henry VII's marriage with Elizabeth of York.

reached its acme of fanatical fervour in the person of Aurangzeb, the next ruler. He could console himself that no infidel fathered or mothered him; but he took to wife a Princess who was Rajput, by birth at any rate, and through her left a successor, Bahādur Shāh I, whose father alone could claim to be a Mughal. But even the fanatical Alamgīr, who penalised the Hindus on account of their religion, destroyed their temples and levied from them invidious contributions like the *jaziya*, could not dispense with the services of great Rajput generals like Mīrzā Rājah Jai Singh and Rājah Jaswant Singh. Though he proved ungrateful to them in the end, much of Aurangzeb's military strength and diplomatic talent were drawn from them. Shivāji would have defied the Empire with greater non-chalance but for a Jai Singh being on its side. The greatest folly of Aurangzeb lay in alienating such great supporters. He made the vain endeavour of subjugating them by sheer brute force, and his failure indicated that the Rajput could support the Empire as well as ruin it. Prince Akbar was won over by them and they came very near to teaching Aurangzeb the lesson he most needed.

Bahādur Shāh recovered much of the love of the Rajputs by his more conciliatory policy. He practically allowed them to enjoy their liberty in their own desert homes unmolested. The effect was seen in Ajit Singh being prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh-siyar, though after the fall of that Emperor he took her back to his home. Under the Emperors that followed, there was increasing chaos both within Rajputana and the Mughal Empire. The corrupt generals of the latter could effect little in Rajputana, and the Rajputs themselves sought relief at the hands of the equally, if not more, dangerous Marathas who proved their ruin. Even under such conditions, the Emperor Ahmad Shāh could get rid of a rebellious and dictatorial *wazīr*, like Safdar Jang, only by invoking the aid of the Rajput Mādho Singh of Jaipur. The grateful Emperor placed on the Rājah's head his own jewelled turban and loaded his followers with gifts, and what was more

welcome to Madho Singh, the fort of Rantambhor was restored to the Rajputs. Had Akbar's cordial relations with the Rajputs continued, without being interrupted by Aurangzeb's fatal fanaticism, perhaps it would have gone well with both. But the Todar Mals and Jai Singhs were destined to be mere memories.

The Rajputs have been credited with more valour than wisdom. But, if they are to be judged by their contributions to the Mughal Empire, they distinguished themselves equally in both. Rāna Sanga's resistance to Bābur, the heroic stand of Chitor against Akbar, the unconquerable spirit of Rāna Pratāp, the intrepid activities of Durgādās—all showed that the Rajputs would sooner break than bend. On the other hand, the disappearance of Rāna Sanga after Khānua, the retirement of Udai Singh into the Aravalis, the submission of Amar Singh to Jahāngīr, the acceptance of Mughal peerage by even Ajit Singh and Durgādās, in the end, equally indicated that the Rajput knew when to yield, as well as he knew when to fight. Bīrbal, Mān Singh, Todar Mal, Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh served the Empire both by their valour and their wisdom. While eminently distinguished for their heroic resistance to the Muslims throughout their history, the Rajputs as a race revealed remarkable capacity for compromise when they yielded up their daughters to be mother of Muslim Princes and provided the Mughals the best military acumen that India could then offer. This was no meek or abject surrender, but honourable co-operation that lent dignity to him that gave and him that took, and blessed both. The Rajput's love of independence under these conditions is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the Treaty of the Hadas, already referred to, and in the answer that Man Singh gave to Akbar when he was invited to accept the *Din-i Ilahi*: "I know of Islam and respect it; I know of Hinduism and am proud to own it; but I know nothing of this new faith, and cannot accept it". It was this spirit of self-respecting co-operation that gave

strength to the Mughal Empire during the period of its survival. It was the undermining of that spirit, by the folly of Aurangzeb, that laid the axe to the root of its existence. Even after their homes were harried by the desecrating hands of Aurangzeb and his generals, the resumption of a more accommodating attitude, by Bahādur Shāh I and his successor, again found in the Rajputs the spirit of responsive co-operation. The folly of losing their support, therefore, was entirely on the side of the Emperors. Who, except a politically blind and bankrupt people, would have failed to enlist the sympathy and support of a race that possessed the chivalrous qualities of the Rajputs? Even in their degenerate days, under the later Mughals, when an Imperial army that had been sent to conquer them was dying of thirst in the deserts of Rajputana, the noble Rajputs offered their enemies water to drink, before they stood up to fight them! Few countries can boast of such chivalry; add to this Rāja Todar Mal's '*Bandobast*' which was the sheet-anchor of the Mughal revenue system, and we have the best contributions of the Rajputs to the Mughal Empire, not to speak of the influence of their art.

The Empire and the Marathas.

The Rajputs, by their very geographical situation, were called upon to lead the Hindu opposition against Islamic dominion in Hindustan. But their chivalrous instincts and traditions, coming into contact with the tact and statesmanship of Akbar, enabled the two to effect a compromise which proved on the whole beneficial to both and the country at large. This state of social and political equilibrium, though disturbed by Aurangzeb to a very large extent, was restored in some degree under his successors. Rajputana had become a *subah* of the Mughal Empire, its Rājas held a proud position in the hierarchy of the Mughal nobility, and the Rajputs seemed to have acquiesced in this position. Their wars under Aurangzeb and later were only defensive wars intended to preserve their isolated independence within the four corners of their desert land.

Even then, when the hand was proffered them, they did not fail to co-operate with any of the Court parties, chiefly the Hindustani party. As we have seen, even the proud and intrepid Ajit Singh and Durgādās accepted *mansabs* under the Emperors and gave a daughter in marriage to the Mughal; a Mādho Singh came to the succour of the Emperor when his own *wazīr* had rebelled against him. But the Empire's relations with the Marathas were of a very different order altogether.

The Maratha led the Hindu reaction against the Muslims both in the Deccan and in the North; and on the whole their resistance was more determined than that of the Rajputs or any other non-Muslim community in Hindustan. The Sikhs, the Jāts and the Satnāmis also fought against the Mughals, but their opposition never amounted to anything more than a minority struggling to maintain its religious or political rights. None of them challenged the Imperial pretensions of the Mughals. This task was reserved for the Marathas to pursue to the end; and although they did not succeed in establishing a lasting Maratha Empire in India (this failure being due to a variety of causes extraneous to the Mughal Empire) they yet proved the most potent external instrument that wrought the ruin of the Mughals in India. How this was achieved has been shown in the body of this work, and no purpose would be served in recounting the tale. But a few comments on the main phases of the struggle should prove useful.

The great Shivāji represented the very soul of the resurgence in Mahārāshtra. The history of this mighty movement and the political struggles that ensued from it are bristling with controversies. It is beyond the scope of these comments to discuss them. Likewise, it is to be remembered that the Hindu renaissance in Mahārāshtra, which carried the Marathas beyond their own homelands, was a complex movement, the positive sides of which it is not our purpose to describe here. A mere political movement would not have

appealed to the temperamentally tame and ignorant Māwal peasants and shepherds; nor a merely predatory instinct enabled them to sustain their dominion over the larger part of India during more than a century. We agree with Rānadé that "Like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the 16th century there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries . . . . This religious revival was also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society, tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers, barbers, and even scavengers, more often than Brahmans."[1] It was this popular and all-sided awakening that was at the root of the Maratha movement, however clumsy its political manifestation might have appeared at times and places. To lose sight of this factor is to miss the true import of a mighty force which determined to a large extent the fate of the Mughal Empire. If the Marathas were mere plunderers, like the pindaries, of a later period, the Mughal Emperors would have blotted them out as did the British. That even a veteran general like Aurangzeb, with all his resources in men and money, could not so stamp them out, alone should suffice to show the deep-rooted and dynamic character of the Maratha rising. "Thus," as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has well pointed out, "a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Mahārāshtra in the 17th century even before political unity was conferred by Shivāji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the people was supplied by his creation of a national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus in the end a tribe,—or rather a collection of tribes and castes,—was fused into a *nation*, and by the end of the 18th century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses

1. *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 10.

of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained."[1]

A remarkable demonstration, both of the strength of the movement and of its self-directing energy, was made during the crisis with which Mahārāshtra was faced at the death of Sambhāji. The magnitude of this trial was not less than that which France had to face in the early days of its conversion into a republic. Suddenly, in both countries, the King was removed (though in each case by an altogether different cause), and the people were called upon to shoulder the dual responsibilities of internal administration and external attack. That the movement did not collapse under this crisis, but rather gathered momentum and turned the tide against the enemy, was a clear proof of its essentially national character. It is surprising, therefore, in the face of this to find a writer like Sir Jadunath Sarkar declaring that "The cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen."[2] We are not here engaged in analysing the causes of Maratha failure in their period of decline, but rather concerned with the sources of their strength in the period of their power; because this power contributed largely to the break up of the Mughal Empire.

The above observation with regard to the want of cohesion in the State could be more appropriately made with reference to the Empire of the Mughals. The unity of that structure was certainly not organic but artificial, because it was superimposed. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the *dynasty* ceased to produce supermen. As regards the Marathas, for nearly two

1. *Shivji*, pp. 17-18.
2. Ibid., pp. 485-86.

centuries, they did produce a wonderful succession of 'supermen' and 'superwomen' who with a remarkable tenacity of purpose overthrew the dominion which had excited their wrath. Hence, there was an essential contrast between the Marathas and the Mughal Empire: the former produced supermen and superwomen because there was among them a genuinely *national* movement, dynamic in its creative energy; the latter was a fabric that was sought to be woven, no doubt by the hands of supermen, but supermen that had an exotic origin, and had to be produced by the ever-declining vitality of a single family of rulers transplanted in a new soil.

The Marathas were, no doubt, lucky in having to confront the Mughals, for the most part, in the period of their decline, unlike the Rajputs who had to face them in the period of their freshness. But a large part of their zeal was evoked by the political domination of the Sultans of the Deccan, on the one hand, and the religious fanaticism of Aurangzeb, on the other. The reaction in Mahārāshtra was therefore both political and religious; it was as it were, the child of these two parents. Hence, in its outward manifestation, it took the shape of a Hindu rebellion against the Islamic State. Its typical apostle was Swāmi Rāmdās and its typical protagonist Shivāji. The advice of the former to the latter is contained in the following lines :—

तीर्थ क्षेत्रें मोडिलीं । ब्राह्मण स्थानें भ्रष्ट झालीं ।
सकळ पृथ्वी आंदोळली । धर्म गेला ॥

(Places of pilgrimage have been destroyed; homes of the Brahmans have been desecrated; the whole earth is agitated; *Dharma is gone.*)

मराठा तितका मेळवावा ।
आपुला महाराष्ट्रधर्म वाढवावा ॥

(Marathas should be mobilised; our *Mahārāshtra-dharma* ought to be propagated.)

बहुत लोक मेळवावे ।
एक विचारें भरावे ।
कष्टें करून घसरावें । म्लेच्छांवरी ॥

(Rally all people; fill them with a singleness of purpose; sparing no effort, fall upon the *Mlechhas*).

Chivalry in war towards the enemy was the distinctive virtue of the Rajput. The Maratha had little scruple in taking his adversary at a disadvantage. But the Rajput (e.g. Ajit Singh is alleged to have) retaliated Muslim fanaticism with the destruction of the mosques and the oppression of the Muslims. Shivāji's conduct in this respect was exemplary; and his model appears to have been kept up on the whole by the Marathas. The testimony of Khāfī Khān (who calls Shivāji "hell-dog" and "sharp son of the devil") regarding this should suffice: 'He made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the woman of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred *Kurān* came into his hands he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty.' Likewise does he state, 'Shivāji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment.'[1] It is not averred here that such purity and nobility of conduct were adhered to very punctiliously by the Marathas at all times. Perhaps the extent of their adherence was the measure of their success or at any rate the justification of their conquests.

1. E. & D., op. cit., VII, pp. 260, 305.

The inveterate hatred of the Marathas that had marked Aurangzeb's relations with them terminated with his death. It is hazardous to guess what turn their relations would have taken if Aurangzeb had treated Shivāji as Akbar had done with most of the Rajputs. The difference in the character of the Marathas and the Rajputs, as a people, would count for much in such a calculation. However, with the accession of Bahādur Shāh I on the throne of Delhi, and of Rājah Shāhu in Mahārāshtra, we enter upon a new phase in their mutual relations: better understanding, if not friendship, takes the place of suspicion and hatred. The personal characters of both the sovereigns, perhaps, had much to do with this *rapprochement*; both were amiable monarchs and were not, evidently, obsessed with their predecessor's antagonisms. This attitude was turned to good account by the diplomatic abilities of the Peshwas, who now to a large extent determined the policy of the Marathas towards the Mughal Empire.

Bahādur Shāh's concessions to Shāhu were the first fruits of this change. The vantage thus gained was further confirmed and consolidated by the Marathas, in the period of confusion that followed the death of Bahādur Shāh I. They now became the virtual masters of, not only their home-provinces, but also of some of the districts they had conquered from the Mughal Empire. With this leverage, under the second of the Peshwas, Bāji Rao I, they pushed forward in all directions within the Mughal dominion. More than anything else, they realised the weakness of the Mughal Empire and, in the words of Bāji Rao, decided to strike at the trunk of the tree, being convinced that its withered branches would fall off as a matter of course. We have observed how the Empire, divided against itself, could not stand against the diplomatic and military incursions of the Marathas. Far from being considered its enemies, they were soon welcomed as its saviours, little reckoning that the Marathas were making good every opportunity to feather their own nests. The good-for-nothing Emperors as well as their corrupt and self-seeking ministers

and nobles, each in his own way, unwittingly perhaps, but none the less with the certainty of Fate, furthered the cause most dear to the hearts of the Marathas. The latter became willing instruments in the game of King-making, fatal to the one and fateful to the other. This involved a dual consequence : the Marathas had to shoulder the responsibility of the defence of India against an external invader like Ahmad Shāh Abdāli, on the one hand, and to face the jealousy of their Muslim rivals in India, on the other. They heroically faced both, with what result need not be adjudged here. So far as the Mughal Empire was concerned, it was completely at their mercy. To mention only the last, the Emperor Alamgīr II was murdered with their connivance, his stop-gap successor was placed on the throne by Sadāshiv Rao Bhāu, during his ephemeral dictatorship at Delhi, and finally the fugitive Shāh Alam II was restored to the capital of his ancestors by Mahādji Sindhia. Even the very last of the Mughal 'Emperors', Bahādur Shāh II, was supported by the last of the Peshwas' representative, Nānā Sāheb, and both fell together.

The Empire & the Europeans.

In 1858 the last of the Mughal Emperors was condemned by the English for high treason against their Company's Government, and exiled ; at the same time, the last claimant for power on behalf of the Peshwas, Nānā Sāheb, absconded in order to escape the wrath of the same English Government in India. Thus the two great powers—the Mughals and Marathas—were finally superseded in their dominion by an European government at one and the same time. But the English were not the first Europeans to enter India. The Portuguese Vasco da Gama had landed on the Malabar Coast at Calicut in 1498—three hundred and sixty years before the momentous happenings above referred to. The history of these 360 years, read from the point view of the rise of British Dominion in India, is remarkable even in the chequered annals of this country. These years saw the rise and fulfilment of the Mughal dominion, as well as its decline and fall, together with

that of the Marathas; they also witnessed the adventures—commercial, missionary and political—of a multitude of European powers: Portuguse, Dutch, Danish, French, German and Flemish, besides the English. Neither the rivalries of these powers, fascinating in themselves, nor the causes of the ultimate triumph of the last named, form the subject of our scrutiny here.[1] But the representatives of all these nationalities, as well as others not mentioned here (like the Italian, Spanish, Greek, Armenian and Turkish), had vital contacts with the Mughal Empire in a variety of ways which are worthy of notice even in a general review such as is attempted in this brief Resumé.

So far as the Mughal Empire was concerned, the national distinctions between the various Europeans were of little account. With the exception of the Turk or Rumi they were all infidels, Christians or Firangian. For our purposes, therefore, it is both desirable and historically more accurate to speak of the Europeans as a whole, rather than of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, etc. However, to be fair, the nationality of each party cited must be borne in mind, though only as a subordinate factor. Perhaps, it will also be convenient to consider the relations of the Empire with the Europeans under the following heads: (1) Commercial, (2) Missionary, (3) Political, and (4) Miscellaneous.

(1) Commercial.

It was Europe accustomed to the luxuries of 'the gorgeous East' that, finding its customary route blocked by the Turk, sought new ways of reaching Asia. These endeavours resulted in two great discoveries, among several, which have shaped the destinies of both the East and the West since. The discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, and of India by Vasco da Gama, in 1498, were both momentous events in the history of the world. The former, being an undeveloped continent, led to a scramble

1. For this purpose the Reader is referred to Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India* and Thompson and Garratt's *Rise and Fulfilment of British Dominion in India*, as also *The Cambridge History of India*.

for colonies among European nations; the latter having settled governments and an ancient commerce, naturally led to commercial rivalries. The Portuguese having been first in the field, as a matter of course, reaped the first advantages. But they were not satisfied with mere commerce; their missionary zeal and political ambitions made their relations with the Muslim states rather complex and complicated. They had acquired a strong footing on the West Coast with their conquest of Goa, in 1510, and their relations were at first confined to their neighbouring kingdoms of Gujarat, Bijapur, Vijayanagar, etc. Akbar was the first of the Mughal Emperors to come into direct contact with them. Their relations with them have already been traced in some detail earlier in this book. From a commercial point of view, these relations were on the whole very friendly, resulting in advantages to both parties. The Mughals, being essentially a land-power, had no navy to speak of; hence, they were obliged to be friendly towards the Portuguese and other Europeans who could easily disturb their pilgrim and other traffic on the West Coast. Despite this consideration, however, under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb particularly, the harmony between the Empire and the Portuguese was broken by the close association of the latter with piracy, both in the Arabian Sea and in the Bay of Bengal. This constitutes a dark chapter in the history of European doings in the East which involved the Dutch and the English as well. Not satisfied with the legitimate profits of commerce they ventured into the shady regions of privateering, evaded the customs and other duties of the Empire and thereby brought down upon themselves the might of the local or central authorities. Otherwise, the Europeans of all nationalities participated in the rich trade of the Empire through their 'factories' scattered throughout the Mughal dominions and outside, along the coasts as well as inland.

A few glimpses of this have been given in the body of this work, such as the account from Bernier, Tavernier, Manucci and other contemporary European sojourners in

India also throw ample light upon the European commerce of this period, as well as the rivalries, mutual recriminations and jealousies of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, in their scramble for the patronage of the Great Mughal. From the Dutch records we have cited a passage indicating the protection that even the fanatical Aurangzeb afforded the European factories after Shivāji's sack of Surat. Sir Thomas Roe and the host of English ambassadors visited the Emperors only to secure such patronage. In short, the history of the English in India is the story of the transformation of a company of traders into the rulers of this paradise of commerce; that story also involving the discomfiture of both their European rivals and the Indian rulers, including the Mughal Emperors.

(2) Missionary Activities.

One of the secrets of the success of the English was their non-interference in religious matters. In this they were guided both by the traditions of their own country and the warning of the Portuguese example. In tracing the history of the Jesuit missions to the Court of Akbar, we noticed how the Portuguese and their instruments, the Jesuit missionaries, tried to serve the interests of both this world and the next; in other words, they aimed at the establishment in India of a firm and lasting Christian dominion. The attempt to convert the Mughal Emperor, as a thin end of the missionary wedge, failed after Akbar and Jahāngīr. Under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb set in a Muslim reaction. But, from a religious point of view, the Christians as such did not suffer even under the bigoted Alamgīr. The treaty between this Defender of the Muslim Faith and the Portuguese, given in the Appendix, is, therefore, of peculiar interest. The extent of patronage shown to the missionaries under other Emperors of the house of Bābur was extraordinary; it looks even excessive and obsequious when we remember the times in which they lived. They were the honoured guests of the Emperors; they enjoyed privileges which were the envy of the Mughal nobility; Christian effigies and symbols were received within the Imperial palaces;

Princes of the Imperial house were allowed to be baptised, and churches to be built at Agra, Lahore and other Imperial cities, preaching and proselytising were freely permitted, and the Gospels were translated into Persian under Imperial auspices. Jesuit fathers like Manrique and Xavier were even appointed tutors to the Princes; and the careers of Mirza Zu'lqarnain[1] and Donna Juliana[2] indicate the extent of Christian influence under the later Mughals. Even instances of the reconversion of Christian fugitives, after their conversion to Islam, are not wanting. The 'persecutions' under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb have been demonstrated to be not religious but provoked by the political intransigeance of the Portuguese.

(3) Political.

The political proclivities of the Portuguese have already been alluded to. Though less decided, the other Europeans were not lacking in political ambition. The exertions of Dupleix to found a French Empire in India are well known. Sir Thomas Roe had warned the East India Company against diverting their energies into wasteful and precarious channels such as the Portuguese had done. But, as we have noticed, there were other Englishmen like Sir Josiah Childe who believed in the possibilities of establishing a lasting English dominion in India. Though the attempts of that generation failed, for the time being, the ultimate achievements of the British have demonstrated the essential soundness of that dream. We have not the space to deal with all the political escapades of the English and their European fore-runners in this direction; but the trend of European ambitions in India, especially during the declining days of the Mughal Empire, is indicated by the following passage from Bolt's *Considerations of the Affairs of Bengal*[3] :—

1. Maclagan, op. cit., pp. 170-77.
2. Ibid., pp. 181-87.
3. Cited by Basu, op. cit., p. 44 (2nd ed.).

"The Mughal Empire is overflowing with gold and silver. She has always been feeble and defenceless. It is a miracle that no European Prince with a maritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. *The Policy of the Mughals is bad; their army is worse; they are without a navy. The Empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their ports and rivers are open to foreigners. The country might be conquered, or laid under contribution, as easily as the Spaniards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America.*

"A rebel subject, named Ali Verdi Khān, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Moghul Empire. He has treasure to the value of thirty million sterling. His yearly income must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to the sea. Three ships with fifteen hundred or two thousand regulars would suffice for the undertaking. The British nation would co-operate for the sake of the plunder and the promotion of their trade."

(4) Miscellaneous.

We stumble against Europeans of all descriptions throughout the history of the Mughal Empire in India from the moment of Akbar's first acquaintance with them at Cambay. Besides traders, missionaries and political agents, they appear also as mercenaries, physicians, surgeons, distillers,[1] engineers, gunners, pirates and impostors. This miscellaneous lot came from all nationalities of Europe. They were acting as individuals mostly, or perhaps in groups, but always representing themselves, and not any national or responsible organisation. Still, the times were such, that even their more respectable compatriots in India often winked at their doings, because they were helpful in their own way in pushing forward the cause of the Europeans in this country. The support derived from

1. Europeans had often the monopoly of this trade. See Manucci, op. cit., p. 50.

these insidious forces in building up European enterprise, whether commercial, military or political, is not to be lost sight of. The European on that account was both feared and respected, if not also looked upon with suspicion. In relation to the Empire, or rather the Emperors, we come across great missionaries like Manrique, Aquaviva and Xavier, high political and commercial emissaries like Mildenhall, Roe and Hawkins, La Boulle le Gouz and Bebber,[1] individual adventurers like Manucci, disinterested travellers like Bernier and Tavernier, Mughal officials like Zu'lqarnain and god-mothers like Donna Juliana. In the writings of some of these, we have pen-portraits of a host of European path-finders who have directly and indirectly contributed to the destruction of the Mughal Empire and the raising of a new edifice out of its ruins.

THE LEGACY OF THE EMPIRE

A tree, it is said, is judged by the fruit it bears. Having surveyed in some detail the history of the Mughal Empire in India, the question that naturally arises in our minds is, *What fruit did that Empire bear*? We have witnessed its seed planted by Bābur, the sapling uprooted under Humāyūn, replanted in a soil weeded and enriched by the labours of Sher Shāh, nurtured at the hands of Akbar, bearing fruit under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān—a golden harvest, perhaps, which yellowed in the autumn of Aurangzeb's rule, then withered rapidly in the winter of the 'later Mughal' regime, its branches either falling or hacked off to prevent the rot, which had set in at its roots, reaching its surviving parts. The Marathas struck at its rotten trunk which could not be propped up with all the efforts of the Afghans, Najīb Khān and Ahmad Shāh Abdāli. Its revivifying offshoots were smothered either by the Marathas or by the English. An English oak now stands where once stood an Indian banyan. The Nizām's dominions alone survive to-day to remind us of its several *subhas*. But this to all out-

1. Duarte, on "The first French Embassy to the Mughal Court" in *The Times of India Annual, 1935.*

ward seeming ; the discerning eye might still see the entire past at our doors. The best and the worst of the Mughal legacy is in our very midst.

It would take us very long, indeed, to prepare a full inventory of our multitudinous heritage, but a few categories might be suggested as samples. We shall consider this subject, therefore, under the following heads : (1) The Political Legacy ; (2) the Economic Legacy ; (3) the Social Legacy ; and (4) the Cultural Legacy.

(1) Political Legacy.

This is perhaps the most delicate of all the issues involved in our study to be discussed with the frankness that the subject demands. The present is never entirely the legacy of the past ; it is the outcome of a multiplicity of causes among which contemporary forces are undoubtedly the most dynamic. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that the legacy of the past—especially the more recent past—is one of the most potent influences at work in shaping our future, for better or for worse. Hence, a candid recognition of our indebtedness to the past (mixed as it is in its character) is a desideratum to progress. To cite only the most recent acknowledgment of this, the *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform* (1933-34)[1] states, "The arts of government and administration were not indeed unknown to the earlier Hindu Kings, and *the strong hand of the Mogul Emperors who reigned between 1526 and 1707 maintained a State which ultimately embraced the larger part of India and did not suffer by comparison with, if it did not even surpass in splendour, the contemporary monarchies in Europe.*"

This "splendour" was not merely a deceptive glow, as is often represented, but the true luminosity of a radiant object. It will not be forgotten, however, that there are black spots even in the sun ; and in the words[2] of the Report above cited,

1. Vol. I. Part 1, p. 3. (Italics mine).
2. Referring to the British achievement in India.—Ibid.

"Though we claim for it neither infallibility nor perfection, since, like all systems of government, it has, at times, fallen into error, it is well to remember the greatness of its achievement." We might also caution the reader against the not too infrequent habit of judging the Mughals by the standards of our own times rather than by theirs ; and secondly to remember that there is always a disparity between the promise and the fulfilment, whether in the medieval or in the modern governments of all countries. Yet, like the British, the Mughals, although they were foreigners, gradually (perhaps more rapidly) worked up towards popular acceptance. The measure of their success or failure is not without instruction to our generation.

The predominant trait of the Mughal rulers of India was their political instinct, if by this we understand the passion for conquest and the desire to rule. All their virtues and vices as rulers are traceable to this source. The adventurous Bābur, the vacillating Humāyūn, the determined Akbar, the self-indulgent Jahāngīr, the imperious Shāh Jahān and the dogged Aurangzeb displayed this character to an eminent degree, each in his own individual manner. Even under the later Mughals, most of whom were far advanced in age when they ascended the throne, we witness their love of campaigning as with Bahādur Shāh I, their unconquerable spirit as in the proud declaration of sorrow by Kām Bakhsh at his being captured alive, their propensity to govern as in the peurile appointment of infants to high offices in which the imbecile Ahmad Shāh indulged, and in the maintenance of all the regalia of their once imperious state by the last of the Mughals, even when the "Emperor" was not master of his own person. The training of Princes of the ruling house to bear Imperial responsibilities, on the one hand, and their ruthless oppression of all other instincts in their one consuming passion to ascend the throne, on the other, were indications of the same trait. The successive revolts of the Mughal Princes and their declaration, not merely of independence but of their assumption of the insignia of the Imperator, were equally symptomatic of that identical

characteristic. Akbar's conception of the union of secular and spiritual sovereignty in his own person, looked at in the light of this political instinct to rule, appears but as the obverse of which Aurangzeb's fanatical idea of a Muslim State was the reverse. The one pointed the way to success, the other to failure; hence Mr. Pringle Kenedy's philosophic warning to his countrymen—quoted earlier—"The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb."

The essence of Political genius lies in the spirit of compromise, the capacity to understand divergences of interest, the ability to assimilate and synthesise. The Mughals showed these virtues eminently, generation after generation, during their rule of over two centuries in India. Bābur and Humāyūn, though of an essentially religious frame of mind, could subordinate their sectarian loyalties to political exigencies seeing that they could gain the support of Persia only by changing their creed from Sunni to Shia. Akbar, not less intensely (perhaps more truly) religious than Aurangzeb, saw at once, with the unerring insight of a statesman, both the true essence of all religions and the vital requirements of the political situation. He, of all rulers of India, seemed to have grasped the secret of welding into a national harmony the composite and discordant elements dwelling within this "warring world of Hindustan," and honestly attempted to "alchemise old hates into the gold of Love, and make it current."

Aurangzeb, the very embodiment of an uncompromising "die-hard" in matters religious, could still keep in high command powerful Rajput generals and diplomats like Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh, and refrain from either killing or converting Shāhu, the son of Sambhāji, who was completely at his mercy. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān and all the other Mughals, whatever their personal leanings, on the whole maintained the eminently practical policy of Akbar, with negligible exceptions.

As a result of this, the conception of a National State was possible, a State in which all sects of Muslims and all castes of

Hindus, foreigners and Indians alike, could find employment for their talents, whether they belonged to the ruling race or not. In modern times, strange to say, under more enlightened auspices this ideal is yet to be reached by "progressive" stages in some distant future. The reason for this is not far to seek. The English came to India as traders; their instincts, unlike those of the Mughals, were for making large profits. Although the Company of traders has ceased to rule India, their compatriots who hold the destiny of this country in their hands, have not ceased altogether to look at this *Eldorado* with the eyes of their ancestors; hence the "safeguards." The spirit of Queen Victoria's magnanimous Proclamation is being retailed to us in the pettifogging scales of traders. The enlightened trust and confidence which Akbar's policy breathed is checked every now and then by the shrinking suspicions of an Aurangzeb. This is due to the essential difference between the two: the Mughals settled in this country and made this land their own. There was therefore a complete identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled—at least to the extent it was possible under a monarchy, and a medieval monarchy at that. In their subjects' contentment lay their best security. After a generation or two the Mughals became *Indians*. They made this country their *patria* and did not look forward to enjoying their pensions or their profits away in distant homes. Hence they employed native Indians in all departments of the State, both civil and military, without restriction and without any racial discrimination. They needed no safeguards because they had nothing to keep away safely from their subjects, excepting their throne; but even this evoked a genuine loyalty (except under Aurangzeb) because the person who occupied it was not unoften the son of a Muslim father and a Hindu mother (though never *vice versa*); the throne itself and the palace in which it stood displayed the workmanship of Hindu and Muslim craftsmen; the wealth which made it possible, and partly was made possible by it, came from Hindu and Muslim coffers, collected by Hindu and Muslim officers; as also were the armies that

defended them all, manned and officered by Hindu, Muslim, foreign and Indian men, selected on a basis of merit rather than of race. In short, as Lord William Bentinck confessed—"In many respects, the Mahammedans surpassed our (British) rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identical. Our (British) policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling."[1]

We and the British have been the common inheritors of this legacy in India. Through the acquisition of the Diwani and other rights of the Mughal *subah* of Bengal, by the Company of traders, the administrative institutions of the Mughal Empire were transmitted to the British dominion in India; but these—by the flux of time and circumstances, have been transformed almost beyond recognition now. Still, the original ground-work is visible in some parts; our provincial and district administrations are derived from Mughal prototypes; the powers of our externally appointed governors and viceroys, not altogether responsive to the chords of national life, are the relics of a past that is still living; our Civil Service, composed of men-of-all-work Imperially selected to administer Imperial as well as local interests, still reminds us of the *mansabdars*, shorn of course of their feudal military character and functions, and selected on more scientific lines; our legal system is modern, but some of our laws are derived from codes prevalent in Mughal times; our revenue system is a direct descendant of the Mughal organisation; our army is manned mostly by Indians, no doubt, but is largely officered, financed and controlled by an authority not more responsible to the people for whose defence it is ostensibly maintained than was the Mughal army; and finally, the salaries of our governors, viceroys and our secret service men, just as they are

1. *The Modern Review*, Dec. 1907 (Calcutta).

still on the Grand Mughal scale, are controlled as well by a power that has stepped into the shoes of the great Mughals.

This is not to denounce the present administration, but only to point out the historic survivals of a system that still persists despite the well-meaning efforts of an enlightened nation that is making the unique experiment of engrafting occidental democracy on an oriental stalk. Perhaps it could not have been otherwise in the nature of things, as the progenitors of the present government, consciously and deliberately, aimed at emulating the Mughals, as may be inferred from the following passage from a despatch of Warren Hastings, recommending to the Court of Directors of the East India Company the publication of Gladwin's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari* :

The work, says the Minute, "will serve to assist the judgment of the Court of Directors on many points of Importance to the first interests of the Company. It will shew where the measures of their administration approached to the first principles, *which, perhaps, will be found superior to any that have been built on their ruins,* and certainly most easy, as the most familiar to the minds of the people, and when any deviation from them may be likely to counteract, or to assimilate with them."[1]

But, if Mughal survivals are to be traced in comparatively purer forms they might be found perhaps in our Indian States. For, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has observed, "The two hundred years of Mughal rule,.....gave to the whole of northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. *Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal Emperors, their administrative system, official titles, Court etiquette, and monetary*

1. Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, ed. by Jagdish Mukhopadhyaya (Calcutta, 1906 ?), Preface, p. v.

type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu rajahs." He further points out, "All the twenty Indian *subahs* of the Mughal Empire were governed by exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all official records, etc....Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus, the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, *subah* to *subah*, and all realised the imperial oneness of this vast country."[1]

(2) The Economic Legacy.

No extensive survey, adequate or satisfactory in itself, of the economic conditions in the Mughal Empire, is possible in a brief and general review like this. What is aimed at, therefore, is to give some idea of the continuity of our present economic life, with reference to our heritage from those times. India at present occupies a high and honoured place in the commerce of the world. Although her trade-history dates from very ancient times, her modern prestige is largely derived from the days of the Mughals. In more recent times, no doubt, our trade has grown considerably in volume and also changed in character; but many of the conditions that have contributed to this transformation are directly traceable from the history under study.

In the first place, such valuable commercial traditions as our country undoubtedly possesses, presuppose the existence of economic prosperity; secondly, it is also axiomatic that such prosperity itself could not exist without there being continuous peace over stretches of time and country. We are too aware of the wars and rebellions, piracies and dacoities, famines and pestilences that punctuated the annals of the Mughals in India, to exaggerate the extent of that peace and prosperity; but, when due allowance is made for all such accidents, in the

1. *Mughal Administration*, pp. 238-39.

history of those two hundred years and more, we have a clear balance in favour of an economic surplus. If it had been otherwise, the numerous Europeans who flocked to this country would have left our shores long ago, as mice do a sinking ship.[1] The East India Company built up the British Empire in India out of this trade ; and its " nabobs ", in service and in retirement, stimulated the Industrial Revolution in all its phases in England. In a sense, a substantial part of the political and economic greatness of England has risen out of the Mughal Empire.

The Mughals themselves were comparative strangers to the sea, and did not therefore, perhaps, pay as much attention to the creation of a fleet as the situation increasingly demanded. There are, however, references in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to the ' Admiralty ', ship-building and the shipping trade, regulation of customs, etc., though most of this must have reference to river traffic. The Tamils and the Maplahs of Malabar were used to a sea-faring life, but their adventurous spirits were not harnessed by the Mughals, perhaps on account of their Empire not having extended far enough to include them. One contemporary writer has affirmed that " the Mogul's ships carry greater Burdens than those of Europe, ... They use neither the Compass nor Quadrant, but sail from India to Persia, Bassora, Mocha, Mozambick, Mombasa, Sumatra, Maccassar, and other Places, only by the help of the North-Star, and the Rising and Setting of the Sun."[2] But more and more, particularly under the later Mughals, the trade with Europe was carried on in foreign bottoms, and the Mughals found themselves increasingly at the mercy of the Europeans even to defend the shores of the Empire from pirates, as also the pilgrim traffic to Arabia. That this legacy of comparative neglect of the marine and naval

1. Cf. Chablani, *The Economic Conditions of India during the XVII Century*, pp. 69-71.

2. See Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Moghuls*, p. 270. For a fuller note on the subject see Appendix IV below.

requirements of India has duly come down to our own times is apparent from our subsequent maritime history. The following abstract from *The Times of India* of October 2, 1934, will be read with interest and profit :—

"Of the forces in existence in India to-day the Royal Indian Navy (just inaugurated) must be the oldest. There has always been a sea force of some description in Indian waters from the early days of the East India Company ; in fact, the present Indian Navy was born in 1612 when the newly formed Company sent a squadron of four ships under Captain Thomas Best to trade with the country. Though the vessels were merely merchantmen, they were quite capable of defending themselves—a necessary provision considering that the Portuguese had already been here for nearly a hundred years.

"As a matter of fact, Best's squadron was not long in showing what it could do. It anchored in Surat Roads and immediately afterwards, in a three-days battle, defeated the Portuguese. *These apparently so impressed the Emperor Jehangir that he granted the British squadron a firman to trade.*

"The Mogul Emperor's interest in the force did not lapse after the first affair at Surat, and *from 1759 to 1829 a Captain of the Indian Marine was appointed annually to the post of Admiral to the Mughal Emperor, with head-quarters at Surat, in order to defend Moghul trading vessels. The officer fortunate enough to hold the post received about Rs. 85,000 for his year's service.*"

The East India Company's marine had therefore to do service as the "Indian Navy", while the Mughal Emperor's marine conscience was satisfied with the payment of Rs. 85,000 to his "Captain of the Indian Marine." That the same attitude has been maintained by the British Government in India is clear from the fact that since 1863, "*it was decided on grounds of economy to abolish the Indian Navy as it stood and*

turn the defence of Indian waters over to the Royal Navy (of Great Britain). India subscribed £ 100,000 a year as its share along with other dominions and colonies for empire defence."

The nucleus of the Indian Navy now inaugurated (Oct. 1934) "At present consists of *four* sloops armed with 4 in. Q. F. guns, *one* building armed with the latest 4.7 in. Q. F. guns, *two* fast patrol boats and a mixed armament of 4 in. and 12 pounder guns, *one* survey vessel and *one* depot training ship. The personnel is roughly 117 officers, executive and engineer, and 1,027 other ranks . . . . . Regarding the Indianisation of the force, there are at the moment *two* Indian engineer officers and *three* Indian executive officers, and there are *two* executive and *seven* engineer cadets, all Indians, *at present in England under instruction.*"

The main point to be noted is that, as under the Mughals, our maritime interests are still in other than Indian hands.

As regards other economic survivals from Mughal times, we might say that our internal trade still follows in the main the beaten tracks of old—the same roads and river-routes and the same vehicles and country-craft are to be found, where these have not been displaced by the railways and other modern innovations; agriculture still forms the most extensive industry and retains all the features it possessed, perhaps, in earlier than Mughal times; some of the Mughal canals still water large tracts of agricultural land, especially in the Punjab; indigenous banking and intruments and modes of exchange still operate in most parts of the country as they did in Mughal times; and the Indian coins and weights and measures, where they are not identical, are cognisable direct lineal descendants of their Mughal ancestors[1]. Virjee Voras and Jagat Seths of Mughal fame have their descendants still

1. E.g. Our Rupee, the sheet-anchor of our currency to which our Government clings with inordinate attachment, is identical with the coin introduced by Sher Shah four hundred years ago.

dominating our economic life to the extent that their foreign rivals permit them to exercise their talents. The Industrial Revolution with its infinite trail of transformations still encounters, at every step in this country, obstacles bequeathed to us by the Mughal economy.

(3) The Social Legacy.

The Mughals were as bold in their social innovations as they were adventurous in the political field. To appreciate their endeavours in this direction we have to remember the character of Muslim rule in India prior to their advent, the conservative traditions of the Hindu and Muslim society in which they worked, and the nature of the times in which they lived. No doubt theirs was the age of Nānak, Kabīr and the great socio-religious movements in all provinces; but to initiate reforms on a comprehensive national basis, it was necessary that the attempt should be made by the Pādishāh of Hindustan and not merely by the founder of a new sect. Akbar is enshrined in our hearts even to this day because he did not shrink from the great task of attempting to found a new society in India, a new nation that would be neither Hindu nor Muslim merely, nor any other, but INDIAN. In the memorable words of Bartoli, quoted earlier, "*For an Empire ruled by one head, it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with the other. . .We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be* one *and* all, *with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.*"

Society in India is essentially religious and was more so under the Mughals. Hence, the social reformer had to encounter at every step the deep-seated religious sentiments of the people, whether Hindu or Muslim. And when that reformer was an alien like Akbar, the obstacles assumed a

formidable shape. If a reformer arose among the Hindus or the Muslims themselves, however difficult his task, it did not seem quite so presumptuous, as when an Akbar attempted to transform both and fuse them into, not a new sect like the *Nānak-panthis* or *Kabīr-panthis* but a new and homogeneous NATION. We have already traced the history of his herculean endeavours in this direction, and there is no need of repetition. The prohibition of cow-killing and compulsory *sati*, the raising of the age for circumcision and marriage, the social control of drink and prostitution, the composition of sectarian differences among various communities by suggesting a common solvent, the abolition of invidious taxes based on religious differences, despite the loss to the treasury, the admission of all to equal official status, irrespective of race or creed, and above all, the encouragement of inter-marriage between such divergent communities as the Hindus and the Muslims,—were the various channels through which Akbar sought to realise his great dream : to

> —"cull from every faith and race the best, ... '.
> gathering here and there
> From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown,
> To wreathe a crown not only for the king,
> But in due time for every Musalman,
> Brahmin and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
> Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan.....for no
> Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
> My myriads into union under one,. . . .
> And alchemise old hates into the gold
> Of Love, and make it current."

That dream of Akbar is still the dream of India, and that is why we cherish in our hearts the dreamer no less than the dream. For a time the orthodox Brahmin and the proud Rajput, the heterodox Shia, and even the orthodox Sunni, with a few notable exceptions, seemed to acquiesce in the great endeavour ; nay, the idealists among both communities even

looked forward to the coming of a Mahdi or the advent of a Rāmrāj ! Croakers like Badaoni, of course, there were, who denounced Akbar as an apostate, but the willing acquiescence and active co-operation of the unbending Rajput in the attempted social synthesis was the measure of the reformer's success. That this did not endure in all its manifoldness throughout the Mughal regime was due to a variety of causes (the most notable being the reaction under Aurangzeb) which need not be examined here. But that the dream was cherished by successive generations is indicated by the characters of Princess Jahānara and Princes Dārā and Akbar. The re-admission into the Hindu fold of the daughter of Ajit Singh after having been Farrukh-siyar's queen until his assassination, as late as 1719, might be taken as the last historical token of this reformation started in the sixteenth century by Akbar. That enlightenment was eclipsed in the general decadence that followed, until certain aspects of it were re-emphasised by a Rājā Rām Mohan Roy, a Lord William Bentinck, a Swāmi Dayānand Saraswati in more recent times. Even the unrealised or partially realized social dream of the great Mughal is therefore one of the most valuable of his legacies to our struggling generation. The Indian National Congress is attempting to solve the very problems which the Ibādat-Khāna had failed to resolve even under the auspices of Akbar's eclectic and synthesising genius.

(4) The Cultural Legacy.

Mughal Culture is a very vast subject which is as alluring as it is inexhaustible. We do not seek to dwell upon all its phases here. We have space only for a few comments on some of its most striking and permanent features. The Empire of the Mughals has vanished for ever, but their personality endures in a thousand forms, visible and invisible. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting and architecture the impress of the Mughal is ever present. It is neither purely Hindu nor purely Muslim, but a harmonious and exquisite blending of the two. The art of a people truly

reveals their soul ; and the real *Indian* art of to-day is a legacy come down to us from Mughal times. Where the earlier Muslims merely destroyed everything Hindu, the Mughals assimilated, synthesised and recreated in immortal form.

Our Hindustāni dress, both of men and women, which is so elegant, graceful, dignified and charming, when not hybridised with European misfits, is the same that we see in Mughal paintings. Our Hindustāni bearing, etiquette and forms of address, which are so majestic and yet not pompous, are a bequest to us from the Mughal courtiers and citizens. Our Hindustāni music and musical instruments are those that gave pleasure to Mughal sovereigns, sardārs and subjects alike, and derive their melodies from the soul of a melodious people. Our Hindustāni painting with its delicate touches and delightful hues is but a vivid reflection of those picturesque times. Our Hindustāni literature, whether Persian, Hindi, Sanskrit or Urdu, has come down to us with the impress of writers who either directly or indirectly enjoyed Mughal favour and patronage. And lastly, our Hindustāni architecture, whether Hindu or Muslim, instead of following radically different lines, as might have been expected, " exhibits, on the contrary, precisely the same fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideals, the same happy blend of elegance and strength." As Sir John Marshall has observed, " Seldom in the history of mankind, has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive and lend an added interest to the art and above all to the architecture which their united genius called into being."[1]

The efforts of the two large communities, which were apparently hostile to each other, to bring about a social

1. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 568 and 640.

harmony would indeed be a very profitable field of research and must be taken up independently. But it will be noted here in passing that the spirit of the age was peculiarly favourable to such endeavours. Among the Muhammadan rulers of the several kingdoms into which the Delhi Sultanate had broken up were several who might be considered the forerunners of the Mughals in this respect. Ferishta mentions that one of the Purbiya Sultans of Gaur enlisted 5000 Hindu footmen as his body-guard;[1] and, according to Havell, "Muhammadan culture in Gaur, as in other parts of India, was a graft upon the old Hindu stalk and not an exotic transplanted from Arabia to Indian soil."[2] Likewise, at Jaunpur, under the patronage of the Sharki Sultans, mosques were built by Indian master-builders, both Hindu and Musalman. The memory of Husain Shah (1452-78) is still cherished in Bengal for his efforts to bring together the Hindu and Musalman communities, and his patronage of vernacular literature and art. The first Bengali translation of the *Bhāgabata* is said to have been done by Maladhar Vasu, by his orders; as also a translation of the *Mahābhārata*. The Sultan is also credited with founding the *Satya-Pir* cult,[3] a forerunner of the *Din-i-Ilahi*. The Hindu Chaitanya and the Muslim Kabir owned a large following from the Muslim and Hindu communities respectively. In the South, in the Bahamani kingdom, Brahman ministers controlled the finances of a Muslim State,[4] and the Vijayanagar rulers, despite their political conflicts with their Muslim neighbours, enlisted Musalmans in their armies and patronised their religion.[5] Prince Ibrāhīm of Golkonda (1560-81) similarly patronised Telugu literature.[6] In Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana there

1. Briggs, op. cit., IV, p. 337.
2. *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 336.
3. Sen, D. C., *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 102, 222 and 797 (cited by Havell).
4. Ferishta, op. cit., II, p. 292.
5. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, I, pp. 395-413.
6. Ibid., p. 413.

are numerous examples of the blending of the Hindu and Muslim in architecture. But perhaps the most eminent of the forerunners of Akbar was Zainu-l Abidin, Sultan of Kashmir (1417-67). Besides his abolition of the *jiziya* and the toleration of the Hindus, he encouraged literature, painting and music, and caused many translations to be made from Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages, irrespective of religion.

Under the Mughals, we find, therefore, only the fruition of this widespread tendency in a more prominent form. After a detailed survey of the history of Mughal painting, Smith observes, "Perhaps the most fruitful general observation arising from such perusal is that of the predominance of Hindu names. For instance, in the *Wāqiāt-i-Bābari*, ... out of twenty-two names, nineteen are Hindu, and only three Muslim. Similarly, in Abul Fazl's catalogue of seventeen artists, only four are Muhammadan, while thirteen are Hindu."[1] As with painting so with architecture and the other arts and literature. It is not so much the number of Hindus that were employed that matters, but the fact that they were generously appreciated and patronised on a large scale and not merely as exceptions. Among the thousands of artists, artisans and master-builders that were engaged throughout the Mughal period in the construction of the numerous buildings, palaces and mosques, there were both Hindus and Muslims who worked in unison in order to produce the exquisite effects which attract to this day admiring tourists from all parts of the world. In some, as in the Jahāngīri Mahal, the Hindu type predominated ; in others, as in the temples of Brindāvan, the Muslim restraint in external ornamentation showed itself. But these might be considered as experimental and tentative designs. The perfection was reached where the Hindu and the Muslim both merged their individualities in a sublime form, like that of the Tāj Mahal, which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but INDIAN.

1. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 218 (2nd ed.).

A few words may be added on our literary and scientific heritage. Hindu mathematical works like the *Līlāvati* were translated into Persian. A Sawai Jai Singh of Amber constructed his wonderful astronomical observatories at Jaipur, Mathura, Benares and Delhi.[1] A Sanskrit Pandit like Jagannāth was patronised by even the comparatively orthodox Muslim Emperor Shāh Jahān. The Hindu Epics and the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* and several other works on Hindu religion and philosophy, like the *Yogavāsistha* and *Bhagavad Gītā*, were not merely translated by Muslim scholars into Persian, but were also studied with great avidity by Mughal Princes like Dārā Shukoh and even Mughal Princesses like Jahānara. Likewise was Persian literature imbibed by the Hindus in the *madrasas* which were attended by both communities alike. Rājahs Mān Singh and Todar Mal were great enthusiasts in the propagation of Persian among their co-religionists. Thus chronicles in Persian came to be written by Hindus like Ishver Dās, Bhīm Sen and Sujan Rai. A Bīrbal received the title of *Kavi Rāi* on account of his poetry ; and a Sūr Dās (the blind bard of Agra) was greatly admired. As another poet of Akbar's court declared, "Gang excells in sonnets, and Bīrbal in the *kavitta* metre ; Keshav's meaning is ever profound, but Sūr possesses the excellency of all three." Nevertheless, by universal acknowledgment the Emperor of Hindi literature in the age of the Munghals was Tulsī Dās. Vincent Smith has described him as "the tallest tree in the 'Magic garden' of mediæval Hindu poesy." That Hindu, he writes with admiration, "was the greatest man of his age in India—greater even than Akbar himself, inasmuch as the conquest of the hearts and minds of millions of men and women effected by the poet was an achievement infinitely more lasting and important than any or all of the victories gained in war by the monarch."[2]

1. See Law, N. N., *Promotion of Learning in India* p. 196.
2. *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 417.

The Mughals, no doubt, conquered Hindustan and established their Empire therein, but a survey of their culture leads one to believe that their hearts were taken captive by the spirit of other-worldliness which has been so characteristic of Hindustan in all ages.

Thus the Titan Aurangzeb sighed at the end of his days : "*Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong ; strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have only left regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not ; no trace is left of the days that are no more ; and of the future there is no hope.*

"*Whatever the wind may be,*
I am launching my boat on the water."

The greatest of the Mughals wisely inscribed on the *Buland Darwāzā* (Fath-pur Sikri) at the end of all his glorious achievements :

"*The world is a bridge : pass over it, but build no house upon it. The world endures but an hour : spend it in prayer ; who sees the rest? Thy greatest riches is the alms which thou hast given. Know that the world is a mirror where fortune has appeared, then fled : call nothing thine that thy eyes cannot see.*"

THE LESSONS OF THE EMPIRE

History, it hath been said, is philosophy taught through examples. Our eminent historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, has declared, "History when rightly read is a justification of Providence, a revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time." [1]

1. *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 473.

Whatever History may be, as promised in the Introduction, I have written "not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider." Nevertheless, I hope, the lessons of the Mughal Empire in India will not be lost sight of by the reader. Nothing is easier than, for us who live in power and prosperity, to judge lightly those that had their day and are no more.

'Judge not that ye be not judged. Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.'

It is well for readers of the history of a fallen Empire to bear these Christian maxims in mind. But too frequently we find that, particularly foreign historians of India, in their conscious or unconscious desire to show that we moderns live in the best of times, apply to the Mughals tests and criteria that they would not apply to themselves. On the contrary, there are not a few among our own countrymen, who seek to glorify our past to such an extent that we easily become the butt of foreign ridicule. It is not to be forgotten that History hath its *inspirations* as well as *warnings*. The purpose of this Epilogue is to lay the finger on some of these.

Those who over-emphasise the military character of the Empire, either lose sight of its positive contributions to culture and civilization or deliberately overlook these in order to traduce the past. "At its best," says one writer,[1] "the Mughal Government sought no higher goal than the maintenance of internal order and the preservation of external peace." That the Mughal Empire was not a mere "police state" has been demonstrated beyond doubt. The State-organisation of several industries, the patronage of arts and letters and the social legislation of the Mughals, to which reference has been made already, are enough refutation of this preposterous hypothesis. That the Empire collapsed with the deterioration of its military strength is no proof in support of it; no Empire, neither ancient nor modern, could stand if the 'sanction' of

1. Edwardes (and Garrett), *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 351.

the military and police were either weakened or removed. But at the same time, no State can endure for long if it relies on physical force alone. Aurangzeb demonstrated the futility of this beyond all doubt.

Another fallacy of a like nature is the theory that efficiency of administration in India is directly dependent on the importation of foreign talent and vigour. The gradual disappearance of this invigorating exotic element, is attributed by the writer already cited to "the policy of 'India for the Indians' enunciated by Akbar". "The Mughal dominion," says he, "was thereby deprived of its real strength, and the way was paved for 'the dead rot and corruption which normally grasp an Eastern rule, when vivifying external sources of life are stopped.'"[1] In the first place, this is a misreading of Akbar's policy; for Akbar, as admitted by the writer, never debarred foreigners. On the other hand, his "civil and military departments were staffed chiefly[2] by foreigners".[3] 'India for the Indians' is therefore to be interpreted as primarily in the interests of the Indians. This could by no means have contributed to the weakening of the Mughal dominion. As we have seen, Akbar's Indian policy made for its greater strength and stability; the reversal of it set it on the downward course. The fall of the Mughals was due to other causes discussed already, and not due to its 'Monroe doctrine.'

Secondly, with regard to 'the dead rot and corruption which normally grasp an *Eastern rule*,' it will be recollected that the French Monarchy of the same period was only more rotten and corrupt than the Indian. Hence 'the dead rot' is by no means a necessary concomitant of 'Eastern rule.'

1. Edwardes (and Garrett), *Mughal Rule in India*, pp. 354-55.

2. What about the Mān Singhs and Todar Mals? Badaoni, as we have noted, inveighs against the exclusion of Muslims to give most of the chief places to native infidels.

3. Edwardes, loc. cit., p. 355.

The primary lessons to be learnt from the history of the Mughal Empire in India are that (1) Monarchy was good in its day and in its own way, but India to-day wants a more broad-based government; (2) that given the opportunity, she possesses the necessary resources and talents to shoulder such responsibilities; (3) that, in order to avoid her mistakes of the past she should find a NATIONAL and Rational, in place of her outworn communal basis of life; and (4) that she should remember, as Sir Jadunath has expressed, "No nation can exist in the present-day world by merely cultivating its brain, without developing its economic resources and military power to the high pitch attained by its possible enemies."[1]

The morning sun of the new age has risen.
Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims.
The day is come.
But where is India?
She lies on the dust in dishonour,
deprived of her seat.
Remove her shame,
and give her a place in thy House of Man,
O Lord ever awake!

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

1. *India Through the Ages*, pp. 138-39.

APPENDICES

I

A MUGHAL TREATY

The following is the text of a Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Sao Vicente, 1667. The original document, in Persian and Portuguese, is in the Government Archives at Pangim, and consists of two pages 16½ × 12 inches, "in a good state of preservation, excepting the corners." (Heras)

DOCUMENT OF TREATY WITH THE FIRANGIS

Treaty of Alamgir, King of the Mughals, through Muhammad Allau-d din, Envoy of the Mughal King, during the time of the General Mirza Rajah Jai Singh, is given here in full detail :—

1

When the subjects of the Mughal King buy anything in the Kingdom of the Firangis, there should be no customs duty or hindrance ....

2

The Firangis should not shelter in their Kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King and should consider him as a rebel against the Portuguese King.

Reply to the said Envoy by Kondi San Vist, Vaisri and Captain Jaal, is given here in detail :—

1

.... In the same way in the Mughal Kingdom, when we buy any present for the King, our master, the same should be done by them....

2

I consent to this .... ; in the same way the Mughal King should behave towards us.

3 There should be Communication between the two Parties through envoys and letters. In order to make their friendship firm, an envoy from the Mughal King shall be sent to the Kingdom of the Firangis. He shall be treated with befitting royal honours and he shall look after the State affairs so that there may not be any breach in our friendship.	3 I agree to this clause. The ambassador shall be treated with respect in accordance with the rules made by the Kings. Both Parties shall treat them with respect and honour.
4 Orphan subjects of the Mughal King, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, shall not be converted to Christianity by force.	4 In our religion it is not allowed to convert any one by force. I shall issue orders accordingly. But if they embrace our faith willingly, they shall not be handed over to you, and shall be treated kindly.
OC	OC
M. Allau-d din, son of Said, blooming to the world like a happy morning.	Viserre Kondi Vaisri of High Position.

By order of King Alamgir this document is written and the Firangis have agreed thereto.

II

A MUGHAL BANQUET

The following contemporary European description of a banquet given by Asaf Khān to the Emperor Jahāngīr, on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter (Mum Tāj) with Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), is interesting as showing Mughal etiquette :—

"The banquet was given in the principal hall of the bath (*ghusal khāna*), in which, besides the fixtures, there were added on this occasion rich carpets of silk, silver, and gold, which covered the floor, serving as ground-tables, according to the native custom, as also for seats for the guests; and these coverings were useful, because in the four corners of the hall were other similar tables, each of five steps, and all enriched with Persian coverings of gold and silver, serving for stands and dresses; all covered with different vessels of gold in which the sight had full occupation, distinguishing in some the variety of jewellery used, and in others, instead of it, the very fine and brilliant enamelling varying the material, assimilated the colouring. This superb display was accompanied by various and large perfume-vessels and silver braziers of extraordinary forms placed in order all round the hall, in which burnt very sweet perfumes composed of amber, civet, and other blended pastiles which in their union delighted the sense of smell. At the entrance of this beautiful hall the water-works on one side delivered seven streams, whose silver pipes of admirable make and considerable size, were adorned with thin plates of enamel, which through their elevated heads discharged fine threads of scented waters, which, falling in a large basin of the same material, kept it always half full. Then, discharging by another part, what was received was thus able to be always used for those washings of the feet which in Mughal manners is one of the most essential parts of ceremonial courtesy. In the middle of this was placed for the occasion a *dester chana* (*dastarkhwan*) or 'table-cloth, as we should say, of very fine white tissue, in which were woven artificial flowers of gold and silver. In the chief place of this table were two great and beautiful cushions of cloth of gold and satin, on which were others, smaller, of cloth of silver, also satin. This was all the display of the imperial table, including a want of napkins, which they do not use.

"At this when the time came, arrived the Emperor, accompanied by a great train of beautiful and gallant ladies who came in front, very richly dressed, in cloth of gold, blending with the rich and various works of coloured silk; wearing on their necks collars of gold, with ropes of pearls, and their heads dressed with silver garlands. Behind this sightly feminine society came the Emperor between his mother-in-law and his daughter, having the one on his right hand and the other on his left. Behind followed, presently, the Crown Prince Sultan Dārā Sheko, having on his right hand his grandfather Asaf Khān.

"Whilst this company was arriving, they presently began to play in the neighbouring rooms many and various instruments until the Emperor was seated in the middle of the cushions that I have

mentioned, having at his shoulders two venerable matrons, who stood with splendid fans to drive off the troublesome flies—when suddenly the hosts and their children fell on their knees before His Majesty, who, laying his hand upon his mother-in-law bidding her rise, and calling her mother, seated her on his right hand—a favour which both her husband and her sons so highly appreciated, that they presently showed their estimation of the gracious act by the most profound reverences to the Emperor—who, to enhance it the more —made them also sit at the table, which they did not do till the third command, when they took their seats at its extremity ; the grandsire placing the princess between. When all these ceremonies were accomplished and everyone was seated in the above order, there were presently heard most sweet voices singing of the victories which His Majesty had gained over his enemies. While this concert, which was accompanied by instrumental music, was proceeding, the arrangements for hand-washing made their appearance in the following order :—First entered four lovely girls related to Asaf Khān, and daughters of great lords, who in complexion and brilliancy of hair might compare with the fairest daughters of the frigid north, and not inferior in grace, elegance and beauty .... These four beauties bore the instruments pertaining to His Majesty's hand washing ; to whom approaching after the royal ceremonies, one held before her a cloth of white satin, which he took up in his hands, and another held up a rich vessel of gold, in which were inlaid valuable jewels. These vessels are of quite superior invention to ours, moreover, there being deep in the middle and being covered with a grating allows the dirty water to disappear. This basin being placed before him, another comes with an ewer of the same material and value containing water with which he washed his hands, receiving from the last of these ladies the towel on which to wipe them. When this was finished appeared twelve others, who, although of lower rank than the former, might appear with confidence in any presence. These having presented to the princes, though with less ceremony, the lavatory for their hands, took their departure, on which, by another door, the dinner was brought in, with a loud sound of wind-instruments, more confused and harsh than our own brass bands. This banquet was served in rich dishes of gold, borne by eunuchs gallantly attired in the Hindustani style, with trousers of variegated silks and snow-white cloaks, at the same time displaying the precious unguent with which they were perfumed, and also concealing their abject and darksome skins. Of these the four chief ones placed themselves near His Majesty, doing nothing but handing up the courses which the other eunuchs brought to two beautiful girls who were on their knees at the Emperor's side. These bring forward the

food alternately, and similar other serve the drink and take away the dishes which are not used there ..... At the end of the conversation, the banquet having lasted four hours, ... entered twelve dancing women, who performed in a manner unsuited to Christian society; after which appeared in the midst three beautiful young ladies, in gay and costly garments bearing in their hands three large and splendid dishes of gold, filled with precious diamonds, pearls, rubies, and other valuable gems."

III

A MUGHAL PAGEANT

The following picture of a military march of the Mughals is from the pages of Manucci :—

'At 3 o'clock in the morning the march began. First went the heavy artillery, which always marches in front, and is drawn up as an avenue through which to enter the next camp; with it went a handsome boat upon a large car, to ferry the royal person across any river when necessary; then followed the baggage. In this way, when morning broke the camp was free, leaving only the cavalry and infantry, each in its appropriate position. With the rest, in addition to the other transport, went 200 camels loaded with silver rupees, each carrying 480 pounds weight of silver; 180 camels loaded with gold coin, each carrying the same weight; and 150 camels, loaded with nets used in hunting tigers.

'The royal office of record was also there, for the original records always accompany Court; and this required 80 camels, 30 elephants, and 20 carts loaded with registers and papers of account of the empire. In addition to these, there were 50 camels carrying water, each camel bearing two full metal vessels for the royal use. The princes of the blood royal marched in the same fashion, each according to his rank. Attending on the King are eight mules carrying small tents, which are used on the march when the King desires to rest, or to eat a little something, or for any particular necessity. Along with them are two mules carrying clothes, and one mule loaded with essences of various odoriferous flowers.

'It is the custom of the Court, when the King is to march the next day, that at 10 o'clock of the night the royal kitchen should start. It consists of 50 camels loaded with supplies, and 50 well-fed cows to give milk. Also there are sent dainties in charge of cooks,

from each one of whom the preparation of only one dish is required. For this department there is an official of standing, whose business it is to send in the dishes sealed up in bags of Malacca velvet, *et cetera*; and 200 *culles* (*qulis*), each with his basket of chinaware and other articles; further, there are 50 camels carrying 100 cases packed with *sarapa* (robes of honour); also 30 elephants loaded with special arms and jewels to be distributed among the generals, captains, *et cetera*. These arms are of the following kinds: swords, with their accoutrements, shields; various kinds of daggers, all worked in enamel and in gold, adorned with precious stones; plumes; also things to give to ladies, jewels to wear on the breast, and other varieties; also armlets of gold, mounted with pearls and diamonds. Again, there march close to the baggage 1000 labourers, with axes, mattocks, spades, and pick-axes to clear any difficult passage. Their commanders ride on horseback, carrying in their hands their badges of office, which are either an axe or a mattock in silver. On arriving at the place appointed for the royal halt, they put up their tents and place in position the heavy artillery. When the light artillery comes up, it is placed round the royal tents. Aurangzeb started at 6 o'clock of the day, seated on the throne presented to him by the Dutch. To carry this throne there were twelve men; in addition, there were palanquins of different shapes, into which he could get when he pleased. There were also five elephants with different litters (*cherollas*) for his own use whenever he desired. Upon his issuing from his tents the light artillery began the march from its position round them. It was made up of 100 field pieces, each drawn by two horses.

The following is the order of the King's march: At the time when he mounted the throne and issued from his tents all the warlike instruments of music were sounded. At the head came the son of the deceased Shekh Mir with 8000 cavalries. In the right wing was Assenalican (Hasan 'Ali Khān), son of Alaberican (Allawirdi Khān). This is the Allawirdi Khān who caused Prince Shāh Shujā to get down from his elephant at the battle of Khajwah. Hasan 'Ali Khān commanded 8000 horsemen; the left wing, consisting of 8000 horsemen, was commanded by Muhammad Amin Khān. In the rear of these two wings were the mounted huntsmen, each with his bird of prey (hawk) on his wrist. Immediately in front of the King went nine elephants with showy flags, behind these nine were other four, bearing green standards with a sun depicted on them. Behind these elephants were nine horses of state, all adorned and ready saddled; after these horses came two horsemen one carrying a standard with Arabic letters on it, the others with a kettledrum,

which he struck lightly from time to time as a warning that the King was approaching.

'There was no want of men on foot, who advanced in ordered files on the one side and the other side of the King; some displayed scarlet, others green, pennants; others, again, held in their hands their staves, with which they drove off people when any one made so bold as to draw near. There were on the right and left many horsemen with silver staves keeping the people back. Among the men on foot were some with perfumes, while others were continually watering the road.

'By their side was an official provided with a description of the provinces, lands, and villages through which the King must pass, in order to explain at once if the King asked what land and whose province it was through which he was passing, these men can give him an account of everything down to the petty villages, and the revenue obtained from the land.

'Other men march with a rope in their hands, measuring the route in the following way: They begin at the royal tent upon the King's coming forth. The man in front who has the rope in his hand makes a mark on the ground, and when the man in the rear arrives at this mark he shouts out, and the first man makes a fresh mark, and counts "two." Thus they proceed throughout the march, counting "three," "four," and so on. Another man on foot holds a score in his hand, and keeps count. If perchance the King asks how far he has travelled, they reply at once, as they know how many of their ropes go to a league. There is another man on foot who has charge of the hourglass, and measures the time, and each time announces the number of hours with a mallet on a platter of bronze. Behind all this the King moves on his way quietly and very slowly.

'So great is the dignity with the Mogul King's travel, and the delicacy with which they are treated, that ahead of the column goes a camel carrying a white cloth, which is used to cover over any dead animal or human being found on the road. They place heaps of stones on the corners so that the cloth may not be blown away by the wind. When he passes, the King stops and asks the why and wherefore.

'Behind all these squadrons rode on horseback the Princes Sultan Muazzam and Sultan Azzam. After the King came the horsemen, four with royal matchlocks enclosed with cloth-of-gold bags; one bore his spear, one his sword, one his shield, one his dagger, one his bow, one the royal arrows and quiver; all of these in cloth-of-gold bags. After the weapons came the captain of the guard with his troops, then the three royal palanquins, and other palanquins for

the Princes, then, after the palanquins, twenty-four horsemen, eight with pipes, eight with trumpets, and eight with kettledrums. Behind these mounted musicians were the five royal elephants bearing litters (*cherollas*), also three elephants, one of which, that in the middle, bore three hands in silver upon a cross bar at the end of a pole, covered with its hood of Malacca (velvet). These signify "Observer of the Mohamedan Faith." The other two bore hands in the same style which signify "Augmentor and Conservator of the Faith." On the right of this middle one was another elephant which displayed a plate of copper (*lamina*) upon a staff with engraved letters in Arabic meaning "God is One, and Muhammad just." The other had a pair of scales, which means "a King dealing with Justice." On the right (? left) hand was another elephant bearing a crocodile's head with a body made of fine white cloth, which when moved by the wind, looked like a real crocodile, signifying "Lord of the Rivers."

'On the left went by an elephant showing a spear, which means the "conqueror", to its left again, another with the head of a fish having a body made of cloth, and when swaying in the wind this looked like a great fish, and it means "Lord of the Seas." All these elephants were decorated with valuable housings and ornaments. They were followed by twelve more bearing larger kettledrums, and other instruments made of refined metals not employed in Europe. They are of the nature of large dishes, which, being beaten one against another, make a great noise. These musical instruments are employed by Armenians, Syrians, and Maronites in Syria at church solemnities and at weddings; they are also used at such events by the Turks. After the musicians came Rāja Jai Singh with 8000 horsemen, serving as rear guard. Be it known to the reader that each division of those spokesmen had six highly adorned elephants with rich trappings, displaying on brilliant flags the device of its commander.

'It would be very lengthy to recall all the details of this march, the Moguls being extremely choice in such matters, overlooking no detail that could minister to their glory.

'It remains to state that ahead of all this innumerable throng there always moved, one day ahead at the least, the Grand Master of the Royal Household, with other engineers, to choose an appropriate site where the royal tents should be unloaded. For this purpose is always chosen a pleasant spot. The camp is divided in such a way that on the arrival of the army there may be no confusion. In the first instance they fix the site of the royal enclosure, which, by measurements I subsequently took several times, occupies

500 paces in circumference. Behind the royal quarters is another gateway, where the women live, a place much respected. After this is arranged, they fix the positions of the tents of the Princes, the generals and the nobles. This is so managed that between these tents and the royal tents there should be a wide space. The central space is encircled by scarlet cloths, having a height of three arm-lengths, and these serve as walls. Around these enclosing screens are posted the field pieces in front of them is a ditch, and behind them are palisades of wood, made like net-work, which open and shut just like the ancient chairs of Venice. At the sides of the gateway, at a distance of 130 paces, are two tents, holding each nine horses, most of them saddled. In front of the gateway is a large raised tent for the drummers and players of music.

Among the special royal tents are some where the King gives audience ; these are supported by small ornamented masts upon which are gilt knobs. No one else may make use of these knobs, only persons of the blood royal. On the top of a very high mast is a lighted lantern which serves as a guide to those who arrive late .... When the King comes out of his tent, to begin a march, the Princes, nobles, and generals throng round to pay him court, each one bringing forward some short request, to which a brief answer is given. They accompany the King to the end of the camp in which they had halted for that day, then each departs to his proper place in his own division .... When the advance tents come into site, the musicians commence anew to play their instruments until the King has passed through the gateway of the tents. Then the small artillery is discharged, while the queens and ladies offer to the King congratulations on arrival, saying : "Manzel mobārec" (*Manzil mubārak*) which means "Happy be the journey !"

IV

INDIAN SHIPPING UNDER THE MUGHALS

We have stated in the body of this work that, perhaps, Indian shipping and ship-building suffered comparative neglect at the hands of the Mughals. Really, this subject needs careful investigation before we dogmatise. The following evidence cited by the late Prof. Chablani, in his valuable study of "The Economic Condition of India during the Sixteenth Century," is of considerable interest :—

"Our foreign travellers", observes Prof. Chablani, "speak not only of 'many ships' and 'large trade' in the many ports of India

mentioned by them, but also of many Cambay, Bengala and Malabar ships' at the foreign ports .... The Venetian Nicolo Conti observes that the Indian ships then were '*larger than ours* (Venitian), capable of containing 2000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts.' Their lower part is said to have been constructed with triple planks in order to withstand the force of tempests; but some ships were so built in compartments that 'should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire accomplish the voyage' .... Calicut is described by Abdur Razaak as 'one of the greatest shipping centres of the world in this period,' and men of Calicut as 'bold navigators known as the Sons of China,' whom the pirates did not dare to attack .... Not content with their *atalvas fustas* and *zambucos*, the merchants of Goa met the Portuguese menace by gathering together a great sum of money and building in the Goa river 'fair *galleys* and *brigantines* after the Portuguese fashion and style' and 'made such good speed that in a short time a *great* part of the fleet was ready,' proving thus the existence of special facilities for shipbuilding on the Western coast .... One of the Gujarat ships stopped by Sir H. Middleton on its voyage to the Red Sea in 1612 was 153 feet long, 42 beam and 31 deep and said to be 1500 tons burden; and Edward Terry tells that....'In these ships are yearly abundance of passengers, for instance, in one ship .... that year we left India, came seventeen hundred.' And this in an age in which English ships were 300 or 350 tons at most." (For further information read Chablani, op. cit., pp. 62-69.)

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